

COLONEL ELISHA JONES OF WESTON
AND THE CRISIS OF COLONIAL GOVERNMENT IN MASSACHUSETTS
1773-1776

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ABSTRACT

This paper contends that without the Tory dimension no factual account of the Civil War in 1774 and the beginning of the Revolution in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay is possible, and that there is no better way of demonstrating actuality in this, as in other historic problems, than by direct examination of events through the lives of those who shaped them.

This paper is the first historic study of the last and most crucial crisis of Colonial Government in Massachusetts — that is, from the setting up of the Committees of Correspondence in 1772-3 (the Whig extension from Boston of single-party rule by caucus to supplant the Constitution-Charter of 1691 and political pluralism in Town Meetings) to the strategic and military victory in the Siege of Boston of rebellion, created and manipulated by a dedicated Radical minority, and the enforced withdrawal of the Loyalists, the Loyal Militia (including Brig. Timothy Ruggles' corps of Loyal Associators) with the Regular forces to Halifax, March 17, 1776—as it happened, and from the experience of one of the most active and prominent of the largely Tory soldier-Representative-magistrates that since the Mayflower Compact served as the leaders of Massachusetts: Col. Elisha Jones (1710-1776), the "famous" Tory squire of Weston, on Charles River in Middlesex County and less than a day's walk from Boston.

None more than Col. Jones stood for one of the two main Tory political groups in Massachusetts in the 1770's, the "Reformers," so often at cross-purposes with the Hutchinson-Sewall-Oliver faction that supported the status quo and the undivided sovereignty of Parliament, and who when the Civil War began at the time of the Powder Alarm, Sept. 1, 1774, left their homes for Boston, and the fighting of the Whig political mobs with their weapons of assault and violence to property to men like Col. Jones, Brig. Ruggles, and Col. Thomas Gilbert, and the Regulars, and who became the early "refugees" in England.

Col. Jones was a leader of the "Reformist" Tories that supported the Constitution-Charter of 1691, and government by law and precedent in the manner of Blackstone (a best-seller in the Colonies), and who worked for the greatest measure of "home rule" and needed reforms (such as adequate pay for judges) initiated whenever possible by the General Court. Their "Charter" was the Middlesex Magistrates' Address to Gov. Hutchinson of May, 1774 (signed by Col. Jones and possibly drafted by him) which looked toward an association with Britain based upon mutual economic and political interest: concepts so forward-looking as not to be fully accepted until the 20th century, and so dangerous in their own time as to merit oblivion by the Whigs and vetoes for such measures as the "Prevention of Bribery and Corruption" bill by Hutchinson. It was the "Reformers" that carried the burden of resisting the Whig assault upon the rule of law and maintenance of public order.

One of fewer than a dozen Tories elected to the House in 1773 and 1774, Col. Jones opposed all the unconstitutional Whig measures, including Committees of Correspondence, impeachment of Chief Justice Oliver, and the Continental Congress. One of the last magistrates to hold Court, he raised (Nov. 1774) one of the first military Tory Corps of the War. Driven to Boston (Dec. 1774) by the mobs, he served under Gage and Howe as Forage Commissioner, and three of his sons with Ruggles' Associators. Col. Jones died in Boston just before the Evacuation, but the ideas he fought for were taken to Nova Scotia and Upper Canada by five of his Tory sons, who with their descendants took a distinguished part in public life, and where they became part of the foundation of a new Empire and the independent nation of Canada.

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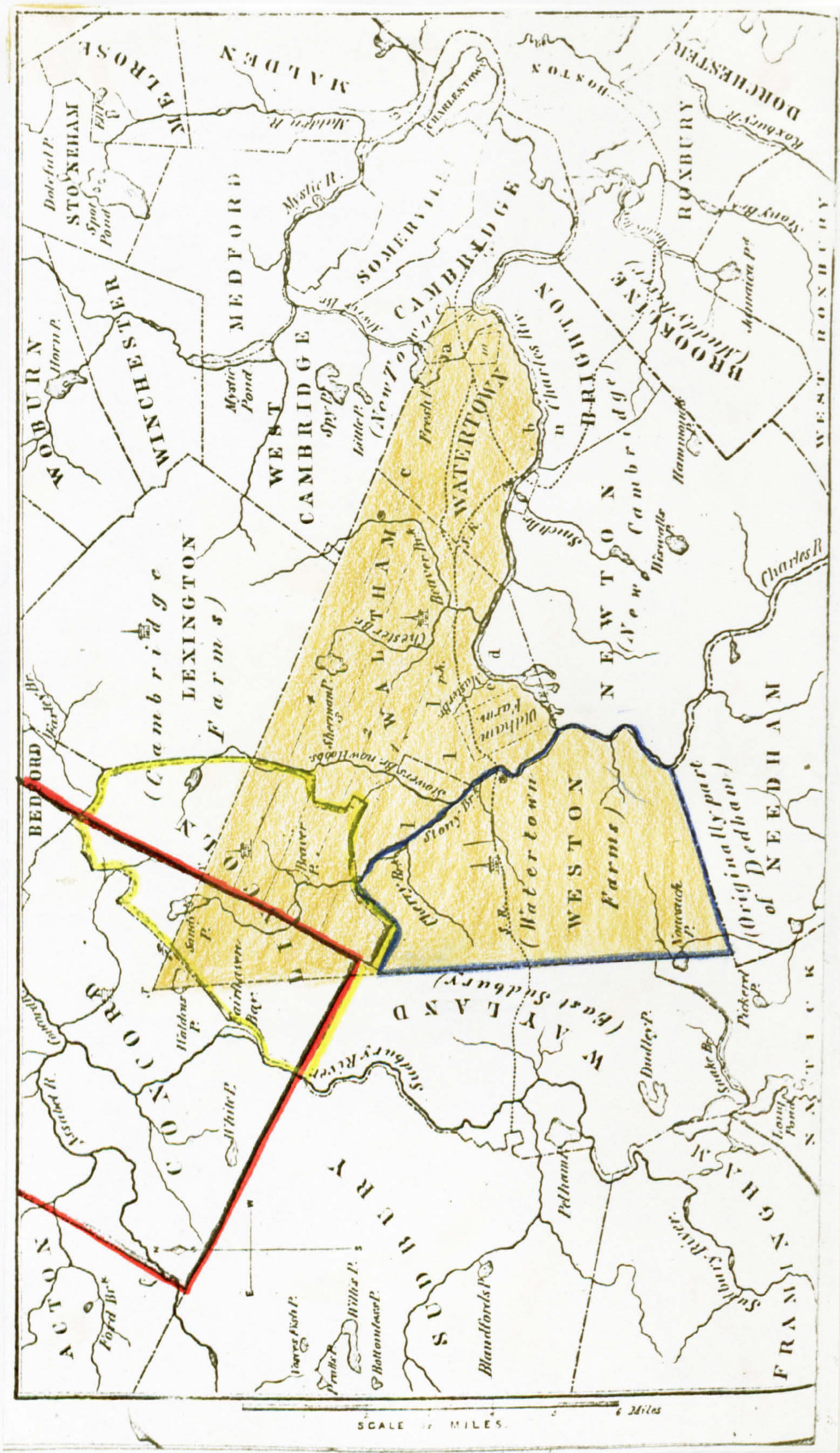
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INTRODUCTION

JONES OF WESTON

"Some spring the white man came, built him a house, and made a clearing here, letting in the sun, dried up a farm, piled up the old grey stones in fences, cut down the pines around his dwelling, planted orchard seeds brought from the old country, and persuaded the civil appletree to blossom next to the wild pine and juniper, shedding its perfume in the wilderness. Their old stocks still remain. He culled the graceful elm from out the woods and from the river-side, and so refined and smoothed his village plot. He rudely bridged the stream, and drove his team afield into the river meadows, cut the wild grass, and laid bare the homes of beaver, otter, muskrat, and with the whetting of his scythe scared off the deer and bear. He set up a mill, and fields of English grain sprang in the virgin soil. And with his grain he scattered the seeds of the dandelion and the wild trefoil over the meadows, mingling his English flowers with the wild native ones. The bristling burdock, the sweet-scented catnip, and the humble yarrow planted themselves along his woodland road, they too seeking "freedom to worship God" in their way. And thus he plants a town..."

Henry David Thoreau, A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers (1849) 1

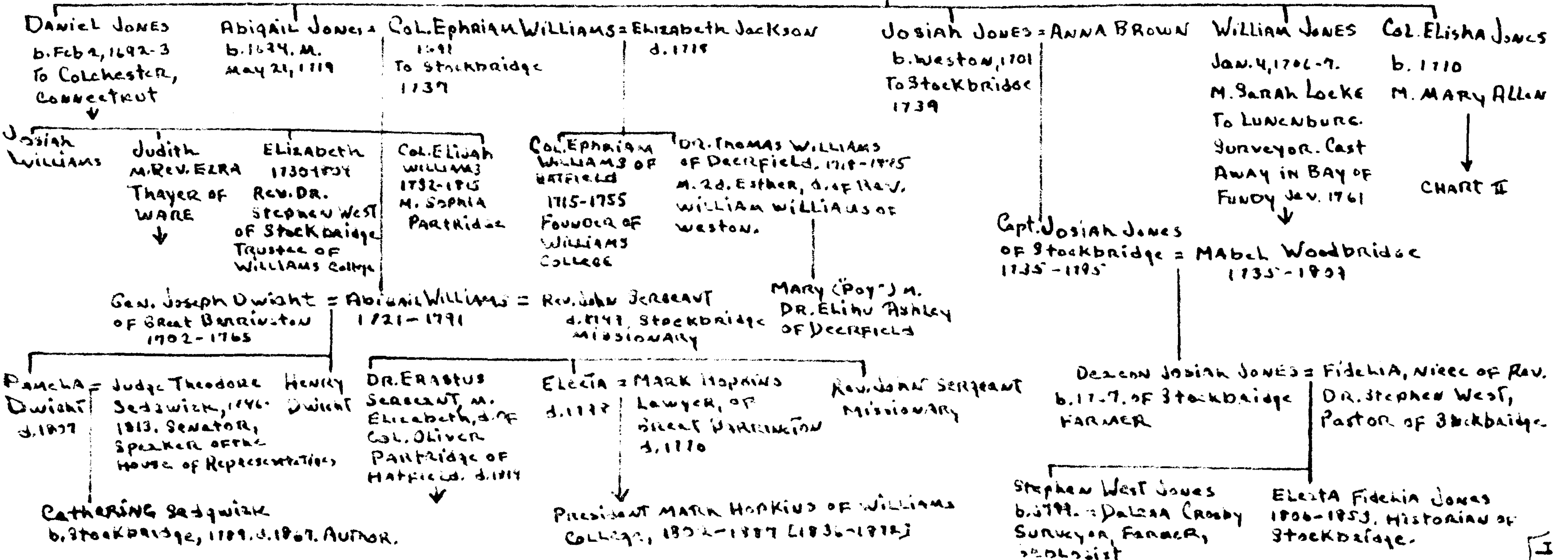
Elisha Jones, one of the noted soldier-legislator-magistrates who since the Mayflower Compact served as leaders of the Bay, was born November 20, 1710 at his father's mansion house on Beacon Hill in the Farmer's Precinct of Watertown (Weston). The fourth generation of his family in Massachusetts, he was youngest of the five children of Captain Josiah and Abigail Barnes Jones.² It was a prosperous family of farmers, merchants, and landowners which in the 18th century as earlier

1 Thoreau (1817-1862) was a great-grandson of Elisha Jones, grandson of his only daughter Mary and her husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar of the Harvard Class of 1767. See Family Chart. Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVI, pp. 457-463. The Week, parts of which were first printed in The Dial between 1840 and 1844, apart from its transcendentalism, is a work of social and political as well as local and natural history, drawing upon many oral as well as printed sources (Cont.)

Lewis JONES = ANN STONE
OF ROXBURY AND
WATER TOWN. d. 1684 1602-1680

Deacon JOSIAH JONES = Lydia Treadway
OF Weston 1643-1714 1648-1743
FREEMAN; SELECTMAN
OF WATER TOWN

Captain JOSIAH JONES = Abigail BARNES
OF Weston, 1670-1734. d. Stockbridge, 1749
Rep. in General Court
1716, 1721, 1725, 1726



looked for its wealth not to Boston and merchant aristocracy, but as ever larger investors, and for elder sons, as the custom was, settler-proprietors, to the development of new colonial towns in the new lands - westward on the frontier in the Connecticut and Housatonic River Valleys, and to the east, in Maine, at Falmouth (Portland) on Casco Bay, at Frenchman's Bay, and at Machias.¹

In colonial Massachusetts there was no higher mark of respect and standing in a community than election to the office of Deacon, the term of which was normally for life. When the church at Watertown Farms, gathered finally under the Rev. William Williams who had been ordained on November 2, 1709, was organized, on January 4, 1710 - in the same year as Elisha Jones was born - his grandfather Josiah Jones Sr. was chosen first Deacon, serving with colleague John Parkhurst until his death on October 9, 1714. At that time the office was offered to his son, Elisha Jones' father Josiah the Younger (Feb. 13, 1715) but - most unusually - he refused to accept it. It may have been because of the burden of other senior town offices and an apparent broadening interest in Provincial affairs: Josiah the Younger was to be Weston Representative in the General Court in 1716, 1721, 1725, and 1726, and when the Farmers Precinct petitioned the General Court for incorporation as a town in 1712 Lt. Josiah Jones, with Capt. Francis Fulham and Mr Daniel Estabroke were the committee which "carried" the petition to the government in Boston.²

(Cont.) Local history is a subject in which Thoreau maintained a life-long interest, and there are, for example, a number of references to it in his Journal. It is much to be regretted, however, that his own interviews with people still living, or their children, who had seen the Revolution, and would talk about it, were seemingly destroyed - so virulent was the feeling against Tories at that time. On Feb. 23, 1856 Thoreau copied references to his Jones ancestors in Dr. Henry Bond's Genealogies... of the Early Settlers of Watertown... (1st. ed. 1855) into his Journal. See Bradford Torrey and Francis Allen The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau (Dover edn., 1962) Vol. II, p. 977.

¹ It was the elder sons who moved to "new" lands owned by investing families like the Joneses of Weston, and the youngest who settled by elderly parents and inherited as their "portion" the "old home." Thus it was that Elisha Jones remained in Weston, and inherited the family property there. See Bond, Watertown (2 edn. 1860) pp. 310-322.

² Ibid., 312. Records of the First Parish of Weston; Town of Weston Records.

Josiah Jones Sr., born at Roxbury in 1643, had a long career of service in the higher town offices. First elected Selectman of Watertown in 1685, he was chosen for five more terms, in 1686, 1687, 1690, 1702, and 1709. He was made Freeman on April 18, 1690. Josiah Sr. also reached the elective rank of captain in the Militia. About 1690 the three parts of Watertown were designated for purposes of military organization as the precincts of Captain Bond's Company (Watertown), Captain Garfield's Company (Waltham), and Lieutenant Josiah Jones' Company (Watertown Farms).¹

Josiah Jones Sr. was the son of Lewis Jones, the first of the family to come to Massachusetts Bay, who with his wife Ann had settled by 1639 in Roxbury, where they joined the church and their names were recorded by the Pastor, the Rev. John Eliot. In August, 1645, Lewis Jones was among the 64 donors of the noted Free School in Roxbury, who agreed to pay for its support the sum of 4 shillings annually. The house and lands of Lewis Jones were in that part of Roxbury called "the Nookes," adjoining the town line of Dorchester, and not far from Roxbury Brook. According to Town Records they were bounded by the property of John Gore, John Dane (Dana), Philip Torrey, and John Gorton.² By 1650, however, Lewis Jones had removed to Watertown, where opportunities for increasing acreages of freehold land were greater. On April 23, 1679, Lewis Jones, described as of Watertown, planter, sold to Justinian Holden, of Cambridge, about three acres adjoining Holden's farm "and the great Fresh Pond surrounding the same." Ann Jones died in Watertown, aged 78, on May 1, 1680, and Lewis Jones about four years later, April 11, 1684. His son Josiah Jones Sr. was executor and the will, dated Jan. 7, 1678 and proved June 17, 1684, made provision

¹ See Watertown Town Records, and Dr. Henry Bond, Watertown... (1860) pp. 312, 814, 1059.

² See Records of the First Church at Roxbury; the Roxbury Town Book, Roxbury Town Records; Registry of Deeds, Suffolk County. For early Roxbury, see Francis Drake, The Town of Roxbury (Roxbury, 1878). Most authorities identify Lewis Jones as passenger on the Amitie, George Downes, Master, which sailed from London for St. Christopher Oct. 13, 1635, but the improbability remains that he would have been about 13 years young (b. 1615) than his wife Ann, daughter of Deacon Simon Stone of (cont.)

for his invalid younger son Shubael, of whom Deacon Simon and John Stone of Watertown were appointed guardians.¹

On February 20, 1666 Elisha Jones' Grandfather, Josiah Sr., bought a 124-acre farm on the south side of Sudbury Road (the Boston Post Road) about two miles toward Boston from the Town of Sudbury, from John Stone of Watertown, and after his second harvest, on October 2, 1667, Josiah Sr. married Lydia, daughter of one of the largest proprietors in Watertown, Nathaniel Treadway, and his wife Sufferana, daughter of Edward Howe. Josiah Sr. through good management prospered in business, and this property was the nucleus of land holdings which, divided among his children and grandchildren were the largest in Weston on the eve of the Revolution.

Elisha Jones' Father, Josiah the Younger, in 1691 married Abigail Barnes of Marlborough, and settled on his Father's land (exceptionally as the eldest son) and it was the house built by Josiah the Younger that Elisha Jones inherited on his Father's death on Dec. 21, 1734. On January 24th of that year, and aged 23, Elisha Jones married Mary, daughter of Deacon Nathaniel Allen of Weston. Nathaniel Allen, chosen a Deacon of the Weston church in 1745, came of another "founding family," one of importance in the locality when Watertown Farms was made a Precinct of Watertown in 1698, and a Town in 1713. There had been four Allens (Joseph, Joseph Jr. Abel, and Ebenezer) and two Joneses, Josiah Sr. and Josiah the Younger, among the eighteen men who organized the First Parish Church in 1710 with the Pastor, the Rev. Williams. Nathaniel Allen had settled on some of the property belonging to the estate of his Father, Walter, in the northern part of Weston bordering on Lincoln; the "Deacon Nathaniel Allen House," as it was known, on the Concord Road, unfortunately, burned in the 1890's.

(Cont.) Watertown. See John Camden Hotten, Original Lists of Emigrants (London, 1874) p. 135. Both Dr. Henry Bond, the Watertown historian, and Mary E. R. Jones, chronicler of the Nova Scotia descendants of Elisha Jones, were in doubt about the identity of Lewis Jones. For a good discussion of the false identities taken by prominent immigrants in order to get away from England, see Charles Edward Banks, The Planters of the Commonwealth (1930) pp. 32-40.

¹ Middlesex County Probate Records, Book VI, Fol. 174; for the sale of Lewis Jones' House & other property in Watertown: Middlesex County Land Records, Book 9, p. 168.

Col. Elisha Jones = Mary Allen
1710-1776
of Weston
b. 1714 d. 1786
at Keene, N. H.

Col. Nathan Jones = Sarah Scavrus
1734
To Frenchman's Bay
Nahum Jones
b. 1760. d. 1786

INFANT

Elisha = Mehitabel Upham
Jones
b. 1737
Farmer, of
Pittsfield
To Sissiboo, N. S.
↓
Mary E. H. Jones
Historian, 1869-1958

Israel = Alithea Todd
1738-1829
Lawyer,
of Adams
↓

Judge Daniel = Lydia, d. of
Jones, 1740 - Col. Elijah
1786. Hinsdale, & Lydia Dwight 1823
N. H.
↓ Williams, of
Deerfield

Rlias = Elizabeth
1142 - Baldwin
1744
Farmer, of Adams
To Sissiboo,
N. S. Lawyer,
Wentworth's
Volunteers.
Merchant and
Shipowner

Judge Josiah Silas
1746-
1754.

Mary = Rev. Asa Dunbar
1740-1745-1787. Asst.
1830. Pastor, First Church
at Salem.
Lt. Capt. Jones
Minot of Concord
↓
Henry David Thoreau
1817-1862

Ephraim = Charlotte
1750-1812
Cousin of
To Elizabethtown, U.S.
J.P., Member of
Parliament
Royal Rangers
↓
Mary Stuart = Sir Allan Napier Menzies
First Prime Minister of Canada, 1850
Sophia Menzies = William Goutts Keppel
Mary
↓ The Earl of Albemarle
Earls of Albemarle

Simon = Sally, d. of Dr.
1757-1823 Thomas Williams
of Sissiboo of Roxbury
N. S. Gov.
Wentworth's Volunteers,
Lt. King's American
Dragoons ↓

Judge Stephen Jones = Sarah, d. of Lt. Jonas
of Sissiboo, N. S. Samuel Jones, 20th
1754-1830, Harvard, Goldsbury Foot. = M. Miss
1775. Gov. John Proprietor of Mason of
Wentworth's Vols. New Edinburgh London
King's American N. S. Merchant
Dragoons d. bef. 1828
S.P.

Hon. Alfred Milpin = Margaret, dau. of
Jones, 1824-1896 Hon. William & Margaret
Lt. Gov. of Nova Scotia Wiseman Stairs
↓
Alice Jones, 1853-1933
Novelist

Phillimore
Lt. Charles
b. 1760.
Harvard in
Queens
Rangers
K. in Act
June 20,
1781.

In the twenty years following his marriage on January 24, 1734 to Mary Allen, a lady remarkable enough in her own right for stamina and good management, bearing 1 daughter and 14 sons between the birth of Nathan (Sept. 29, 1734) and Charles (Jan. 22, 1760) and seeing all but three of them safely to adulthood, Elisha Jones took his place as the most prominent of the inhabitants of Weston - a fact publicly acknowledged by that unchallengeable barometer of standing in Colonial Massachusetts towns, the seating plan of the Meeting House: through the long hours of the Sunday services Elisha Jones and his family occupied the second pew east from the pulpit, in precedence exceeded only by the first gentleman of every town, the Minister, since 1751 the Rev. Samuel Woodward.¹

Elisha Jones, the "Tory Squire of Weston," as he was known by mid-century - and by 1759 Colonel of the Third Middlesex Regiment and on Sept. 14, 1756 commissioned a Justice of the Peace - had in the family one near rival, a man whose prosperity and career in public life closely followed his own, his younger cousin John, born in Weston October 30, 1716 (d. Feb. 2, 1801) the "Tory Squire" of the neighbouring town of Dedham, with a large estate bordered on three sides by Charles River. No portrait of Elisha Jones is known to survive (according to family tradition family portraits were destroyed by Whig mobs, together with most of Col. Jones' papers, in the violence of 1773-1774). But more enduring, perhaps, is the classic character of "Sheriff Jones" for whom "Col. Elisha" and his cousin (Lt.) "Col. John" sat as models to Harriet Beecher Stowe in the writing of her novelized study of Massachusetts life set for the convenience of patriotism just after the Revolutionary War, Oldtown Folks, published in 1869.

1 Col. Jones was himself one of the Committee to seat the Meeting House, appointed by Town Meeting. See M. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records, (1893) pp. 55, 57. See chart of Col. Jones' family.

2 For Col. John Jones, see Amos Perry, "Col. John Jones of Dedham and his Paternal Ancestors in America," New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., April, 1890, pp. 158-167; and Amos Perry, ed., Book of Minutes of Col. John Jones of Dedham... (Boston, 1894). Mrs. Stowe's husband Calvin had taught school in Weston as a young man, and it was he who supplied the Jones "legends," used in Oldtown Folks.

It is in descriptions such as this, banned by prejudice from the writings of Whig historians, that reality in the troubled years of the early 1770's in Massachusetts still finds a voice:

"Social position was a thing in those days marked by lines whose precision and distinctness had not been blurred by the rough handling of democracy...Even our little town had its court circle, its House of Lords and House of Commons, with all the etiquette and solemn observances thereto appertaining. At the head stood the minister and his wife, whose rank was expressed by the pew next the pulpit...People who wore ruffles round their hands, and rode in their own coaches, and never performed any manual labor, might be said to constitute in Oldtown our House of Lords,— and they might all have been counted on two or three of my fingers. It was, in fact, confined to the personages already enumerated. There were the minister, Captain Browne, and Sheriff Jones....

"In the same pew with Miss Mehitable (Rossiter, who, in right of being the only surviving member of the family of the former minister, was looked upon with reverence in Oldtown) sat Squire Jones, once, in the days of colonial rule, rejoicing in the dignity of Sheriff of the County. During the years of the Revolutionary war, he had mysteriously vanished from view, as many good Tories did; but now that the new social status was well established, he suddenly reappeared in the neighbourhood, and took his place as an orderly citizen, unchallenged and unquestioned. It was enough that the Upper House received him. The minister gave him his hand, and Lady Lothrop (the minister's wife) courtesied to him, and called on his wife, and that, of course settled the manner in which the parish were to behave; and, like an obedient flock, they all jumped the fence after their shepherd. Squire Jones, besides, was a well-formed, well-dressed man, who lived in a handsome style, and came to meeting in his own carriage; and these are social virtues not to be disregarded in any well-regulated community." ¹

¹ Henry F. May, ed., Oldtown Folks Harriet Beecher Stowe, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1966) pp. 93-95.

Col. Jones was the first man to be allowed by the town of Weston to have his own stable on the common for the accomodation of horse and carriage during his attendance at the Meeting House. On December 3, 1759 Town Meeting resolved

"4. Voted By Said town that Col. Jones haue Libuerty to buld Him a Stable on the Westerly Side of the Meeting hous and M^r Abr^m. Bigelow to build him one on the Easterly Side of the meeting Hous " 1

It was significant that Col. Jones' stable was allotted on the sheltered west of the Meeting House, away from the "weather" east side. Abraham Bigelow, the less fortunate, was a Whig and Col. Jones' great rival in town politics, then, in 1759, serving his second term as Representative - but the following May, 1760, to be again defeated for re-election by Col. Jones for his seventh term in the General Court.²

In 1754, twenty years after their marriage, Col. Elisha Jones and his wife Mary Allen built a large and elegant mansion house on family property to the south of the Sudbury (Post) Road, at Beacon Hill, a site commanding wide views over the Middlesex countryside. The position was not only finely situated: Beacon Hill was one of the strategic links in the defenses of the Bay Colony, a "Blue," or signal, hill on which tar barrels were fired to summon the Militia in time of danger.³ With Col. Jones in that crowded year of 1754, the last of the uneasy and incident-ridden "peace" before the frontier again was to be ravaged by French and Indian attacks from Canada, occupied with duty as second in command of Col. Joseph Frye's Regiment, and holding the offices of Town Representative to the General Court, Selectman, Town Clerk and Town Treasurer, he had need of the best housewright he could find for the building.

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893), p. 82.

2 Ibid., pp. 80, 85-86.

3 From Beacon Hill on a clear day one can see Beacon Hill in Boston, the "master" beacon, for danger coming from the sea. During the Revolution the beacon in Weston was kept manned and guarded; for the preparations when it was believed that a force of British and Loyalist troops from Rhode Island would come to Boston to rescue Gen. Burgoyne's "Convention Army" defeated at Saratoga - which reached Weston Nov. 6, 1778, see the Order of Gen. William Heath, commanding at Boston, Sept. 5, 1778, Heath MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc. and Town of Weston Records, pp. 265, 271, 303-4.

Col. Jones' choice was Jeduthan Baldwin, then a young man of 22, who had been born at Woburn but had lived until the spring of 1754 at neighbouring Sudbury before buying land and settling finally at Brookfield. Baldwin, who was to reach the rank of Colonel of Engineers in Washington's army, is best known as one of the men in charge of erecting the redoubts and other defenses on Bunker and Prospect Hills at Charlestown on June 16-17, 1775¹. The large, gambrel-roofed house built for Col. Jones in 1754, with its great centre hall, wainscotted, and wide, curving staircases with carved pedestals and balustrades, and general feel of eighteenth-century elegance, is, by the blessing of fate and the craftsmanship of Jeduthan Baldwin, still standing in Weston, though not on its original site.² Hugh-studded, its white-oak frame was described in 1883 when the house was moved as "sound as a nut." The two chimneys were of mammoth proportions, six feet square with bricks laid in clay, and resting on a stone foundation twelve feet square and of the depth of the cellar.³

The house, as Col. Jones' account book shows, was begun in the fall of 1754, and finished a year later. Col. Jones also, it appears, employed Baldwin's son part of the time to help with the harvest on his farm:

" contra

1754	November 18	By yr boy's work at harvest	
	25	By your Work at Hewing & Framing	
		My House Till it was raised	17.2.9
		16.16.9	
		By Boarding, Shingling, & making	
		Window Frames & Sashes	14.13.4

1 He was a cousin of Loammi Baldwin, also of Woburn, who audited classes in Mathematics at Harvard with Benjamin Thompson, who was to be a life-long friend, though Loammi was a Whig. For Jeduthan Baldwin, see his "Diary" edited by Thomas Williams Baldwin, The Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin 1775-1778 (Bangor, 1906) which includes a fragment of Jed's "Diary" for 1755, the month of December.

2 Moved twice in the 19th century, it now stands on another hill-top, but to the north of Sudbury Road (the Post Road), on Church Street, in the curve of a horse-shoe drive and surrounded by several acres of woods and gardens.

3 Waltham Free Press, August 10, 1883. 2/2, 3.

"1755 Augt 5 By yr Workmanship in Finishing Ye
 Outside of the House & laying of
 Floors etc & etc £ 37.6.8
 by yr acct of Day works Small Jobbs
 &c To this time in full 1.7.2
 Sept 24 By your work at Finishing 10.1.4 " ¹

By the beginning of December, 1755, Jeduthan Baldwin was commanding a company at Fort William Henry, repairing the defense works, watching out the tedium of winter snows and freezing rain and threatened attacks by French and Indians. And where, according to surgeon Dr. Benjamin Gott, Baldwin "dealt out from his private stores, Rum, brandy, sugar, coffee, tea, wine, etc., to the sick in the Hospital, the Commissary being destitute."² Such was the parsimony of the rich merchants of Boston and the seaboard towns, away from danger on the frontier and protected by the Royal Navy by sea, most of them "Whigs," that is, members of the "Country Party," well-represented and with great influence in the General Court, although under the governorship of William Shirley/¹⁷⁴¹⁻¹⁷⁵⁷not usually in command of a majority.

Elisha Jones had formally entered provincial politics in 1752, at the early age for an old-settled Middlesex County town of 42, when Weston first sent him to the House of Representatives. He was a ready-made Massachusetts Bay "Tory," or, as the leaders of the opposition "Country Party" James Otis and Sam Adams would have it, the "Court Party" or "Prerogative Party"—made up of town gentlemen and country squires with "an Itch for riding the Beasts of the People."³ A humanitarian, "Old Light" in religion and subscriber to Dr. Charles Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts, written in reply to that most troublesome of relations, the Rev. Jonathan

1 Account Book, MSS. of Col. Elisha Jones, now at the Golden Ball Tavern, Weston.

2 Quoted in Thomas Williams Baldwin, ed., The Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin 1775-1778 (1906), xviii.

3 Sam Adams in The Independent Advertiser, May 8, 1749, a short-lived Tory journal printed in Boston.

Edwards' Thoughts on the Revival (1743) and other "Great Awakening" works,¹ Elisha Jones was a believer in the virtue of forgiveness, even in the case of erring Ministers who were ordained to give example to their people. As he wrote on August 26, 1750 to his nephew Dr. Thomas Williams the physician at Deerfield of the moral transgression of one of the many Williamses in the Ministry,

"I am greatly troubled that any of his Conduct Should so deserve publick Censure - Satan's kingdom is thereby Strengthened. and Thrifty ministers condemned and despised. The Standing Ministry (i.e. University educated and regularly ordained to town parishes) is very much at This day aimed at throughout ye Land and a levelling Spirit prevailing, but to say no more..." 2

Elisha Jones shared the philosophical interest of the better-educated Massachusetts Tory in precedent and the lessons of the past: for a number of years he practiced as a solicitor, writing deeds and wills, representing clients before the lower courts and acting for them in taking the advice of leading members of the bar, including his friends Jeremiah Gridley of Boston and John Worthington of Springfield, with whom he sent one of his eldest sons, Daniel (b. July 25, 1740, in 1771 appointed by Gov. John Wentworth of New Hampshire as first Chief Justice of the Cheshire County Court³) to study law after taking his degree from Harvard in 1759. Elisha Jones own knowledge of the law was recognized with his appointment in 1756 as a Justice of the Peace (and later of the Quorum) of Middlesex County.⁴

1 For Dr. Chauncy, who found the harsh doctrines of Edwards' Calvinism so repellent, see the sketch by Clifford Shipton, who describes him not unkindly as "Dull, liberal, and a profound scholar," Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VI, pp. 433-435.

The saga of Jones-Williams opposition to the Edwardsian teachings at Northampton and in the pulpit at Stockbridge and elsewhere is a long one, and there is no historic work to balance that of Edwards' grandson President Timothy Dwight of Yale. See the Edwards MSS at the Andover-Newton Theological Seminary.

2 Elisha Jones to Dr. Thomas Williams at Deerfield, Aug. 26, 1750. MSS., Williams MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

3 Elisha Jones to Thomas Williams, Weston, March 8, 1762. Williams MSS. Ibid Elisha Jones' surviving account book (at the Golden Ball Tavern, Weston)
(Cont.)

It was no accident that Col. Jones, with most of the bar as well as the bench, magistrates and judges, in Massachusetts Bay were Tories and so many of them afterward Loyalists, bred as they were to the essential precedent of English law and the soundness of change if demonstrably for the betterment of society and when carried within the framework of legislation bounded by the "constitution" and based upon the hallowed Charter of 1691. As his voting record in the General Court from 1752 until 1774, and in town and other public office shows, Elisha Jones in his "Bay Colony Toryism" was not only a conservator but a supporter

(Cont.) has many entries relating to Elisha Jones' law practice:

James Parker

1754 To appearing for you at Concord Court 0.1.4
Contra.

1757 Sept.30 by making two ploughs at my house 6.8

....

Phineas Brintnall

1753 Nov.17. To writing a power of attor 0.1.6

1760 Septr.30 To writing your will 0.6.0

1762 Feb.2 To taking affidavit in
yr case with Sherman 0.5.0

Contra. pd.cash

4 For Elisha Jones appointment as Justice of the Peace for Middlesex County in 1756, his reappointment with the other Massachusetts Bay Magistrates on the accession of the new sovereign, George III, dated Nov.20,1761, and his commission as Justice of the Middlesex Quorum, Feb.24,1763, see William Whitmore, The Massachusetts Civil List for the Colonial and Provincial Periods 1630-1774... (1870)p.138.

of political and economic reform. Others like him among the Tories were Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, second in command of the Massachusetts Militia after the French and Indian War, one of the most outstanding of the lawyer-soldiers in Colonial Massachusetts, open to new ideas, resourceful, and an innovator of genius. Elisha Jones with Timothy Ruggles and other Tories supported the plan put to the General Court by Governor Shirley, that the Governors of the English colonies in America - except for Nova Scotia and Georgia - had considered a plan for forming a union for common defense, including an expedition against Crown Point, proposing a new act to "encourage and facilitate the Removal and Prevention of French Encroachments on his Majesty's North American Territories" in the votes of December, 1754.¹

During the nine years of the French and Indian War in the American Colonies, from 1754 until 1763, when the Treaty of Paris was finally signed on February 10th, Elisha Jones served as Weston Representative in the House for all but two terms, in 1755 and 1759. It was the Tories in the General Court who were the "patriots" in this long, bitter, and bloody struggle for colonial survival against the French and their allies, the Tories who bore the brunt of getting legislation through the House for the support of fortifications, troops, and supplies. And for many, militia officers like Elisha Jones, there were the added burdens - not to say hazards of life and limb - of military campaigning between, and even during, the Court Sessions.

¹ This was the famous "Albany Plan of Union" drawn up by the Albany Congress of June-July, 1754, drafted by the representatives of Massachusetts (Thomas Hutchinson) and Pennsylvania (Benjamin Franklin). For the voting in the House of Representatives, see the Journal of the Honourable House of Representatives, Dec. 14, 27, 1754 (1754) pp. 152, 182. Lawrence Henry Gipson divided authorship of the Plan between Hutchinson and Franklin with use of a combination of their drafts. See the final version of his research in "Massachusetts Bay and American Colonial Union, 1754," Am. Antiq. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 71 (1961) pp. 63-92.

Elisha Jones finished out the winter - 1754-1755 - session of the General Court, where he served on committees for war preparations and "for the relief of sick and wounded soldiers," but he did not stand for re-election to the House of Representatives, or for any Town office in Weston in the annual elections of March and May. The spring of 1755 found him once more on active military service, with the expedition of Robert Moncton, Lt.Gov. of Annapolis Royal, against the French forts at the head on the Bay of Fundy, on the Isthmus of Chignecto, which after a "grand review" on Boston Common sailed for Annapolis on May 22nd. It was the only campaign of that year of tragedy for the American colonies to find success: Fort Beausejour was captured at Chignecto, and re-named Fort Cumberland, and the French were driven from¹ fortifications at the mouth of the St. John River.

In this war, as in what was already becoming known as the "Old French War," ended by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle only in 1748, the family of Elisha Jones were to take an active part, from inclination, not being of the kind to leave defense of the colony to others, and from situation with their lands strung out in the Housatonic and Connecticut River valleys, where, so long as the French ruled in Canada, lay the exposed frontier settlements in the paths of the fighting: Deerfield, East Hoosac, Stockbridge, and Great Barrington. Of those who were lost in the French and Indian War, none was more keenly felt than the death of Elisha Jones' nephew, Col. Ephriam Williams of Hatfield² at the ambush of the Massachusetts Militia near Lake George by a force of French

1 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives, (1754-1755) pp.61,255,266; Muster Rolls, Nos.54-56, Massachusetts Archives.

2 In a sermon of Oct.12,1755, the Rev. Jonathan Ashley expressed the old New England idea that such disaster was a sign of God's displeasure "God does not always go out with the armies of his people-he may be so provoked with their sins that he will not go out with them...Every General ought to be a David, every soldier a saint, every citizen a penitent." Jonathan Ashley Papers, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Assn., Deerfield. Ashley had m.Dorothy, a daughter of the Rev. William Williams of Hatfield.

and Indians under Baron Dieskau, on September 8, 1755, when his younger brother Josiah was also severely wounded. Another brother, the surgeon of the Regiment, Dr. Thomas Williams of Deerfield, wrote to his wife Esther on September 11th:

"Last Monday, the 8th instant, was the most awful day that my eyes ever beheld, & may I not say that ever was seen in New England, considering the transactions of it... about 1000 whites under the command of my dear brother Ephriam who led the van, & Lt. Col. Whiting who brought up the rear & about 150 Mohawks under the command of King Hendrick, their principal speaker, were attacked by the French army consisting of 1200 regulars, & about 900 Canadians and savages, about 3 miles from our encampment... The attack began about half an hour after ten in the morning, & continued till about four in the afternoon before the enemy began their retreat. The enemy were about an hour & a half driving our people before them, before they reached the camp, where to give them due credit they fought like brave fellows on both sides for near four hours, disputing every inch of ground, in the whole of which time there seemed to be nothing but thunder & lightning & perpetual pillars of smoke... My necessary food & sleep are almost strangers to me since the fatal day; fatal indeed to my dear brother Ephriam, who was killed at the beginning of the action, by a ball through his head. Great numbers of brave men, & some of the flower of our army died with him on the spot... Twenty odd wounded in our regiment, amongst whom some, I fear will prove mortal, & poor brother Josiah makes one of the number, having a ball lodged in his intestines, which entered towards the upper part of his thigh & passed through his groin..." 1

The following November, 1775, at Stockbridge, their sister Abigail, wife of Gen. Joseph Dwight, wrote to a friend in New York:

"There was perhaps not a gentleman in the whole army who could have been less easily spared... Upon ye whole it looks as if our Councils were Darkened, wisdom in a remarkable manner hid from those yt Should be wise... I long to be with you, Eating Lobsters Crabs & Oysters & Drink lemons: But (I) must Content myself with Small Bear & Country fires & yet is to good for me Since I am Suffered to live when so many of my Dearest Friends are gone to ye Dead." 2

1 Israel Williams Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.

2 Williams MSS., Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, Deerfield.

Elisha Jones was not one of Col. Ephriam Williams' executors - these were Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, and Col. John Worthington of Springfield - who so well carried out his wishes to use the residuary estate "for the benefit of those unborn," and "towards the support and maintenance of a free school (in a township west of Fort Massachusetts, commonly called the west township) for ever, provided the said township fall within the jurisdiction of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and provided also that the Governour & General Court give the said township the name of Williamstown..." But Elisha Jones' descendants who remained in the Housatonic Valley after the Revolution took an active interest in the eventual founding and management of the College, and for generations have sent their sons there to be educated. Col. Jones' son Israel (born at Weston Sept. 21, 1738) who settled at East Hoosac (Adams) after the French and Indian War, a noted lawyer, member of the General Court and of the United States' Commission to adjust the New England boundary with Canada in 1798, was a trustee of the Free School, founded in 1785, and of Williams College when it was chartered by the General Court in 1793.¹

In the spring of 1756 Elisha Jones again took up public office in Weston: he was chosen Selectman and Town Treasurer and again elected (May) Representative in the General Court. There he served once more, among others, on Committees to examine petitions for relief of sick and wounded soldiers, to enquire into the deficiency of men "for the present Crown Point expedition," (Oct. 9th) and, appointed on Oct. 18, 1756, the committee "to consider the Establishment made for the Protection of the Eastern and Western frontiers, and whether it is necessary to lengthen the time of said

¹ The dedication of the first College building, a handsome brick structure, in 1791 was very much a family affair: Col. Elisha Jones' niece, Abigail Williams Sergeant Dwight died Feb. 15, 1791. For Israel Jones, co-author of A History of the County of Berkshire, Massachusetts ... By Gentlemen in the County, Clergymen and Laymen (Pittsfield, 1829) ed. by the Rev. David Dudley Field, see this work, pp. iv, 422-427, and his obituary reprinted from the Berkshire American, pp. 441-2. For Ephriam Williams: Rev. Dr. Ebenezer Fitch (Pres. of Williams) "Historical Sketch of the Life and Character of Colonel Ephriam Williams, and of Williams College, Founded in 1793..." M.H.S. Collections, 1st Ser., V. 8 (1802) pp. 47-53. See also Colonel Ephriam Williams A Documentary Life, by the former Williams College Librarian, Wyllis E. Wright (Pittsfield, 1970).

Establishment; also whether the Whole or Part of the Marching Scouts on the Eastern Frontiers, may not be advantageously employed in penetrating into the Enemy's Country, and Report."¹

The day after this appointment, however, according to the Provincial Muster Rolls, Elisha Jones, as Lt.Col. in Joseph Frye's Regiment, again went on active military service. This time it was with a detachment of "Minute Men" - reserves² - "Designed for the relief and assistance of the Provincial forces under (the) Command (of) Maj.Gen.(John) Winslow." Winslow, with the Massachusetts troops, was entrenched at Fort William Henry, and Montcalm at the northern end of Lake George, at Ticonderoga. The Earl of Loudon, who had been sent from England to supercede Governor Shirley in command against the French, was behind the Provincial lines at Ft. Edward.

Col.Elisha Jones remained on active duty on the western frontier in Massachusetts until November 16th, 1756 - that is, until the greatest threat of attack by the French during the favoured time of "Indian Summer" was past. Nor was the situation in the frontier towns along the Housatonic and upper Connecticut Rivers at all as described by the historian Francis Parkman in Montcalm and Wolfe (1884), whose works, if with some success do justice to the truth of the role of the French and Canadians in the great Imperial conflict, are nevertheless deeply flawed by the Whig prejudices of his time (it is enough to say that Parkman's Montcalm and Wolfe did nothing to upset his second cousin Henry Adams when he read it in December, 1884) which as far as possible omit reference to the contributions and sufferings, and to the manuscripts and other records, of families - notably the Joneses, Williamses, and Dwights - that in the 1770's were to remain loyal to the government and the Crown. To read Parkman is to picture the campaign of Waterloo without Wellington.³

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives, Oct.18,1756. (1756) p.207.

² "Minute Men"- reserves prepared for quick call-up in time of great danger- were used by that name during the "French wars" and were not, as is so often stated, an invention of the "Patriots" in the Revolution, although they did "adapt" the old practice for their political purpose.

For Col.Jones' service Oct.19,1756-Nov.16,1756, see Muster Roll No. 57, Massachusetts Archives.

³ Henry Adams to Francis Parkman, Dec.21,1884. One of the best critique of Parkman - but still without the important dimension of the later Loyalists - is the "Historical Foreword," in Montcalm and Wolfe by Esmond Wright, 1964, v-xviii.

Referring to the situation at Lake George in 1756, Parkman wrote:

"Montcalm faced them at Ticonderoga, with five thousand three hundred regulars and Canadians, in a position where they could defy three times their number. 'The sons of Belial are too strong for me,' jocosely wrote (Gen. John) Winslow; and he set himself to intrenching his camp; then had the forest cut down for the space of a mile from the lake to the mountains, so that the trees, lying in what he calls a 'promiscuous manner' formed an almost impenetrable abattis. An escaped prisoner told him that the French were coming to visit him with fourteen thousand men; but Montcalm thought no more of stirring than Loudon himself; and each stood watching the other, with the lake between them, till the season closed." ¹

In fact, the Massachusetts frontier towns had been stripped of fighting men for Winslow's army, and while many of the women and children had been sent down the Housatonic and over from Deerfield to the comparative safety of Stockbridge, only the small block house at West Hoosac (Williamstown) and its handful of defenders stood between the (in the 1770's so largely Tory) valley settlements and the French raiding parties, many of them of considerable size and whose activities at this time would fill a volume. The everyday terror and horrors of this "irregular war" between the English settlers and the French and Indians away from the large armies is best seen not in the "Letter and Order Books" of Gen. John Winslow (Parkman's chief source) which say as little as possible about the lack of effective protection being given to the settlements, naturally enough, and which were the basis for complaints at West Hoosac, and other places, sent to the General Court in 1756 and 1757, but in the letters and diaries of people who faced these harsh realities at Stockbridge and other of the frontier settlements. They are chronicled at length in the letters of Col. Elisha Jones' niece Abigail to her husband Gen. Joseph Dwight with the army at Albany and at Fort Edward, idling away the campaign, as he wrote scathingly to Maj. Joseph Hawley, "a Confederate Standing Army kept in Camp to guard 4 or 5000 of the Regular Troops in the King's Regular Fortifications!" ² And in the

¹ Francis Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe (1964 edn.) p. 298.

² For the letters of Abigail to Gen. Joseph Dwight, see the Theodore Sedgwick MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.; Gen. Joseph Dwight to Maj. Hawley, Oct. 8, 1756, Hawley MSS., New York Public Library.

"Diary" of Esther Burr, wife of President Aaron Burr Sr. of New Jersey College and daughter of the Rev. Jonathan and Sarah Pierrepont Edwards, who came to visit her parents at the Stockbridge Manse in August, 1756. Esther Burr journeyed up the Hudson River in a sailing boat to Livingston Manor, where she had tea with the Livingstons, and thence by wagon overland the forty miles or so to Stockbridge - where she brought alarming news:

"...just as we got to my Fathers it left of raining. We came in and surprised em almost out of their witts...I need not tell you how glad they were to see us but the meloncholy news that I brought fild the house with gloom I mean the news of the Oswegos being taken which was not confermed here till I brought the dreadful tidings...went to bed but could not sleep for fear of the Enemy."

Her fears did not lessen through September. On the tenth she wrote: "This place is in a very defenseless condition - not a soldier in it, the fighting Indians (the Stockbridge Indians, loyal to the English) all except a very few gone into the Army, many of the white people also, and this is a place that the enemy can easily get at, and if they do we cant defend ourselves..." On September 11th

"17 Soldiers came to Town to our assistance, the number is two small by much to defend three Ports (one of these the fortified "garrison house" where Abigail Dwight and her family were living, built by her Father, Col. Ephriam Williams, and where the Edwardses - despite the differences between the two families - had taken refuge)

On September 13th:

"Proposed to my Father to set out for home next week, but he is not willing to hear one word about it, so I must tarry the proposed time (until the second week in October) and if the Indians get me, they get me, that is all I can say, but tis my duty to make myself as easy as I can." ¹

1 "Diary" MSS of Esther Burr at Stockbridge, August-October, 1756. Copy in the R.H.W. Dwight MSS, the Dwight House, Richmond, near Stockbridge, by courtesy of Mrs. Raymond L. Buell.

For the settlers in western Massachusetts the agony of the French and Indian War had yet three years to run before Wolfe's victory in Quebec in 1759, and another still before Amherst's capture of Montreal in 1760, when the bells would be rung in the churches for the joy of a century of deliverance and the greatest days of thanksgiving ever known in the Bay Colony from the time of the Pilgrims' landing. In 1756 and for the remainder of the war Col. Jones' greatest concern as a soldier and as a member of the General Court was for the defense and welfare of the frontier towns in Massachusetts, and when the fighting stopped for the relief of those who had suffered in the army and as civilians. In April, 1757, among others, he was appointed to a House Committee to "view the situation and Strength" of the "Block-House in West Hoosuck" (Williamstown) "and hear their complaints...that such further Encouragement may be given...for their Security, as shall be judged meet."¹ Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, put in charge by Governor Shirley of the defense of the Hampshire towns, had been allowed little in the way of arms and men to carry out the harrowing task.²

Not many days after the fall of Fort William Henry and the massacre of the Massachusetts militiamen by the French forces under Montcalm, Col. Jones wrote to Col. Billy Williams in command at Pontusuck (Pittsfield):

Boston August 25 1757

Sir

The Court have voted 24 men to be added to those already posted at Pontusuck. Viz 12 at Williams & 12 at Gutridges garrisons. and I have been this moment to the Governour for his directions for enlisting the men. he inclines to leave those matters to you. and has ordered Gutridgeto wait on you, for your orders. and if you think a Comission officer is necessary. The Governor says he would have you appoint one and he will Commission him but there is no Establishment for

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1757) April 12, 1757.p.428.

² For the difficulties of Col. Israel Williams as commander of the western defenses the only factual summary of value is the brief sketch by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, pp. 306-313.

an Officer. but its generally Judged There will be no difficulty in his gitting his pay. but he must run that risque &c

We have advice from Halifax that Ld. Loudoun with part of the forces are going to N. York so that all our great projects are come to Nothing and Vanished. I hope hell Take Care and defend the Weston Frontiers. Which is all we are to Expect from him this Year. &c &c.

I am With the greatest respect
your most Humbl Servt

Elisha Jones 1

Before the fighting ended, however, Col. Jones of Weston, the Williamses, and other allied families already with large holdings in the upper Connecticut and Housatonic Valleys were looking ahead to the expansion of their financial and proprietary interests. Col. Billy Williams wrote to Col. Elisha Jones at the beginning of 1758:

Deerfield, Feby 27, 1758

"Kind friend,

I wrote you about 3 Weeks since by Mr. Childs, and should have been glad of an answer to two things I therein mentioned, vizt whether you have gaind a Division of the Commonage of pontoosuck (Pittsfield), and whether my Hon Father (the Rev. William Williams of Weston) designs I shall have the interest that was Br Solomons at sd place. If you omitted making applycation for a Division at Charlston Supr Court, I conclude that Boston Supr Court is over. I have occasion of a little Business being done at Boston and I think of no person that is so likely to Accomplish it as you. The principal one selling the inclosed Bill. And I guess Lieut Benjn White will be likely to assist you, if you want any. If Sir Wm Pepperrell is at Boston tis some what likely he will buy them, for he wrote me sometime since that Colo Williams (Israel) charged him 4 pounds Sterling more than I credited him in my acct that I exhibited at New York. if so tis due to him from the Colo or me and I am willing to have it Deducted out of the Bill if he will purchase it. I have drawn nothing on my Arrears and Any one may see that from 24th Decr 1754 the day I had my Commission to 27th March 1757 the day ye Regt (Pepperrell's 51st, on the Establishment) was broke at 2/6 a Day it amounts to everything I propose in my letter to Mr. Fowler my (London) Agent. I have paid for my Commission Spontoon & et nothing

¹ Elisha Jones to Col. Billy Williams, Boston, Aug. 25, 1757. Williams MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

is behind but one suit of Cloaths; of about 9 pounds except the usual Stoppages. When you have sold the Bill I should be glad if you would buy me 40 lb. dutch Clover seed and if to be had 40 lbs Clear Spear Grass. and 20 lb of white honey Suckle and 100 of good Kerby Fish Hooks of Debtors. I shall send for it by some of our Drovers.

I intend to go in about 20 or 25 days to pontoosuck with my Family - or I would have come down to Boston, and Saved you this Trouble. Wishing you an Agreeable Session (at Court) I am with compliments to Mrs. Jones & Family Sir

Your greatly obliged Friend
and Most Humble Servant
W. Williams 1

By 1761 two of Col. Jones' sons, Elisha the Younger, who married Mehitable, daughter of Deacon Abijah and Elizabeth Spring Upham of Weston on Oct. 22, 1761, and Daniel the first lawyer in the district, had settled at Pontoosuck (Pittsfield), to be followed not long afterward by two more, Israel, another lawyer, in 1766, and Elias, a farmer. In June, 1762 at Boston, Col. Elisha Jones and his sons were purchasers of two of the ten townships (six miles square) put up for auction by the General Court and located in the north-western corner of the Bay Colony: No. 1, East Hoosac (Adams), sold to Nathan Jones, the Colonel's eldest son, for £3,200; and No. 2, later the towns of Peru and Hinsdale, to Elisha Jones, for £1,460, with Oliver Partridge of Hatfield (1712-1792) admitted to his bond as co-proprietor. Nathan Jones, however, unlike his pioneering brothers, did not settle in western Massachusetts, but at ^{Frenchmans' Bay} in the district of Maine, where in 1762 he went with Gov. Francis Bernard to survey Mount Desert Island, and the following year, in partnership with the Boston merchants Robert Gould and Francis Shaw, was granted 30,000 acres of land east of Union River.³

1 Col. Billy Williams to Elisha Jones, Deerfield, Feb. 27, 1758. William Williams MSS., Berkshire Athenaeum Library, Pittsfield.

2 For the sale of Townships June, 1762: Acts and Resolves... of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Vol. XVII, pp. 242-3. Josiah Gilbert Holland, History of Western Massachusetts, the Counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire (Springfield, 1855) makes the point missed by later historians, that these tracts went for more than they were worth at the time, "for such was the loose manner practiced by
(cont)

Within a decade after the end of the French and Indian War the great out-spreading of the large family of Col. Elisha and Mary Allen Jones had begun. On October 22, 1772 their only daughter, Mary, known as "Polly," was married to the Rev. Asa Dunbar, of the Harvard class of 1767, and Assistant Pastor of the historic First Church at Salem. It was to be a connection of as great importance to the family as the marriage of Col. Jones' older sister Abigail to Col. Ephriam Williams Sr. on May 21, 1719.¹

But if the financial position of Col. Jones had prospered greatly during this period of economic expansion in the Bay Colony (despite a trading slump in Boston following the end of the War) and was marked as well by his advancement in the Militia hierarchy of field command and on the Massachusetts Bench, his very successes bred resentment and envy and desperate measures by political opponents among the Whigs who, in the provincial election of 1764 resorted to fraud to prevent his return to the House of Representatives and false charges of corruption to keep him from holding Town office.

1 Dunbar's "Diary" for the years 1773-1776, and his Letter Book for 1772-1773 are at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. The best sketch is by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVI, pp. 457-463.

Cont. the General Court, in making grants, that the best lands, in nearly all these townships, were pre-empted by private claimants. In consequence of this, and, in some cases owing to other causes, several of the purchasers petitioned the General Court for a remission of part of the purchase money. See Lee Nathaniel Newcomer, The Embattled Farmers A Massachusetts Countryside in the American Revolution (1953) pp. 15-17, who stresses the speculative aspects of these transactions, but does not take into account that as in the case of the Joneses the owners were not "absentees" for the most part, settlement, and the overseeing of investment being undertaken by sons of owners, themselves usually proprietors in part at least.

COL. JONES SUPPORTS A POLITICALLY INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY
IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY, DECEMBER, 1772-MARCH, 1773

"Gentⁿ

It appears to be the minds of Many people in This Town. That the Salary, heretofore given to the Judges, of the Superior Court, is much too Small - and are desirous That the Representative may be Instructed, in That matter --

Wherefore, if you Think it Advisable, To call a Town meeting for That purpose - We desire that, the notification for it may be. To know Whether it is the mind of the others should be, an annual Salary, Stated, & Settled upon the Judges, of the Superior Court. Which may be equal to the Honourable. and important Services, of Those Gentⁿ So as to render them Independent, and to direct the Representative (Abraham Bigelow) accordingly.

Weston Dec^r 30. 1772
To the Selectmen 1

Elisha Jones

It was the critical constitutional question of judicial independence, debated in the colony of Massachusetts Bay through the winter of 1772-1773, that marked both the return of Col. Elisha Jones to provincial politics after his defeat in the House election of May, 1764, and, through the creation of the Committees of Correspondence by Sam Adams and the Radicals, the revival of the Whig Party after three years of comparative political calm following the collapse of the Whig nonimportation agreements and the acquittal of the soldiers in the "Boston Massacre" trials.² This period of renewed political conflict in Massachusetts Bay, moreover, which began in September, 1772 when word reached Boston of the London Government's proposals for a Civil List, as in Royal Colonies, for the payment of judges, as well as the Governor and other officials by a

1 This petition, signed first by Col. Jones, is now in the Weston Town Archives.

2 For the Whig political revival in the Fall of 1772, see: John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936) pp. 227-228; the best account of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, appointed Nov. 2, 1772, is by Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns 1772-1774 (1970) 48-57.

3 See Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette, Sept. 28, 1772. 2/1.2.

Crown stipend - was to develop into the most acute and far-reaching constitutional crisis in the century and a half of the Colony's history. Nor, it is imperative to state, was this political conflict to be ended - as had been that of the Stamp Act - by any triumph of persuasion with a political argument or a political philosophy dressed for popularity sake as a reversal of Imperial policy. Sam Adams and the Massachusetts Radicals would put an effective end to debate by contriving the first great show of Whig force against the Government: after the "Powder Alarm" of September 1, 1774 a massive demonstration by rebel militia that marched on the capital at Boston under arms more than thirty thousand strong.¹

In the controversies of the winter of 1772-1773, as from the beginning of his career in provincial politics with his first election to the House as Representative from Weston in 1752, Col. Elisha Jones was accounted a "friend to Government," and as belonging to the "Court," later best known as the "Tory" Party after its counterpart in England. But even in Massachusetts where individualism was cultivated, and during the Governorship of Sir Francis Bernard (1760-1769) with whom (Bernard was two years younger) he was on friendly if not intimate terms and with his sons Nathan and Israel associated in opening new lands to settlement in Berkshire County and Maine, Col. Jones was noted for his independent views and devotion to principle irrespective of personal popularity, foreshadowing to a degree his great-grandson Henry David Thoreau. A seeker after practical solutions in the best New England tradition and receptive to new ideas, but with a deep, lawyerly respect for the values of tradition and continuity in society, Elisha Jones belonged to that small but distinguished group of Massachusetts Tories - which included Col. John Worthington of Springfield (with whom he sent his son Daniel to read law after Harvard), his friend Jeremiah Gridley, the great barrister (d. 1767), Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, and Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick - who were in favour of political and governmental reform.

¹ For the "Powder Alarm" of September, 1774, see below.

It was inevitable that the growing need for changes in the system of Charter Government in Massachusetts Bay would have brought controversy with Britain concerned as it was to keep control of this historically most troublesome of the burgeoning and thrusting American colonies.¹ And this, most probably, without the relentless manufacture and exploitation of differences between Britain and the Colonies by the Radicals and Sam Adams with his curiously utopian dreams for setting up a state modeled upon the Greek city republics and governed by a Puritan ethic which even in the earliest days of the Bay Colony had not been put into practice.² It was Col. Jones and the forward-looking Tory reformers - including Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, who had been one of the Massachusetts delegates to the Stamp Act Congress of 1765, whose views concerning eventual self-rule if not independence for the rapidly developing colonies were not far removed from those of the Agent of the House of Representatives in London, the Bostonian Dr. Benjamin Franklin -³ who in the series of colonial crises that followed the Stamp Act of 1764 and with ever greater peril from the controversy regarding the independence and payment of the judiciary in 1772-1773, found themselves standing for a reformed Charter Government but exposed to the constitutional cross-fire that came on the one hand from London and the Royal Governor, and on the other from Sam Adams' den of Revolution at the old Green Dragon Inn in Union Street.

¹ The attempts of Britain to tighten governmental control over the American colonies are summarized in Leonard Woods Labaree, Royal Government in America: A Study of the British Colonial System before 1783 (New Haven, 1930); Richard D. Brown in Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774, (HUP, 1970) argues that it was "The new British measures, not indigenous forces, (that) stimulated the polarization of Massachusetts politics along substantially ideological lines," p. 17; But the cause was probably a combination of factors in the Colonies as well as British action. Kenneth Lockridge states that basic shifts in social and political life were taking place in New England: "Land, Population, and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790." Past & Present, no. 39, April, 1968, pp. 62-80.

² See John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936) pp. 85-6, 195-6. Another Whig idea was to set up a state on the model of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and open the ports to free trade.

³ Elected Chairman, Ruggles refused to sign the report which did not acknowledge the supremacy of Parliament. The best account of Ruggles is by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, IX, pp. 199-223. Franklin calculated that the Colonies doubled in population once each generation. A. E. Smyth, ed., Writings (1907) VI, 3-4.

The Massachusetts Tories - with Col. Jones and many other of the "Reformers" among them - were not to state their case as a group until the presentation of written Addresses to Governor Thomas Hutchinson before his departure for England at the end of May, 1774.¹ Meanwhile, if their policy was a reasoned and peaceful accommodation of differences with Britain, at the same time in the General Court and in the Town Meetings (Col. Jones was not reelected to the House until May, 1773) the "Reformers" supported the Bay Colony Government of the Second Charter of 1691 as it had developed under the "salutary neglect" of the Whig Administration of Robert Walpole and the Duke of Newcastle after 1730, opposing moves by the London Government, in the hands of Tories after 1760, to establish at the Bay the more authoritarian system of New York and other Royal Colonies.²

From the administration of Governor Francis Bernard (1760-1769), however, the Massachusetts Tory Reformers were distinguished by their recognition of the need for strengthening the powers of the Executive as well as the prerogatives and independence of the Judiciary to enable them to maintain the rule of law. It was the latter which these Tories regarded as of paramount importance, seeing them so deeply and progressively eroded in their effectiveness by the assumption of executive and financial powers on the part of the popularly-elected and largely Whig-controlled House of Representatives, and by the proliferation of Whig political

1 For the Addresses to Hutchinson, of which Col. Jones signed that of the Middlesex County Magistrates dated May 30, 1774, -largely ignored by historians and by Hutchinson's biographers, including the most recent, Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal Of Thomas Hutchinson (HUP, 1974), -see below.

2 For years before the Fall of 1772 when judicial salaries became a major political issue in Massachusetts, for example, even such Tories as Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield, a Harvard classmate and life-long friend of Hutchinson's, as well as the opposition Whigs, were opposed to the introduction of a Civil List. See Israel Williams to Hutchinson, May 3, 1769. Hutchinson Letter Books, Massachusetts Archives, XXV, p. 308.

For British attempts to introduce a Civil List in Massachusetts in 1771 by Crown payment of the Governor's salary, which aroused much suspicion and opposition by many Tories as well as Whigs, see the correspondence of Agent Benjamin Franklin in London and Whig leaders, esp. to Thomas Cushing, Feb. 5, 1771, and Franklin to Rev. Samuel Cooper of Boston, esp. Cooper to Franklin July 10, 1771. William B. Willcox, ed, The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. 18,

organizations - the Sons of Liberty, the Boston and other Whig Town Caucuses, and the most secret of Sam Adams' political tools, the Loyal Nine - designed to thwart and pervert the functioning of Government. After 1772 the Whigs were seen to take their subversion of governmental institutions yet another long step further by creating the network of quasi-governmental but Whig controlled Committees of Correspondence that were set to work in as many towns as possible with or without the official approval of Town Meetings, whose executive and other functions they usurped and enforced with the sanction of the political mob through the use of the boycott, intimidation, and violence.¹

By 1772 these extra-legal Whig activities had grown demonstrably beyond the control of the existing agencies of law enforcement in Massachusetts Bay - not only in the Towns where, outside Boston and Salem, law and order were in the hands usually of only a magistrate and a constable or two, but above them in the Counties and the Province itself where Whig policies worked to undermine the ability of the Courts to render untrammelled judgement and to promote unreliability in the Governor's ultimate weapon of law enforcement, the Colonial militia.² It is not surprising that Col. Elisha Jones and other leaders of the reformist group among the Massachusetts Tories were men notable for their long experience - and relative success - in making to work the machinery of colonial government in town and provincial offices: here with Col. Jones were the men who upheld the "law and rights of Englishmen" as embodied in the Charter Government - all but a few of the Bay Magistrates and the members of Bar and Bench, with the Town and Field Officers of the Royal Militia.

1 Many Loyalists believed that there was a Colonial-British Whig conspiracy to "bring down" the Tory Administration by fomenting strife in the colonies - at the least there was close cooperation between them. Thos. Hutchinson was convinced that there was such a conspiracy. See Bailyn, Thomas Hutchinson, who dates this as early as 1768. pp. 124-127.

2 For a lawyer's view of the state of the law in 1770, see Hillier B. Nobel, The Boston Massacre, (1970) p. 303. But no one has described the conflict better than the Rev. Jacob Bailey of Kennebeck, the "Frontier Missionary":

"...Committee men are dreadful things, More haughty far than Europe's kings; The latter mostly rule by laws, The first are governed by a Cause." Col. Jones' sons knew Bailey well; like them he settled in Nova Scotia after the war. See Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, pp. 522-545.

In the great political debate in 1772-1773 on the reform of the Massachusetts judiciary and the London proposals for establishing a Civil List, Col. Elisha Jones and the Tories, with such leading Whigs as Maj. Gen. William Brattle of Cambridge who, fearing the growth of anarchy in the province, finally broke with the radicals,¹ supported the view of Thomas Hutchinson that the salaries of the judges should be paid by the Crown to make the judicial branch of the government independent of control by the Whig majority in the House of Representatives. The need for reform was blatant. The Massachusetts Bay judiciary was notorious for its low pay and the necessity for plurality in office-holding even by 18th century colonial standards. Chief Justice Peter Oliver likened judicial salaries fairly, as he said, to "the Wages of Sin, for no man could get a Living by them."² To keep the prestige and thus the influence of the judiciary low and subordinate thus to the popularly-elected House, as well as to discourage any influx of placemen from England, it had been the policy of the General Court to pay the smallest salaries possible, and only on an annual basis.

At Weston Col. Elisha Jones circulated a petition dated Dec. 30, 1772 among the Town electors for their signatures, addressed as was the customary procedure to the Weston Selectmen, which proposed calling a special Town Meeting to consider giving instructions to the Representative to the House - then the Whig Abraham Bigelow, elected at the Annual Meeting of May, 1772³ - to support the raising of judge's salaries described by the Colonel as "much too small."

1 Brattle was "chatty" with John Adams as late as the end of November, 1772, and his "principles" were also approved by Sam Adams at this time. For Brattle as an important Whig-turned-Tory, see the sketch by Clifford Shipton in Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, Vol. VII, pp. 17-19.

2 Douglass Adair and John Schutz, Peter Oliver's Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion (1961). p. 46.

3 M. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) election of May 18, 1772. p. 184.

A second proposition was "To know Whether it is the mind of the others (that there) should be, an annual Salary, Stated & Settled upon the Judges, of the Superior Court, Which may be equal to the Honourable, and important Services, of Those Gentⁿ So as to render them Independent..."¹

At a Cambridge Town Meeting held earlier in December to consider the question of judicial salaries, meanwhile, Gen. Brattle, commandant of the Massachusetts Bay Militia and colonel of the neighbouring First Middlesex Regiment, a doctor by profession, but unlike Col. Jones neither a magistrate nor a member of the bar, had put forward similar views. Brattle argued that the Massachusetts judiciary should be independent both of the Governor and the popularly-controlled House of Representatives, and that since judges in Massachusetts, like those in England, held office "during good behaviour," their independence, essential to an impartial administration of justice, could best be achieved, as in England, by payment of judicial salaries by a fixed annual stipend from the Civil List. Brattle then joined in the press debate against the Whigs with a series of letters, the first of which appeared in Richard Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette or Boston Weekly News Letter on Dec. 31st. The Brattle letters were, as the historian Clifford Shipton has fairly described them, "if somewhat pompous and superficial as to points of constitutional law...courteous and sensible, and his arguments soundly based on the fact that the courts of the province had been for a century terrorized by wine smugglers, timber thieves, and their allies, the popular politicians."²

¹ Col. Jones' petition of Dec. 30, 1772, signed by 23 of the Weston electors, still survives in the Town Archives.

² Brattle's notes of the Meeting of Dec. 14, 1772 and others at Cambridge for this period, are in "Letters and Documents Relating to Harvard College and Cambridge," Boston Public Library, No. 78; Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VII, pp. 17-18.

It is probable that Weston did hold a special Town Meeting in response to the petition of Col. Elisha Jones dated Dec. 30th to consider instructions to the Whig Town Representative, Abraham Bigelow, regarding the payment of judges, and before the General Court was summoned by Governor Thomas Hutchinson to convene at Boston on January 6, 1773. Although no record of such a meeting remains in the Town archives between October 5, 1772 and the annual Meeting to choose Town officials on March 1, 1773, under the Charter Government town meetings could be called either by request of a magistrate - that is, by Col. Jones on his own authority - or in the usual way by a majority vote of the Town Selectmen, and three at least of the Weston Board elected for a year's term on March 2, 1772 were "safe" Tories: Col. Jones' cousin, Capt. Isaac Jones, born in Weston in 1728, son of his Uncle James Jones, since 1768 owner of the prosperous Golden Ball Tavern on the Post Road in Weston and a company commander in Col. Elisha Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment;¹ John Mirik, and Jonathan Stratton.²

There is no reason to doubt that in Weston, a well-to-do township of farmers and artisan freeholders, and with a long reputation for political conservatism, the good sense of the plan to pay judges an adequate salary and to free them from the undue influences of local politics, was not as well seen as elsewhere in the Bay Colony. Before the General Court met at Boston on Jan. 6, 1773, there were signs that popular opinion was moving to support the judicial reforms long advocated by Tory jurists and other leaders, reasonable salaries and judicial independence. On Dec. 9th Sam Adams warned James Warren that the "real issue" was the threat of the Tory Ministry to colonial rights, and that any move by the House of Representatives to raise the salaries of judges would cloud the

1 This was Isaac Jones' first term as a Selectman. For his military rank, see Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 99, p. 444. For Isaac Jones and the Tory Selectmen in 1772-1773, see below.

2 For the election of Weston Town officers, March 2, 1772, see M. F. Peirce, Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 178-9.

3 For abuses including enforced political bias in judicial addresses to grand juries, see John D. Cushing, "The Judiciary and Public Opinion in Revolutionary Massachusetts," in George Billias, ed., Law and Authority in Colonial America (1965) pp. 168-186.

constitutional issue and have the added bad effects of rewarding Hutchinson's placemen and enhancing their prestige. John Adams, in his usual caustic manner when crossed, admitted that the arguments put forward by Gen. Brattle and other Tories in Town Meetings and the press were making headway: "These vain and frothy harangues and scribblings would have had no effect upon me," he wrote, "if I had not seen that his ignorant doctrines were taking root in the minds of the people, many of whom were, in appearance, if not in reality, taking it for granted that Judges held their places during good behaviour..." John Adams served his ambition as well as his political views by writing a critique of Tory arguments on the Massachusetts Judiciary which ran for four weeks in the radical Boston Gazette, January 4th, 11th, 18th, and 25th, 1773 - which have been described as marking Adams' emergence into the "political limelight."¹

By January, 1773, however, Sam Adams had already used the constitutional issues raised by the question of judicial salaries to the greatest advantage: as the means, at last, of bringing about the appointment on November 2, 1772 by Boston Town Meeting of a standing Committee of Correspondence - designed to be a model for action by the Meetings of the country towns, and above all to link them politically to the Boston Committee and through its interlocking members to the secret inner groups of the Whig leadership in the Bay Colony.²

1 Charles Francis Adams, The Works of John Adams, (1851) Vol. II, pp. 315-6. John Adams fancied his ability as a legal scholar: see his "Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law," Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 445-464, part of which had been printed in the Boston Gazette, August, 1765. Shipton, in his sketch of William Brattle, calls Adams' articles of Jan., 1773 "smart and ill-tempered" in an attempt "to split legal hairs the existence of which is doubtful." Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VII, p. 19.

2 Sam Adams' tactics of Oct., 1772 (the same followed in 1768 to bring about the "Convention of Towns" at Boston to protest against the stationing of troops there) by which he used Hutchinson's refusal to summon a special session of the General Court to consider the issue of Crown salaries for judges to persuade Boston Town Meeting to appoint a Committee of Correspondence (already twice rejected) with no dissent - are carefully - if Whiggishly - described by Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774. (1970), pp. 38-57.

The motion calling for the creation of the Boston Committee of Correspondence was as follows:

"That a Committee of Correspondence be appointed to consist of twenty-one Persons - to state the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in particular, as Men, as Christians, and as Subjects; to communicate and publish the same to the several Towns in this Province and to the World as the sense of this Town, with the Infringements and Violations thereof that have been, or from time to time may be made - Also requesting of each Town a free communication of their Sentiments on this Subject." ¹

By mid-December, 1772, the Committee's report to the Town, known as the "Boston Pamphlet," ² according to Candidus in the Boston Gazette, (Sam Adams) "has been forwarded to four fifths of the Gentlemen Selectmen in the Country, the Representatives of the several Towns, the Members of his Majesty's Council and others of Note." ³ Despite a great propaganda effort in the Whig press, however, by January 6th when the General Court met, only a handful of the 260 Towns and Districts in Massachusetts had replied to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, or called Town Meetings as suggested by the "Boston Pamphlet" to instruct their Representatives in the matter of Judges' salaries, or to appoint their own Committees of Correspondence. ⁴

¹ Boston Town Records, 1770-1777. Boston Record Commissioners, Report, (1887) pp. 92-93.

² Its full title is: The Votes and Proceedings of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Boston, In Town Meeting assembled, According to Law. Published by order of the town, it was printed by Edes and Gill (the publishers of the radical Boston Gazette) in Queen Street, and also by the brothers Thomas and John Fleet (who published the Boston Evening Post) in Cornhill. 1772. pp. IV, 43, 8vo. Boston Public Library.

The "Boston Pamphlet" has three parts: "State of Rights of the Colonists" (thought to have been written by Sam Adams); "List of the Infringements and Violations of Rights" (which includes Judicial stipends from the Crown as a "violation"; thought to have been written by Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston); and the "Letter of Correspondence" (thought to have been written by Dr. Benjamin Church, also of Boston - who later was a spy for Governor Gage. See the Loyalist MSS of his widow Sarah and only son, James Church, also a surgeon, in PRO.A.O.13:73.

³ Boston Gazette, Dec. 14, 1772. 2/3.

⁴ Notable among the towns which "acted" during this period were the coastal towns of Marblehead, Newburyport, and Plymouth. For reaction to the Boston Pamphlet, "see Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts... (1970), pp. 67, 82-85.

The "Boston Pamphlet" was seen by supporters of the Charter Government - and moderate Whigs - as a dangerous step toward sedition if, apart from the idea of Committees of Correspondence, it was in fact little more than a reiteration of already well-worn Whig "grievances" and theories of natural rights. Prominent Whig leaders, for the most part, would have nothing to do with the Committee of Correspondence, and men such as Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House of Representatives, the merchant William Phillips, and even John Hancock at Boston refused to serve on it.¹ Governor Thomas Hutchinson at first dismissed the Committee of Correspondence as a "foolish scheme," but by December 8th when he wrote to Richard Jackson in England (something of a governmental theoretician, a friend of former Gov. Francis Bernard and dropped by James Otis and the Whigs in the House as Agent for Massachusetts in 1766) Hutchinson saw the Committee as a threat, saying that the "doctrine of Independence upon the Parliament and the mischiefs of it every day increase."²

It was in the towns outside Boston, that traditional crucial battleground between Tory and Whig in the Bay Colony, that Col. Elisha Jones and the other "friends of Government" fought the seditious ideas of the "Boston Pamphlet" and marshalled their political forces to prevent Town Meetings from appointing Committees of Correspondence. In Col. Jones' town of Weston the tactics used by the Tories were those that for generations had been most effective for majority parties in town politics in Massachusetts: the Tory majority on the Board of Selectmen - Capt. Isaac Jones, John Mirik, and Jonathan Stratton, - and the Magistrate, Col. Elisha Jones, exercised their prerogative not to accede to any petition by supporters of Sam Adams'

¹ See John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936) pp. 264-7. Richard D. Brown's later detailed study of the Boston Committee of Correspondence (1970) attempts to minimize the refusal of prominent Whigs to serve on it, but here as elsewhere Brown takes a "Whiggish view," accepting Adams' excuses and deliberate mis-statements for political purposes as fact. Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts... (1970) pp 60-1.

² Thomas Hutchinson to Richard Jackson, Dec. 8, 1772. Hutchinson Letter Books, Massachusetts Archives, XXVII, p. 428.

radicals for calling a Town Meeting with an agenda (required to be approved prior to all meetings) for consideration of a reply to the Boston Committee of Correspondence or appointment by the town of a Weston Committee of Correspondence.¹

A particular resentment of this Tory "victory" is recorded in the manuscript "Diary" of one of Col. Jones' bitterest political enemies, the ardent radical Samuel Phillips Savage. Savage's Whig connections could hardly have been bettered: a former Boston Selectman who had moved to the "country town" of Weston in the mid-1760's, Savage was a great friend of Sam Adams, the Rev. Samuel Cooper of the fashionable Brattle Street Church (brother of William Cooper, merchant, then serving what was to be a 49 year term as Boston's Town Clerk) and other leading radicals, himself a Son of Liberty at the time of the Stamp Act troubles, and father-in-law of Sam Adams' cousin Henry Bass, a member with Sam Adams of that most secret inner Whig caucus, The Loyal Nine.² Before March 1st, 1773, Savage wrote:

"Let it be remembered that the Selectmen of Weston (1772-1773) are (John) Mirik (Capt. Isaac) Jones (Jonathan) Stratton (Josiah) Smith and (Joseph) Whitney. Twice refused a (Town) meeting tho the last petition was signed by 41 Persons near $\frac{1}{2}$ of the votes of said meeting in common affairs. Mirik Jones and Stratton strongly opposed the Meeting. Whitney did all he could to get a Meeting & Smith owned he was against it, but voted for it after he knew there was a majority against it, just to save appearances. He is a man of little sentiment - less courage - and is seeking the favour of the people on one side hoping to be y^e representative - and humble expectant on the chain for y^e commission of the Peace on the other. This makes him unsteady & half between two opinions." 3

1 Another expedient used by town politicians to oppose certain measures was to exclude them from the agenda of Town Meeting Warrants: putting a measure to the risk of a vote was regarded as a last resort only short of defeat. Later in the conflict both Whigs and Tories went "outside" the law and "censored" Town Records of meetings &c., removing or defacing documents. The Whigs, of course, had charge of Town Records everywhere after the War was over and removed documents which remained "unfavourable" to their cause, and Weston was no exception. Probably no reasonably accurate assessment of political opinion in the towns for the Revolutionary period can now be made using only town records and those of Whig revolutionary bodies including the Committees of Correspondence. Studies based upon quantification of "responding Towns" Richard Brown's Revolutionary Politics... The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (1970), notably Chapter 5,

In this passage in his "Diary" Samuel Phillips Savage greatly exaggerated the percentage of town electors who signed the Whig petition referred to for a Town Meeting: the Town franchise was larger than that of the Province, and in the next Provincial election, held in Weston on May 10, 1773, more than 130 votes were cast. But the key to political power in Weston - as in other Massachusetts towns even to this day - was control of the Board of Selectmen, and the three Tories on it, Captain Isaac Jones, John Mirik, and Jonathan Stratton, elected by the Town in 1772, were marked by the Whigs for defeat.¹

The Warrant for the Annual "Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the town of Weston Duly Quallified and Lawfully warned" on March 1, 1773 "at ten oClock in the fore Noon

1 Cont. "The Emergence of Local Opinion," (a revised version of Brown's article "Massachusetts Towns Reply to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, 1773" William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd Ser., XXV (1968) pp. 22-39) draws invalid conclusions from biased data. The highly important functioning of the negative vote, the negative reply, and non-representation and participation in politics of Massachusetts towns on the eve of the armed rebellion must be examined in Namier-fashion using the greatest diversity of sources and examples before any "quantitative" conclusions can aspire to acceptance as fact. See also Robert Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers and River Gods: An Essay on Eighteenth-Century American Politics (Boston, 1971), pp. 230-252.

2 Samuel Phillips Savage's surviving - and, like those literary remains of Sam Adams, highly censored - papers are now for the most part at the Massachusetts Historical Society. There is no adequate biography of Savage, who did not attend Harvard, but see Shipton's sketch of his son Dr. Samuel Savage, class of 1766, who studied medicine with the Tory spy Dr. Benjamin Church. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVI, pp. 424-427.

S.P. Savage had acted as a link between the Whig leadership, the Sons of Liberty, and the Boston mob during the Stamp Act Crisis (see above, "Introduction") and below for his role as Moderator of the large public meetings of Dec. 14th and Dec. 16th, 1773 in Boston to "protest" against the landing of the tea shipped by the East India Company.

3 Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

1 For the Provincial election of May 10, 1773, see below.

at the Publick Meeting house" on the green, however, gave no hint of the growing political struggle between Tory and Whig in the town. The eight items on the agenda dealt with the vital, if largely ordinary, business of a Massachusetts Bay town at that time, and the Whig proposals of the Boston Committee of Correspondence were not brought forward for consideration. These were:

- "1. To Chuse Selectmen and other town officers for the year
Ensewing that are by law Required
2. To Hear the town Treasurers accounts for the year Past
and act thereon
3. To know the minde of the town Wheather there Swine Shall
go at Large the year Ensewing
4. To know the minde of the town wheather they will Repair
their highways by a Rate the year Ensewing and if So Grant
money therefor
5. To Hear and Act upon a list prepared for the Jury Box
6. To hear the Petition of Thaddeus Spring and others to
know the minde of the town wheather they will take the
School house in the Northwesterly part of the town and
that in the Southeasterly part of the town into the towns
hands and pay the Subscribers for building Said houses or
act any other Matter or thing with Regard to Said houses.
7. To know the minde of the town if they will accept of an
alteration of a town way as marked out by the Selectmen
through the land of James Stimson and Discontinue the old
way in the Room of the New one Provided it is not any
Charge to the town
8. To know the minde of the town if they will give Liberty
(to) Jonathan Stratton Sam^l Baldwin & Isaac Jones to
Build on the towns land Northwesterly of the meeting house
Each of them a Shay House 1

It is to be expected that Col. Jones, as the leading Tory and "first gentleman" of Weston was among those attending. As in 1772, Josiah Smith, keeper of the Smith Tavern opposite the Meeting House (still standing), a moderate Whig, was chosen Moderator, but

¹ M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 187-188.

the Whigs showed their dominance of the meeting by re-electing none of the Tory Selectmen from the preceeding year (Capt. Isaac Jones, John Mirik, and Jonathan Stratton) and putting three good Whigs in their places, Thomas Russell, Thomas Rand, and Benjamin Peirce, together with the two Whigs re-elected, Josiah Smith and Joseph Whitney. Two more leading Whigs, Samuel Baldwin, Town Clerk, and Braddyll Smith, the Town Treasurer, were also re-elected - but the Whigs did not carry all before them.

For the first time since the elections at the Annual Town Meeting of 1768 Col. Elisha Jones was chosen for a town office, this time as one of the Overseers of the Poor, with Town Clerk Samuel Baldwin, and John Allen. There can be little doubt that this election to town office was a reflection of Col. Jones' renewed political popularity, and that as leader of the Weston Tories, who "declared his sentiments openly," his stand on the question of Judge's salaries, opposition to Town Meetings called by Radicals, Committees of Correspondence, and Sam Adams' doctrines of sedition preached by the Whig press and the "Boston Pamphlet," Col. Jones' views were approved by the majority in the town of Weston.² On January 13, 1774, some nine months later and after the Boston Tea Party, a Town Meeting at Weston elected Col. Jones Moderator and rejected a move to appoint a Town Committee of Correspondence "by a very large majority."³ How much Col. Jones agreed with the outspoken Tory Magistrate Edward Bacon of Barnstable (who also was to be elected to the House of Representatives in the forthcoming May election of 1773) in judging the worth of the Boston Committee of Correspondence by its members, we do not know. But Bacon

1 Samuel Baldwin, a prosperous innkeeper, was a radical Whig; his first wife (d. July 7, 1757) had been Elizabeth, sister of Capt. Isaac Jones of the Golden Ball Tavern, and a cousin of Col. Elisha Jones. Baldwin's third wife (m. 1762) was Rebecca, dau. of the Rev. John Cotton of Newton who outlived her husband (d. July 22, 1778, aged 61). Dr. Henry Bond, Genealogies of the ... Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, Including Waltham and Boston... (1860) pp. 11, 312, 316-7. Col. Jones' son Elias (b. Aug. 19, 1742 in Weston) a farmer at East Hoosac (Adams) had m. Dec. 22, 1768 Baldwin's daughter Elizabeth, his cousin.

2 For Col. Jones and the Committees of Correspondence, see the testimony of his son Josiah before the Loyalist Commissioners, St. John, Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10.

3 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) p. 198.

minced no words in denouncing William Molineux and Thomas Young as "men of no Principles and Infamous Characters," and Sam Adams as "worth but little if his Debt was paid and that it was for his interest to contend with them in this way in order to get a Living," to name but a few. Bacon warned that only a handful of "rabble" in Boston had approved the Committee, and urged the town of Barnstable not to correspond with "the Vilest of men." Bacon, furthermore, was among many Tories who preferred, as he said, his ruler to be three thousand miles away rather than in Boston.¹

In the matter of the Judge's salaries, as well, Col. Jones appears to have voiced the majority view in Weston that they should be paid an adequate salary and be independent of political control. Governor Thomas Hutchinson's notorious speech on the legal supremacy of Parliament made to the General Court on January 6th, while providing the Whigs with further Constitutional arguments (the question of paying the Governor's salary from a Civil List had been raised the year before) did not in such "Tory" towns as Weston have an apparent adverse effect upon the electorate: in May, 1773, Col. Jones was sufficiently confident of his chances in the poll to stand again for election to the House of Representatives.²

¹ Certainly Molineux and Young were "Freethinkers" who kept little restraint upon their - to most New Englanders of whatever party reprehensible - atheistic views. Young, a doctor, had arrived in Boston from New York only a few years earlier; Molineux was the "black sheep" son of the prominent Dublin (Ireland) surgeon Sir Thomas Molineux, an unsuccessful hardware merchant in Boston with a virulent hatred for England. Molineux removed himself from the political scene by cutting his throat on Oct. 22, 1774; the Boston Whig merchant John Rowe conceals his suicide in his Diary, but was candid enough to write: "he has been famous among the Sons of Liberty. Many things are attributed to him & tis believed he was first leader of Dirty Matters." Oct. 24, 1774. Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) p. 286. James Otis to Wm. Molineux March 11, 1773, Committee of Correspondence Papers, Bancroft MSS, New York Public Library; Col. Soc. Mass. Publications (1894) XXV, 312.

² In March, 1773, the General Court passed a resolve against Judges accepting salaries from a Civil List, and raised them so there would be no "valid" reason for accepting Crown stipends. Hutchinson countered by refusing to accede to measures to pay the judges in advance, and for his own salary (the General Court offered him a "convenient and elegant house" if he would accept). Lord Dartmouth, who disapproved of Hutchinson's "Supremacy of Parliament" Speech of Jan. 6th and the stirring of Constitutional controversy, was willing to withdraw Crown salaries for judges if they were adequately paid by the General Court. Dartmouth MSS, Hist. MSS. Comm., 14th Report, Appendix, part 10, II, pp. 152-3.

COL. JONES AND THE PROVINCIAL ELECTION OF MAY, 1773

"At a Meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the town of Weston qualified according to the Royall Charter to vote in the Choice of a Representative Being assembled at the Publick meeting House in Said town on Monday the tenth Day of May AD 1773 at one oClock in the after noon The Major Part of the Electors then Present Did in the Presence of the Selectmen Elect and Depute Elisha Jones Esq^r to Serve for and Represent them in a Great and General Court or assembly appointed to be Convened held and Kept for his Majesty's Service at the Court House in Boston upon Wednesday the Twenty Sixth Day of May Currant"

Weston Town Records ¹

Col. Elisha Jones' decision to stand for election to the General Court as a Tory "friend of government" in May, 1773, after an absence from the House of nine years, began the climax of a distinguished career in Provincial politics that reached back to his first election to the General Court in May, 1752 at the age of 41, in succession to Deacon Abijah Upham.² After serving three terms, Col. Jones had gone on active military service on the Massachusetts frontier with Col. Ephriam Williams of Stockbridge in 1755, when his place as Representative was taken by the owner of Stoney Brook Mills, Abraham Bigelow, and since that time only these two men had been chosen as Weston Representative. The one Tory and the other Whig, however, they became the bitterest enemies and political rivals. At the time of the May election in 1764 when Col. Jones was defeated for reelection by Bigelow, he had served as Representative for ten of the preceding twelve years.³

¹ M. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) p. 194.

² Col. Jones' son Elisha the Younger, had married Deacon Upham's daughter Mehitabel (b. April 29, 1741) of Weston on Oct. 22, 1761. Deacon Abijah was a son of Thomas Upham of Reading and a descendant of John Upham who settled in Weymouth with the Rev. Joseph Hull and was elected to the General Court from 1636-1639. John Upham removed to Malden about 1649 where he also served as Deacon and Selectman; he d. Feb. 26, 1681/2, aged 84. Deacon Abijah Upham m. Elizabeth, dau. of Thomas Spring of Weston, descended from the noted Springs of Lavenham (Suffolk). See Dr. Henry Bond, Genealogies of the... Early Settlers of Watertown... Including Waltham and Weston (1860) pp. 443, 611-615.

³ Ibid., p. 1067.

The election of May, 1773 in Weston reflected the larger Provincial struggle of Tory against Whig and the question of which should hold power in the Bay Colony. But as often happened in Massachusetts Provincial as well as town elections, local personalities and the politics that revolved around them were predominant. In this case, however, the personal and political enmity between Col. Jones and the other candidate for Representative, Abraham Bigelow, was extreme even by the criteria of the rough-and-tumble politics of eighteenth-century colonial Massachusetts. Finally, in 1765, Bigelow, to gain election, had resorted to serious and damaging charges against Col. Jones stated in public, alleging mis-conduct in public office - to which in defense of his personal honour and integrity the Colonel replied by suing Bigelow for slander and defamation. Although himself a practicing lawyer Col. Jones cannot have thought the better of Jonathan Sewall, after 1762 a fellow magistrate on the Middlesex County Bench (Col. Jones was first commissioned in the peace Sept. 14, 1756) as Bigelow's attorney for putting before the Middlesex Court of Common Pleas such unfounded charges that he had injured the Province "by putting his sons into the Province's pay and keeping them at home in their own business, and that he was as great a Cheat and Lyer as ever lived, and was not fit to be trusted by the Town (of Weston) in any office or place. And that he would, if chose Representative again cheat the Province." More than this, "You left your fat Oxen out of the Rates for the Year Past when they were in your pasture at the time of taking the invoice of others and you left out your Sons Polls and three or four of your Horses, your Negroes and you was an Assessor the same time under oath." Speaking for Col. Jones was his old friend the great barrister Jeremiah Gridley, who for many years had represented

1 Col. Jones was chosen to the office of (tax) Assessor by Town Meeting of March 5, 1764, and he served the normal year's term, until the next Annual Town Meeting of March 4, 1765. His successor was Braddyll Smith, also re-elected Town Treasurer and Town Clerk, a radical Whig protégé of Bigelow's and also a political enemy of Col. Jones'. It is significant that the Town financial accounts for 1764-5, which would have proved the falsity of Bigelow's charges against Col. Jones are missing from the Weston Town Archives; first noted by M. P. Peirce in 1893, who stated that pages 58 and 59 containing the accounts were missing from the Town Book Town of Weston Records... (1893) p. 116.

Col. Jones, his nephew Dr. Thomas Williams of Deerfield, and other members of the family.¹ Gridley had argued that because of "false scandalous words, he, the said Elisha, is not only greatly hurt in his good Name, Credit & Reputation, and fallen into great Scandal and Ignominy with several faithful Subjects of the same Lord the King and especially with the Gentlemen & Freeholders of the said Town of Weston qualified by Law to vote for a Representative of the said Town."²

Col. Jones lost his case in the lower court, but won an appeal to the High Court in 1771, vindicating his character and public conduct, and an award of £60 damages with legal costs taxed at £71/10s/8d.³ Such vindication, however, could not have obviated the personal anguish inflicted by the ordeal, nor made good the loss to ambition of the nine years' exclusion from the General Court.

Political and personal rivalries of this kind were not easily extinguished, as none better appreciated than the trenchant John Adams, whose business it was to argue such "causes" when they were taken to law. A protege of both barristers in the case of Jones v. Bigelow, Jeremiah Gridley and Jonathan Sewall - for his brilliance and promise at the Bar if not for his radical politics - Adams in his Diary as published made two references in April and May, 1767 to Jones v. Bigelow, comparing it to a similar case he was then fighting in the Barnstable County Court as attorney for Stephen Nye, who had succeeded Rowland Cotton as Representative to the General Court for Sandwich in 1761. Adams wrote on April 4th:

"Suits generally Spring from Passion. Jones vs. Bigelow, Cotton and Nye arose from Ambition. Jones and Bigelow were Competitors for Elections in the Town of Weston, Cotton and Nye were Rivals at Sandwich. Such Rivals have no Friendship for each other. From such Rivalries originate Contentions, Quarrells and Suits. Actions of Defamation are the usual Fruits of such Competitions. What Affection can there be between two Rival Candidates for the Confidence of a Town..."⁴

¹ For Gridley as the family barrister, see Col. Elisha Jones to Dr. Thomas Williams at Deerfield, March 8, 1762. Williams MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

² Jones v. Bigelow, Middlesex County Court of Common Pleas. For the High Court Appeal, to the Superior Court of Judicature, No. 147627. Gridley's manuscripts, according to his biographer Clifford Shipton, had been discovered, but when he wrote could not be located. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VII, pp. 518-530. Gridley died, Sept. 12, 1767.

⁴ L.H. Butterfield, ed., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, Vol. I (1961) pp. 333-334.

On May 16th John Adams wrote further:

"At Howlands in Plymouth. Returned this day from Barnstable. The Case of Cotton and Nye at Sandwich is remarkable. Cotton has been driving his Interest. This driving of an Interest, seldom succeeds. Jones of Weston, by driving his, drove it all away. -- Where two Persons in a Town get into such a quarrell, both must be very unhappy -- Reproaching each other to their faces, relating facts concerning each other, to their Neighbours. These Relations are denied, repeated, misrepresented, additional and fictitious Circumstances put to them, Passions inflamed. Malice, Hatred, Envy, Pride fear, Rage, Despair, all take their Turns.

"Father and son, Uncle and Nephew, Neighbour and Neighbour, Friend and Friend are all set together by the Ears. My Clients have been the Sufferers in both these Representative Causes. The Court was fixed in the Sandwich Case. Cotton is not only a Tory but a Relation of some of the Judges, Cushing particularly. Cushing married a Cotton, Sister of Jno. Cotton, the Register of Deeds at Plymouth. Cushing was very bitter, he was not for my arguing to the Jury the Question whether the Words were Actionable or not..." 1

For Col. Jones the final success of his case in the High Court in 1771 had removed the cloud of politically-inspired suspicion that had smirched his good name, and opened the way for an honourable man to return to elective office.² But for a man of Col. Jones' principled ambition vindication would have been nothing short of re-election by Weston Town Meeting as Representative to the General Court, where he had already served ten terms.

Col. Jones, however, did not stand for election as Representative in the May election of 1772, but supported another Tory, his cousin Isaac Jones, owner of the Golden Ball Tavern, who two months earlier at the March 2nd Annual Town Meeting had been elected to his first term as Selectman of Weston, against his old Whig enemy Abraham Bigelow. If one accepts the possibly biased account of the Weston Radical Samuel Phillips Savage, who in all probability aided Bigelow in canvassing for Whig votes among the Provincial Electors, Bigelow

1 L.H. Butterfield, ed., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, Vol. I (1961) p. 335.

2 Elisha Jones during this period continued, however, to serve as a Middlesex County Magistrate and Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and as Colonel Commandant of the Third Regiment of Middlesex County Militia, which were Royal appointments made by the Governor. The Town, meanwhile, showed its confidence in him by appointing him to several Committees, notably for compensation of the Stamp Act Riot victims, made at Town Meeting, Nov. 3, 1766, and as "first gentleman" of the town, to seat the Meeting House, Nov. 25, 1771. Peirce, ed. Weston Town Records, pp. 126-3, 177.

was returned to the House by a large majority in the election of May 18th. "Rep. for Weston Bigelow," he wrote, "had 73 Id Jones 37 and no more and I hope never will." ¹

At the next Provincial election, due to be held in May, 1773, Col. Elisha Jones himself put up as the Tory candidate. This was in the wake of his petition to the Selectmen of Dec. 30, 1772 favouring adequate payment and independence for High Court Judges, his well-known and continuing opposition to the appointment by the towns of Committees of Correspondence as promoters of sedition, and a new attack made upon him in the Whig press on April 26, 1773, only a few days before the Precepts for the election were distributed to the towns.

Notably since the time of the Stamp Act the Whigs led by James Otis and Sam Adams (after 1770) had made increasing use of the press to attack Tory candidates and influence the votes of Provincial electors. Col. Jones, defeated for Representative by Abraham Bigelow in the elections of 1764 and 1765, had not been included on the notorious "Black List" of House members drawn up by Sam Adams and Otis for the critical Provincial election of 1766 and published in the Whig Boston Gazette. (The result was a great Whig victory in which, to use Governor Hutchinson's words, no fewer than 19 of the "Black Listed" Tories were "flung out & low and ignorant Men elected in their stead.") ² Nor with Abraham Bigelow still the Representative in the so-called "Papist" election of 1768, when Sam Adams' propaganda equated Tories with Papists (for their refusal to support the anti-government policies of the Boston Whigs) ³

1 Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," May, 1772. Savage MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

2 See the Black List of Tories, Boston Gazette, March 31, 1766. 1/2; and John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936), pp. 104-5.

3 Papists were devils incarnate to the people of Colonial Massachusetts, whose blood-enemies on their frontiers were the marauding Roman Catholic French in Canada and their Indian-convert allies. The celebration of "Pope's Day" by the "common folk" on Nov. 5th in Boston and other towns was more the exemplification of a current threat than the "folk-memory" of Guy Fawkes' Gunpowder Plot of the English Catholics in 1605.

was Weston branded by the Whigs as one of the "Popish Towns" whose Representatives were "Governor's tools" and the worshippers of "graven images," and marked for defeat in the Whig press.¹

In the provincial election of May, 1773, however, the Whig press took note of the Tory Colonel Elisha Jones' candidacy for Representative at Weston by publishing in Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette of April 26th an attack upon his conduct as a Magistrate, together with four other Tory Justices of the Middlesex County Court of General Sessions: Lt. Col. Charles Prescott (second in command of Col. Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment) and John Cummings of Concord, Joseph Haven of Framingham, and Thaddeus Mason, Clerk of the Peace. For the Whigs the great crime of Col. Jones and the other Tory magistrates was that during the political crisis following the so-called "Boston Massacre" of March 5, 1770, they had risked the vengeance of Whig mobs in Middlesex County to administer justice and the law impartially to one of the most notorious violators of the Whig Nonimportation Agreement in Massachusetts - Henry Barnes the Marlborough Merchant, and since 1766 a Middlesex Magistrate.²

1 Among the "Popish Towns" listed were Marblehead, Salem, Cambridge, Hardwick (home of Brig. Timothy Ruggles, in Worcester County) and the Connecticut Valley towns of Hatfield (home of Col. Israel Williams) and Springfield (home of Col. John Worthington). See John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda, (1936) pp. 128-129.

2 Henry Barnes became a Tory refugee, and died in England. See his Loyalist papers in PRO. A. 9. 13: 43. There are sketches of him in E. Alfred Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts... (1930), pp. 19-22; James H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts (1907) pp. 399-402. The fullest accounts of Barnes' difficulties as an importer are in his wife's letters printed in Nina Tiffany, ed., The Letters of James Murray, Loyalist (Boston, 1901). On March 13, 1770 she wrote that the town of Marlborough had put up a notice warning the inhabitants against importing goods; in a further letter to Elizabeth Smith in June, 1770, Christian Barnes wrote: "The greatest loss we have as yet met with was by a mob in Boston, who, a few nights ago, attacked a wagon-load of goods which belonged to us. They abused the driver, and cut a bag of pepper, letting it all into the street; then gathered it up in their handkerchiefs and hatts, and carried it off. The rest of the load they ordered back into the publick store, of which the Well Disposed Comunity keeps the key. Mr. Barnes has applied to the Left Governor (Thos. Hutchinson) for advice, and he advised him to put in a petition to the General Court. He then repaired to Mr. (James) Murray and begged his assistance in the drawing of it up. He complied with his request, and it is to be laid before the House next week..." pp. 174-177.

The case that Barnes took to the Middlesex Sessions, however, was not concerned with damages for the destruction of his property or its confiscation by mobs at Marlborough or elsewhere, but an appeal against the refusal of the Marlborough Selectmen to grant him a license to sell liquor, thus depriving him of a lucrative trade. Barnes' lawyer¹ contended that the license had been withheld not for unfitness or other legitimate cause, but on the grounds that the Selectmen disapproved of Barnes' religion and his politics: "because," the attorney argued, "he was a Churchman (i.e. an Anglican) and an Importer." By a decision of 5-4, Col. Jones voting with the majority, Barnes' right to a license was upheld, and with it the rule of law.

It was a brave decision, for the Marlborough Whigs were interested in nothing but the ruin of Henry Barnes and political opponents like him, and in the use of violence the mobs called out by the Middlesex County Whigs were little behind those of Boston which, without any opposition from the town authorities—who were dominated by Whigs—or from Gov. Hutchinson performed such deeds as the assault upon the merchant Patrick McMaster, dragged from his house in broad daylight on June 19, 1770, tarred and feathered and hauled through the streets of the capital and across Boston Neck to Roxbury where he finally managed to escape.² Early in June the Whigs threatened Henry Barnes with death in an unsigned note:

"Henry Barnes I understand you are about carrying your Old Damn'd Booby Hutt (a coach on runners) to the General Court and from thence Home to England to get recompense for all the damage you

¹ Edes and Gill in their account published in the Boston Gazette, April 26, 1773, 4/1, referred to Barnes' lawyer only as "Mr. Attorney." He may have been John Adams, who, during the eclipse of the Whig Party in 1770 "gave up" Boston politics and support for his cousin Sam, who had taken over the leadership from James Otis, and "retired" to his farm at Braintree and the practice of law. John's Diary has no entries for the latter half of 1770, however, and none of his published works or legal papers make any mention of this case. Beyond doubt if during this "blank period" Adams considered joining the Tories—as well as taking their cases, usually well-paid into the bargain, all possible record of it was later destroyed.

The Marlborough Selectmen were represented by Francis Dana, a nephew of Judge Edmund Trowbridge. See Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Class of 1762, Vol. XV; William Ellery to Richard Henry Dana, Mar. 10, 1819. Dana MSS, Mass. Hist. Soc.

² See the McMaster papers, PRO .A.O.13:51; A.O.13:91.

have sustained since you have been an infamous Importer or a common Enemy to the Country - Therefore if you only want recompence for the damage you have done the Country in Importing goods contrary to the Agreement of the Body of Merchants on this Continent I will recompence you without going there or anywhere else for I am determined to fetch you to terms even if I do it at the expence of my own Soul or the Cost of a Sore Back or any other punishment in this World only for the good of my Country, for I stile myself a Son of LIBERTY, therefore if you will Shut up your Store and Sell nothing out, nor Import any goods till the Importation takes place you shall sustain no more damage But if not I will Fire your House and Store and destroy all your substance you have on earth, And I will take your Body and I will Tar it, and if nothing else will do but Death you shall have it certainly, and so you will have no more Notice and if you do it by the 20th June 1770 Good and well, and if not you may depend upon my being as good as my word and so I will never write no more and so I stile myself Inspector General." 1

Henry Barnes fled to England in November, 1770, but he returned to Massachusetts the following spring when the Whig boycott of imports had lapsed and times were more settled. Again, however, the Marlborough Selectmen defied the Middlesex Court by refusing Henry Barnes a license to sell liquor.² Part of the Whig indictment of Col. Jones and the Tory Magistrates printed in the Boston Gazette on April 26, 1773 was a letter from the fiery Whig Selectman of Marlborough Hzekiah Maynard addressed to the Clerk of the Peace Theodorus Mason condemning the verdict of the Middlesex County Court of Sessions, and which illustrates the

¹ There is a copy of this letter in Henry Barnes' Loyalist MSS. PRO.A.O.13:43.

² Boston Gazette, April 26, 1773.4/1,2.

arbitrary character of the views of Whig leaders in Middlesex County at that time toward the administration of justice:

"Mr. Mason,

If it is not Law that you should have the approbation of the Selectmen to direct you who to licence, why do you trouble yourself and posture the Selectmen to send down whom they approved of to be Innholders and Retailers: But if it is law that you should have the approbation of the Selectmen to direct you who to licence, why do you fly right in the face of law, not only to licence those who have not the approbation of the Selectmen, but likewise those the Selectmen write against, and are at the trouble and cost of having down evidences and proving the facts alledged against them, which was the case the last year? But as Elisha told the King of Israel, Surely were it not that I regard the preference of Jehoshaphat King of Judah, I would not look toward thee: So were it not that I would not slight our privileges, and defy the law, I would not approbate one person this year; but on the contrary, as I would make use of our privileges while we have them, we approve of Col. Abraham Williams, Mr. Cyprian How, and Mr. Abner Cranston, to be Innholders; but disapprove of Mr. Barnes to be a retailer, because we think it is a damage to the Town; but Esq. Jones, Esq. Haven, Esq. Prescott, Esq. Cummings, and Esq. Mason, knows so much better who is fit for a retailer in Marlborough, than the Selectmen and Esq. Livermore, Esq. Buckminster, Esq. Whiting and Esq. Hunt, that I expect Mr. Barnes will be licenced again this year; and I don't know but that ten more, if they make application for it. And now, Sir, don't you believe there is a day a coming, when we must all appear before the Judgment seat of Christ to give an account of all the deeds done in the body, whether they are good or evil: And if at this grand assize it should be demanded of you, why you who were put in authority to execute the laws, and vested with a power to punish the breakers of them, and to pay so little regard to the law as to break it yourself: I say if such a demand should be made to you, what answer you will give in justification of your self God and your own conscience knows: I know of none. But it seems you must stand speechless with horror, and be ready to join with the great men, and the rich men, and the chief captains, who shall call to the rocks and mountains to fall on them, and screen them from the face of Him that sitteth on the throne and from the wrath on the Lamb. And that you may repent of your past transgression, and do better for the future, that this may not be your unhappy case, is the sincere desire of your well-wisher,

Hezekiah Maynard

One of the Selectmen for Marlboro' this year. And this to be communicated to the other four justices of the fraternity in particular, and to the whole Bench in general, if you please."

1 This letter was printed by Maynard's own wish in the Whig Boston Gazette, April 26, 1773. p. 4.

Maynard's challenge to the authority of the Middlesex Court did not go unanswered. In a trial finally heard in March, 1772, Col. Jones and the Middlesex Justices found him guilty of contempt, and he was fined.¹ But it was not Whig policy to abate political pressure on the Courts and the institutions of law-enforcement, from the level of the town constables (chosen directly by the political majority in Town Meeting) to the judicial hierarchy of crown-appointed sheriffs, judges, and other officials.² Just before the Provincial election of 1773, the radical Boston Gazette on April 26th published a detailed account of the two trials in which Col. Jones had sat as a Justice, *Barnes v. the Selectmen of Marlborough* and *Rex v. Maynard*, together with the letter to Thaddeus Mason the Clerk of the Peace for which Maynard had been convicted of Contempt, and a further statement sent to the Gazette by Maynard for publication, which condemned the Middlesex Court and made a direct appeal to the public over the heads of the Justices to show their disapproval of its verdict. "So was it ever heard," wrote Maynard,

"that a Selectman was ever summoned to appear at Court to answer for contempt of authority, for telling five justices that they knew better who was fit for a Retailer in Marlborough, than the Selectmen and four worthy Justices besides. I say, was there ever such a thing heard of since our forefathers came out of England. I desire all my fellow subjects to consider of it, take advice, and speak their minds, whether the Justices ought not to pay me my cost..."³

1 Maynard's lawyer was Josiah Quincy, Jr., who, significantly enough in July, 1771 moved his law office to a room under Edes' and Gill's printing shop in Queen Street. The fiery Quincy, called "Wilkes" by his brother Sam, the Tory Solicitor General of Massachusetts, did not repeat his success as defense counsel for Capt. Preston and the soldiers in the rigged "Boston Massacre" trials. See Josiah Quincy, Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr. (Boston, 1874) pp. 51-2. In April, 1775, the week after Lexington, Quincy died in sight of Gloucester Harbour returning from a secret mission to England for the Whigs. Samuel Quincy became a Loyalist Refugee. See PRO.A.O. 13:75.

2 The best discussion is by Miller B. Zobel, "Law under Pressure: Boston 1769-1771," in George Billias, ed., Law and Authority in Colonial America (1965) pp. 187-208. Zobel, in his superb study The Boston Massacre (1970) does not mention this litigation before the Middlesex Court of Sessions--which indicates a higher level of law-enforcement than supposed even in political cases when outside Boston during the years before 1774.

3 Boston Gazette, April 26, 1773.4/2

The Provincial electors in Weston did speak their minds in April and May of 1773 in the period of canvassing - but not as the Whigs expected. So little did the Whig attempts to discredit Col. Jones (as in the elections of 1764-6) succeed by the beginning of May, that the Weston Tories came to suspect the now solidly Whig Board of five Selectmen of planning not to put their candidate, Abraham Bigelow, to the test of a vote, but to block the election of the Tory Col. Jones by the old device of refusing to call the town election meeting - thus leaving the town with no Representative in the General Court for the forthcoming year 1773-1774 despite the law, and subject therefore to a distraint upon town funds for the fine imposed in such cases of "dereliction" by the General Court. Boston held its town election meeting on May 5th when, according to the Diary of merchant John Rowe, "the four Old Representatives were chosen, John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams and William Phillips."¹ By May 7th, with time running short before the scheduled opening of the General Court sitting on May 26th, fifteen prominent Weston Tories headed by Col. Jones' cousin Capt. Isaac Jones of the Golden Ball Tavern (Tory candidate in 1772) petitioned the Weston Selectmen as follows:

"To the Selectmen of Weston

Gentn We are told that you have had a Precept in your Hands more than a Week directing You to forthwith Assemble the Inhabitants of Said Town to Elect Some Person to Serve for and Represent them in the great and general court in their Present Session, and so through the Remaining Sessions of the Year; We now let you know that we are uneasy and dissatisfied with you in that you so Delay Doing your Duty in giving the Town an opportunity to Elect a Member if they Please and that you not only Expose your selves to a Penalty in Law. But to the displeasure of the Subscribers; who are ready to Shew you Respect in Office; while you do your duty: and you have no Reason to Expect it any Longer.

May 7, 1773

Jonas Sanderson
Asa Smith
Phineas Upham

Isaac Jones
John Flagg
* Jonathan Stratton
* Ja _____

1 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) p. 243.

* This Tory petition is still in Weston Town Archives. The names marked with an asterisk were later inked over to obliterate them when the people in question had changed political sides.

William Laurence Saml Child John Banks
 William Bond Jonathan Bullard Stephen Harrington
 John Kirick Ezekiah Hyman

This Tory threat was enough, and the Selectmen finally called the Town Election Meeting on Monday afternoon, May 10th. The voting was very close, according to the "Diary" of Radical Whig Samuel Phillips Savage, who was undoubtedly present, and two ballots were held. On the first there was a tie: 64 votes each for Col. Jones and Abraham Bigelow, and three for a third and un-named candidate. On the second, however, Col. Jones was the victor with 67 votes (one more than half the total votes cast). Bigelow had 65, and there was 1 for the third man who, having lost his supporters, presumably found consolation in voting for himself.¹

The business of choosing Representatives being over, "Election" (or 'Lection") was one of the "jollification" days of the Bay Colony year - with "Commencement" at Harvard, the annual Militia "Training Day," and "Thanksgiving" - and it was customary for successful candidates to entertain their supporters with "'Lection Cake," "'Lection Beer," and other fare including, of course, the ubiquitous rum punches. Col. Eliza Jones and his wife Mary would have held open house at the mansion on Beacon Hill for the family and friends, with the butler, Cicero, and the other servants in their best liveries, blue and gold from their Master's arms, with brass buttons shining. There would have been special merrymaking, too, at Weston's "Tory" taverns, the meeting-places of the colonial political clubs in the "towns" as well as in Boston, at the Colonel's cousin Isaac Jones' "Golden Ball" on the Post Road (the "Great Country" road to the west) built in 1768-1770 and with its large ball-room and other amenities already fashionable as a country rendezvous for suppers and sleighing parties for well-to-do Bostonians and Regular Army officers stationed

1 For the election meeting of May 10, 1773, see E.W. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) p. 194; Samuel P. Savage, "Diary," June, 1773. MSS at Mass. Hist. Soc.

2 For Massachusetts "Holidays and Festivals," see Alice Morse Earle, Customs and Fashions in Old New England (1st. edn. Chas. Scribner's Sons, N.Y., 1893). In Boston there was also "Artillery Election" when the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company had its annual parade and review on the Common, and elected its officers.

1
at the capital garrison, and the tavern of John Flagg, a short way to the west, after Isaac Jones one of Col. Elisha Jones' chief supporters in the May Provincial election of 1773.²

Apart from his victory at the polls, the interests of Col. Jones and the family were served at this time by the final settlement of the long-simmering dispute with New York over the western boundary of the Bay Colony. A Massachusetts delegation headed by the Governor, Thomas Hutchinson, and three prominent Whigs: Joseph Hawley of Northampton, an outstanding lawyer but increasingly subject to bouts of insanity and conspicuous as the doctrinaire Whig in the widespread clan of Jones-Williams-Stoddard cousins,³ John Hancock the Boston merchant, and the Major-General Commandant of the Massachusetts Militia, Dr. William Brattle of Cambridge, met with a delegation of "Yorkers" led by Governor William Tryon at Hertford on May 11, 1773, and in the negotiations that followed the men from the Bay Colony were successful in keeping for Massachusetts the disputed lands that were the greater part of Berkshire County - traversed by the Housatonic as was the adjoining Hampshire County by the Connecticut rivers - and also the Massachusetts' claims to lands on the Great Lakes.⁴

1 See Col. Daniel S. Lamson, History of the Town of Weston, Massachusetts 1630-1890 (1913), p. 189, who drew upon the now missing "Diary" kept from 1756 to 1787 by Rebecca, daughter of the Rev. John Cotton of Newton and wife of the rival Whig Weston innkeeper Samuel Baldwin. A British prisoner of War after Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga who passed through Weston on the way to Boston in 1777 wrote of the Golden Ball: "we found (it) the most convenient inn of any of the road, it is equal to most in England, the rooms commodious provisions good, servants attentive... Lt. Thomas Anbury, Travels Through the Interior Parts of America (William Lane, London, 1789) Vol. II, pp. 57-58.

2 The Golden Ball Tavern is still standing (now preserved as an historic building by a Trust) but the Flagg Tavern was destroyed by fire in 1902. In May, 1773 John Flagg's name appears prominently among those who signed two Tory petitions to the Selectmen of May 7th and June 8th, 1773 on behalf of Col. Elisha Jones. Weston Town Archives. Flagg later changed his allegiance to the Whigs, and his tavern with Whig patronage became the leading one in Weston during the latter part of the conflict. On Oct. 23, 1789 Samuel P. Savage recorded in his "Diary": "This evening George Washington, President of the United States, arrived in Weston and lodged at Captain Flagg's."

3 The fullest study of Hawley, who graduated at Yale in 1742, is still E. Francis Brown, Joseph Hawley Colonial Radical, New York, 1931.

4 See Thomas Hutchinson, The History of... Massachusetts Bay ed. by Lawrence Mayo, Vol. III (1936) pp. 280-1; James K. HOSMER, The Life of CONT.

Not only was Col. Jones himself one of the largest proprietors of land in the Housatonic Valley,¹ but his family had largely settled there from the 1720's as founders of the Valley towns - and unlike many remained to defend them with their Williams-Stoddard-Dwight cousins and allies through the horrors of the frontier wars for two generations and more. The words of Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield written in 1756 explain much of the ambivalent and even neutralist attitude of many in this most loyal of the great Tory Massachusetts Bay clans during the later years of political crisis from 1773 until 1776:

"The Heathen (the French and Indians in Canada) have been pouring out our blood like Water, and giving our dead Bodies to be meat for the Fowls of heaven and the Beasts of the Land -- and who has pitied us -- This Loyal Government, have long been obnoxious for Some reason or other -- and I expect that there will be one pretense or other for helping others rather than us..." 2

Cont. Thomas Hutchinson (Boston, 1896) pp. 265-267, gives a good summary of the boundary dispute. Later historians have largely ignored this settlement, of the greatest importance to the development of western Massachusetts. (See Lee Newcomer, The Embattled Farmers A Massachusetts Countryside in the American Revolution (New York, 1953) and Robert J. Taylor, Western Massachusetts in the Revolution (Providence, 1954). There can be little doubt that Hutchinson's part in the negotiations was his most lasting achievement as Governor: his latest biographer, Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (New York, 1974) makes no mention of this episode.

1 For Elisha Jones' estates in Berkshire County, see Probate Records, Oct., 1761, Berkshire County Courthouse, Stockbridge; and the detailed descriptions also in PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; and A.O. 13:74.

Col. Jones' older brother Josiah (1701-1769) who m. 1st Anna, dau. of Deacon Benjamin Browne and Anna Garfield, and 2nd Sarah Stoddard had founded the town of Stockbridge with his only sister, Abigail, b. 1694, 2nd wife of Col. Ephriam Williams, whose son Ephriam, killed at the Bloody Morning Scout at Lake George in 1755 left his name and fortune to Williams College. By 1773 4 of Col. Jones' 11 sons had settled in the Housatonic Valley: Elisha the Younger (1731-1761) who m. Abigail, dau. of Deacon Abijah Upham of Weston, was a militia officer, merchant and farmer at Pittsfield; and three sons at East Hoosuck (Adams), Israel (1738-1829) who m. Alithea, dau. of the Rev. Samuel Todd, lawyer, surveyor, founder-trustee of Williams College and co-author with the Rev. David Dudley Field of Stockbridge and other "Gentlemen in the County" of the pioneer in County history, A History of the County of Berkshire Pittsfield, 1829; Elias (1742-1823) who m. Elizabeth, dau. of Elisha Jones and Samuel Baldwin of Weston, farmer and Deputy Sheriff of Berkshire, and Ephriam (1750-1812) who had begun to farm on land given him by his father. See also the many references to the family in Elletta F. Jones (Josiah's 4th Granddaughter) Stockbridge Past and Present 275 pp. 1854. 2 Israel Williams MSS. Vol. 1, Mass. Hist. Soc.

A WHIG CONSPIRACY DEFEATED: COL. JONES REPRESENTS WESTON
IN THE HOUSE, MAY-JUNE, 1773

"Elisha Jones was returned by the Selectmen of Weston - but his election was disputed & he dismissed & a new precept granted - at a 2nd Meeting of the Town Colo Jones was again chosen & sits in the House. Elisha Jones, the Representative for 67 out of 133 persons in Weston was sworn and took his seat in the House a few hours after which the Remonstrance & petition to the Throne to dismiss for ever from this Govt. Thos. Hutchinson & A Oliver the Gov & Lt Gov was read and the question was put whether the same be sent..."

Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," June, 1773¹

When the General Court was convened at Boston on May 26th, Sam Adams and the Radicals mounted new and more vicious attacks upon the Administration and its supporters with the continued object of undermining the authority of Royal Government by driving Gov. Hutchinson and Lt. Governor Andrew Oliver from office - and the presumptuous Tory from Weston, Col. Elisha Jones, from his rightful seat in the House.

The Whigs moved quickly against Col. Jones with trumped up charges of electoral fraud. At the morning session of the second day of the session, May 27th, the Clerk of the House, Sam Adams, read out a petition signed by one John Warren and others - but drafted by Samuel Phillips Savage - charging that Col. Jones' election was "not according to the Law of this Province," and offering "if called upon to prove by the Oaths of 2 reputable persons that One man put in two votes..." It was then ordered, according to the House procedure in such cases, that the petitioners, together with witnesses on both sides, should attend for a hearing that afternoon.²

1 Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," June, 1773. MSS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

2 The draft petition to the House, dated May, 1773, in Savage's writing, but with no names undersigned, is in the S.P. Savage MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc. For the House proceedings, see Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives...1773, p. 10.

The Whigs having failed to secure enough votes to elect their candidate Abraham Bigelow in Town Meeting were thus able to have the validity of Col. Jones' election decided by the large majority of the opposition Whig Party in the House. The House Journal does not record the names of the witnesses, but among those giving testimony against Col. Jones was probably the first sponsor of the petition against him, John Warren, and another of them Braddyll Smith. Both men, radical Whigs, had been prepared to perjure themselves in giving evidence against Col. Jones before. Warren and Smith served with Col. Jones as Weston Assessors in 1764,¹ and it had been their false evidence of Col. Jones' corruption in that office which had caused the Colonel's case for slander against Abraham Bigelow to fail in the Lower Court. The account of the hearing at the afternoon session of May 27, 1773 as entered by Clerk Sam Adams in the always carefully censored Journal was brief:

"The several Witnesses on both Sides being fully heard, the Question was put, Whether Elisha Jones, Esq., is legally chosen by the Town of Weston, to serve as a Member of this House? And pas'd in the Negative." 2

The Whig majority in the House for this session was indeed overwhelming. How many members were bold enough to vote for Col. Jones under the remembering eyes of Sam Adams and the Whig denizens in the House gallery will probably never be known. The day after Col. Jones was dismissed from the House, May 28th, however, when the vote was taken to appoint a House Committee to correspond with the Virginia House of Burgesses and other Colonial Assemblies on questions of Colonial rights,³ only 4 Tory Representatives are known to have opposed this seditious proposal. These men were Col. Jones'

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records, (1893) pp. 110, 116.

2 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... 1773. p. 10.

3 One of the 15 members of this Committee of Correspondence was the Representative from Taunton, Daniel Leonard, who after the Boston Tea Party (December, 1773) became a Tory and author of the "Massachusetts Letters" which defended Tory doctrines. See below. The others were: Thos. Cushing, Sam Adams, John Hancock, Wm. Phillips, Capt. Wm. Heath, Joseph Hawley, James Warren, Richard Derby Jr., Elbridge Gerry, Jerathmeel Bowers, Jedediah Foster, Capt. Thos. Gardner, Capt. Jonathan Greenleaf, and James Prescott.

old friend and business associate Col. John Murray of Rutland, Capt. Jeremiah Learned, who represented Oxford and Charlton, also in Worcester County, Abijah White of Marshfield (Plymouth), and Col. Thomas Gilbert, of Freetown (Bristol). Whatever the majority against Col. Jones, however, the town of Weston was entitled to a Representative in the General Court, and a motion was carried "That a Precept (be) issue(d) to the Town of Weston, for the Return of a Member, if they see Cause."¹

The Whig press in the following week made readers acquainted with the rejection of Col. Jones by the House. His old political enemies Benjamin Edes and John Gill wrote in the Boston Gazette: on May 31st:

"On Thursday last, upon Complaint to the Honourable House of Representatives, from some of the Inhabitants of the Town of Weston, of Corruption in the Election of the Representatives for that Place; the House took the matter under Consideration, and after examining a number of Witnesses relative thereto, the Member was dismissed the House, and a new Precept ordered to be issued for another Choice." ²

By May 31st the Precept for notification of an election of a Representative by Weston Town Meeting was in the hands of the Whig Selectmen: Thomas Russell, Thomas Rand, Joseph Whitney, Benjamin Peirce, and Josiah Smith. But so little confident were they in mustering a majority for electing a Whig in the place of Col. Jones that they refused to set a date for a Town Election Meeting. These blatant delaying tactics which threatened to deprive Weston of its right of representation in the General Court for the entire spring session, now fast slipping away, were met by the Weston Tories with a petition of their own to the House signed by fifteen leading men of the town and dated June 8th:

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives...1773.pp.11-12.

² Boston Gazette, May 31, 1773.1/1; reprinted by Isaiah Thomas in his Massachusetts Spy, June 3, 1773.2/2.

TO THE HONORABLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SITTING AT BOSTON
June 8th, 1773

"Humbly shews the Subscribers, Inhabitants of Weston; That Hon^{ble} House after Declaring the late choice of a Representative in Weston to be illegable, ordered a Precept to issue to the Selectmen of said Town Directing them forthwith to assemble the Inhabitants thereof, in order to elect some person to Represent them, in the Present Session of the General Court, as well as the Remaining Sessions of the year, and the said Selectmen were possessed of said Precept on the last day of May, last, but have taken no other notice thereof than to propose a meeting of their own, some time about the middle of this month of June: Then to determine whether they will give the Town an opportunity to choose a member or not; which conduct of the Selectmen gives great uneasiness to the Inhabitants of Weston, as we are thereby deprived of the Priviledge of a Representative in the General Court, which other Towns enjoy, and we esteem a priviledge which we desire to share in. Therefore we humbly pray that the Hon^{ble} House would take our circumstances into their wise consideration and relieve us from such arbitrary proceedings, by directing the said Selectmen to appoint a meeting for the purpose aforesaid. And also appoint some suitable, impartial gentleman to preside at said Meeting as in duty Bound will ever pray.

(Sd)	Jonathan Bullard	Jacob Mirrick
	Isaac Jones	Joseph Harrington Jr.
	Elisha Harrington	Phineas Upham
	John Flagg	Samuel Train
	Jonathan Stratton	Asa Smith
	William Lawrance	John Mirick
	Jonas Sanderson	Samuel Child
	Daniel Livermore	1

As Clerk, Sam Adams did not make any record in the Journal of consideration by the House of the "Jonathan Bullard" Tory petition dated June 8th. Whig delaying tactics are further in evidence, moreover, by the lapse of thirteen days more before the Weston Tories were able to force the Whig Selectmen to hold a second election Town Meeting, on the afternoon of June 21st. Once again

¹ Weston Town Archives. Col. Daniel S. Lamson, in History of the Town of Weston... (1913) a work remarkably fair-minded for the time, wrongly quotes this petition by the Town Tories as a protest by the "Liberty Men of the Town" against Col. Elisha Jones. p. 71.

² Jonathan Bullard, who since 1757 had kept a tavern in the south part of Weston (on Wellesley Street). For many years prominent in the life of the town he had held no office since 1758, and may in part have been chosen as an "elder statesman" as well as a Tory. He made his will that year, 1773. M. F. Peirce, ed., (Weston) Births, Deaths & Marriages and Church Records (Boston, 1901) p. 535.

the people of Weston elected Elisha Jones as their Representative to the General Court - by a vote (according to Samuel P. Savage) of 67 to 66 for Abraham Bigelow.¹

It was not until two days later, on the morning of June 23, 1773, that Col. Elisha Jones returned to the Province House in Boston, and again faced Sam Adams and his other enemies among the Whigs - but this time in triumph. As the first order of business Speaker Thomas Cushing directed Dr. John Taylor, the Representative of Lunenburg and Fitchburg in Worcester County, a senior member of the House, to "attend him to the Gentlemen appointed to administer the Oaths" of allegiance to the Crown required of all members. "Who returned that he had taken the Oaths," as Sam Adams' House Journal was constrained to relate, "and then Mr. Jones took his Seat in the House."²

It was a victory for law and justice, and one that must have encouraged both the handful of Tories in the House - among them such stalwarts as his old friend Col. John Murray of Rutland and Col. Thomas Gilbert of Freetown - and Tories elsewhere to stand up to Whig intimidation and mob violence and to fight their way in the bear-garden of Provincial politics in the early 1770's.³ It was entirely in

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records... (1893) pp. 194-195; Samuel P. Savage, "Diary," June, 1773, Mass. Hist. Soc.; Bigelow never again held public office in Weston. At the next Annual Town Meeting, March 7, 1774, Bigelow, together with Col. Elisha Jones and Braddyll Smith were appointed a Committee "to Joyn with Such as Watertown & Waltham... to Petition the great & Generall Court for some Relief and assistance in Repairing & maintaining the Great Bridge over Charles River in Watertown..." Bigelow, three years younger than Col. Jones, died in 1775, and in death the Whigs of Weston saw to it that his gravestone in the Farmers' Burying Place was a testament to their hypocrisy. It reads: "For many years represented the Town of Weston in the General Court of this province which public Betrustment he discharged with fidelity and honor."

2 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... 1773, June 23, 1773. . p. 75.

3 Politics in neighbouring Watertown, for example, were no less bitterly contested. The difficulties of John Hunt, distiller, Middlesex Magistrate, though a Whig lampooned as "Mrs. Acquatica" in the satirical tract (1754) Monster of Monsters, were described by Shipton in Sibley's Harvard Graduates (class of 1734) Vol. IX, p. 417: "At the annual town meeting of 1756, a considerable faction tried to have the article calling for the election of a Representative passed over, but, through the management of the Selectmen, Hunt was reelected by a small majority. His opponents then

character that the Whig press, having once again blackened his name by accusations of "corruption," this time in the May 10th election of 1773, printed nothing about Col. Jones' reelection to the House.

But, when Col. Jones returned, only six days remained of the Session. That Sam Adams and his confederate Samuel P. Seware in Weston had succeeded in keeping from the House a politically dangerous and notably independent Tory was only too evident in the debate which followed later that morning on the report of "The Committee appointed to prepare an humble and dutiful Petition to the King, praying for the Removal of his Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Esq., Governor, and the honorable Andrew Oliver, Esq., Lieutenant-Governor, from the Places they sustain in the Government of this Province..."² It was the climax in the House of Sam Adams' carefully framed - and by this time, the end of June, 1773, already notorious - campaign to discredit Hutchinson and Oliver by using

Cont.: tried to have him unseated by the House, but they could muster only the inadequate charge that his method of farming the Essex excise was illegal. At the next annual town meeting they believed that they had elected another Representative in his place, and convinced the House that he should not be seated. However, according to their charges, the Selectmen two months later called another town meeting without legal warning, counted more votes than there were voters present, and reported Squire Hunt elected. This time the opposition went to the House with evidence that he had been buying votes. The Selectmen contented themselves with reporting to the General Court that for years the town had been almost equally divided into bitter political factions. In December the House declared neither candidate properly elected, and so ended the Squire's political career."

¹ The Tory press carried brief notices. Mills' and Hicks' Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, on June 28th, noted: "The Choice of Representative for the Town of Weston having been contested, at the late General Election, was set aside, and another Precept being issued, Elisha Jones Esq. was again elected, and Tuesday last took his seat in the House." 2/1.

² Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives...1773. June 23, 1773^d p. 75.

letters written by them¹ to private correspondents in England some years before, which were stolen by agents of Benjamin Franklin in England and sent by him to House Speaker Thomas Cushing, as evidence that they were engaged in a conspiracy to destroy colonial rights. The Letters, which had reached Boston at the end of March, 1773, had been handed around to John Adams and other prominent Whigs, while the Whig leadership saw to it that wild rumours were spread of their supposed revelations of treachery by Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver designed to stir popular indignation. On June 2nd, during Col. Elisha Jones' enforced absence from the House by the Whig conspiracy to exclude him from the debate, Sam Adams had the Letters read in closed session, and on June 16th the House adopted a Committee report asserting that "the Tendency and Design of said Letters was to Subvert the Constitution of this Government, and to introduce Arbitrary Power into the Province." The next day, June 17th - four days before the second bitterly contested election at Boston when Col. Jones was again returned to the House - the Whigs began to publish the Letters in Isaiah Thomas' radical Massachusetts Spy, with accompanying "official" Whig commentary: when the political "crisis" had been made to rise sufficiently Sam Adams had got round Franklin's ban on publication on the specious ground - as John Hancock was prepared to maintain on the floor of the House - that copies of the Letters had been received from another source in England which were already circulating in Boston.²

When just after his return on June 23rd the draft petition to the Crown for the removal from office of Governors Hutchinson and Andrew Oliver was considered by the House, Col. Jones took an important part in the debate. Matters came to a head when, after the

1 There were letters also from other prominent Colonial Tories, including Charles Paxton, Nathaniel Rogers, George Rome, and Thomas Moffat. It was Franklin's plan to, as he maintained, promote reconciliation by making Hutchinson and Oliver scapegoats for the creation of Anglo-colonial differences. See the discussion of the Letters affair in Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, (1974) pp. 221-259.

2 The Whigs also published the letters as a pamphlet, the first by Edes and Gill in Boston, 1773, entitled: Copy of Letters Sent to Great Britain by His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, the Hon. Andrew Oliver, and Several Other Persons, Born and Educated Among us in Which...the Judicious Reader Will Discover the Fatal Source of the Confusion and Bloodshed in Which This Province Especially Has Been Involved, and Which Threatened Total Destruction to the Liberties of All America.

report of the Committee on the Petition had been read out by the Clerk, Sam Adams, and each paragraph discussed, one of the Tory members, David Ingersoll Jr., of Great Barrington and Sheffield¹ (Berkshire) son-in-law of Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield and a brother-in-law of Sarah Bernard Jones, wife of Col. Elisha Jones' cousin Judge Stephen Jones of Machias (Maine) and Deerfield, moved "to refer the further Consideration thereof till the next Session: In Order that the Members may have Opportunity to consult their Constituents..."²

This was the classic maneuver by a minority to prevent adoption of a measure they were unable to vote down, and as such would have been known well enough to Col. Elisha Jones who, at the age of 63 years, was already a veteran of ten terms in the House. Rising to speak, however, Col. Jones chose not to support Ingersoll's motion, which in any case had little chance of acceptance with the Tories so largely in the minority, but to attack directly the substance of the Whig Petition to the Crown and to refute the twisted Whig interpretations of the Letters. By so doing Col. Jones not only confronted Sam Adams and the Radical members of the House whose shabby political maneuverings he had so lately thwarted, but also the public gallery, installed after Sam Adams became Clerk in 1766 so that the Tory Representatives could be intimidated "by the people," and crowded as always during important debates by hand-picked members of the Whig mobs of Boston, "Mohawks and Hawcubites," as Chief Justice Peter Oliver described them, there "to echo the oppositional Vociferations, to the Rabble Without Doors."³

¹ David Ingersoll, Yale, 1761, was a cousin of Jared Ingersoll (see Lawrence Henry Gipson, American Loyalist: Jared Ingersoll, 2edn. 1971, p. 333). David was marked for vengeance by the Whigs, and the Berkshire Mob hunted him and Col. Israel Williams through the woods and assaulted him on several occasions in July and August, 1774. See Charles J. Taylor, History of Great Barrington (1882) pp. 240-4; See his Memorial to Lord Dartmouth of Feb. 7, 1775, describing Whig mob attack on his home Aug. 2, 1774, and other Loyalist Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:47, A.O. 13:74.

² Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... 1773. June 23. p. 75.

³ Adair, ed. Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961) p. 110.

Others were in the gallery as Whig observers, deputed, as Sam Adams put it, to see "who and who are together," and to make written reports of the debates of which no "official" record was kept. It is through a report made to Samuel Phillips Savage at Weston by two of these gallery-henchmen of Sam Adams, Ebenezer Hancock, the ne'er-do-well younger brother of John,¹ and Joseph Henderson, Boston merchant and one of the proprietors of Long Wharf,² that part, at least, of Col. Jones' contribution to the debate of June 23, 1773 survives, albeit at third hand and as viewed by his bitter political enemies. Savage wrote at length of the episode in his "Diary," as follows:

"A member from Gt. Barrington proposed as ye affair was so important a recess of Court be desired that ye minds of the people might be taken there on

This he did evidently with a view to serve the Gov^{ent} but Jones, mistaking the design, rose and said - As I am informed by Mrs. Jos Henderson & Eben Hancock who at the time were in the gallery - that he had no occasion to consult with his constituents for he was perfectly acquainted with their minds & determined to let the House know w^t it was, & then informed the Court that his Constituents were thoroughly acquainted with the letters wrote by Gov^s H(utchinson) & O(liver) and they were thoroughly persuaded the contents of them being true, and no exception could be made to them in any respect what ever.

He more over said that in respect to what was mentioned in the resolve of the House about bloodshed, they were full of opinion in the time of it, that Army & Navy were highly necessary in order to keep people in proper order, & that had it not been for (the) Regiments, their opinion was the Town of Boston would have been in open rebellion --

1 For Ebenezer Hancock, see Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIV, pp. 620-621. Eben Hancock later gained notoriety in refusing to be sworn after being chosen foreman of a jury, and having his reasons - by some highly irregular procedure - inserted in the Court Record: "because of despotism destroying freedoms... judges are appointed by the King... Peter Oliver, Foster Hutchinson, and William Brown, by taking oaths as Counsellors are pledged to uphold unrighteous decrees..." See the Essex Journal, Sept. 7, 1774, 2/1, 2.

2 Joseph Henderson is mentioned several times in the Diary of Boston Whig merchant John Rowe: Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903), pp. 158, 186, 218.

"--and was it not their opinion (?) it was fully his ---¹ on which Colo (Jerathmel) Bowers, the Member from Swansey rose & said he was fully of that gentleman's mind about his Constituents by the choice they had lately made." ²

The House proceeded to vote, apparently by large majorities, against Ingersoll's motion for postponement and in favour of sending the Petition describing Hutchinson and Oliver as the "chiefe Instruments" for bringing a fleet and army to Massachusetts Bay, and to blame thus for "all that Corruption of Morals in this Province, and all that Confusion of Misery and Bloodshed" that resulted, to House Agent Benjamin Franklin in London. As printed later under the direction of Sam Adams in the House Journal these votes were 73 to 13 and 80 to 11 - but as late as July 15th (the House session had ended on June 29th) Richard Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter warned its readers of the difficulties of obtaining accurate information. King's Printer and a journalist of long experience, Draper said that his material was "collected from Reports out of Doors, we have not received any authentic Accounts of the Particulars of these Proceedings." According to Draper,

"When the Resolve for petitioning His Majesty to remove His Excellency the Governor &c passed the Honourable House of Representatives, the House did not vote by Yeas and Nays, but polled, when it appeared there were 85 for the Resolve, and 28 against it; and we hear that the Next Day 3 of the 28, and some say 7, went over to the 85, which made the number 92 for, and 21 against the Resolves. When the Petition passed, it was voted by Yeas and Nays, the names have been published in some of the Papers.--there were 82 Yeas and 12 Nays." ⁴

¹ Bowers was a shipowner and merchant, who represented Swansea and Shawmet in Bristol County; one of the members who chose to be "absent" during the vote on June 16th on the Resolves against Hutchinson who later inserted in the House Journal a "declaration in favor of the whole of said Resolves." And see the statements of other members who, under Whig pressure, changed their votes. Journal, pp. 61-2.

² Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," June, 1773. Mass. Hist. Soc.

³ The Petition was referred to a committee of the Privy Council, and on Jan. 29, 1774 (after news of the Boston Tea Party had arrived) Franklin was denounced by Solicitor-General Wedderburn in the famous episode in the cockpit for his part in the Letters affair, and dismissed as Deputy Post Master for the American Colonies. See the summary of these proceedings in Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (1974) pp. 256-7.

⁴ Massachusetts Gazette, July 15, 1773. 3/1.

**PAGE
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Col. Jones' name is prominent on the newspaper lists of Representatives that voted to support the Governor and Lieutenant Governor:

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| 1.Mr. Josiah Howe (Milton) | 8.Mr.Jeremiah Learned(Oxford & Charlton |
| 2.Mr. John Pickering Jr.(Salem) | 9.William Tyng Esq.(Palmouth & Cape Elizabeth) |
| 3.Eliza Jones Esq.(Boston) | |
| 4.Abijah White Esq.(Marshfield) | 10.James M'Cobb Esq.(Georgetown & Woolwich) |
| 5.Josiah Edson Esq.(Bridgewater) | 11.David Ingersoll Jr.Esq.(Sheffield & Great Barrington) |
| 6.Edward Bacon Esq.(Barnstable) | |
| 7.Thomas Gilbert Esq.(Wrectown) | 12.Mr.David Noble(Williamstown) 1 |

Col.Jones' late arrival in the House, as well as his Tory politics, restricted his appointment to committees. For this session which ended on June 29,1773 and was prorogued by Governor Hutchinson to meet again at Boston for the customary winter session on Jan.26,1774, the Journal records only that on June 24th Col.Jones together with John Hancock(Boston), Ebenezer Sawyer(Mells, York Co.Maine) Daniel Leonard(Taunton) and Nathaniel Gorham(Charlestown) were chosen a committee to "send up" to the Council the bill for apportioning and assessing the Provincial Taxes for the current year.²

For Hutchinson, at least, the ending of the session and the usual political quiet through the heat of the Massachusetts summer in the tranquility of his Milton Hill estate came more than ever as a welcome relief. The burdens of office for him and his family, and doubts about his future usefulness in the light of Whig moves to discredit him, had led the Governor to apply to London for a leave of absence before the House rose.³ The strain is evident in Hutchinson's letter of July 20th to his Harvard classmate and political ally Col.Israel Williams at Hatfield:

1 Nathaniel Mills' and John Hicks' Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy Supplement. Monday, June 28, 1773, 2/2; the same list in Edes' and Gill's Whig Boston Gazette, June 28, 1773, 4/1.

2 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives...1773. June 24, June 29, 1773. pp.78,99.

3 Peter Orlando Hutchinson, (his great-grandson) The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Vol.I (1883) p.106.

James" Bowdoin in the Council and (Sam) Adams in the House,"
he wrote,

have certainly shown themselves very adroit, but it will be a reproach to the body of the people to the latest posterity, that they have suffered themselves to be made such dupes, especially after a public declaration in the House that all that was intended was to raise a general clamour against the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor, and then they should be sure of their removal. The deception cannot last longer than it did in the time of the witchcraft. Truth at worst will finally prevail. As for the Resolves, they are every one false; most of them are villainous. I would have declared them to be so in the most open manner, if it had been in character, and would in the same manner have vindicated every part of the letters.... I pitied the poor members, more than one half of them being forced to vote in verba magistri, either directly against their judgement, or without understanding what they voted. I have no great doubt that sooner or later this proceeding will reflect more infamy on all concerned, than any public transaction since the country was settled; for it was founded on such baseness as no civilized people have ever countenanced, and has been conducted through every part of its progress with falsehood and deception, which, although for a short time they have their intended effect, yet as soon as they are discovered, prove ignominious to the authors of them." 1

While Hutchinson was writing, in his dry, self-conscious manner, the Sabbath of July 20, 1773 passed quietly enough elsewhere in Massachusetts Bay. At Deerfield Col. Jones' relations attended the preaching of the Tory Parson, the Rev. Jonathan Ashley, but after sundown, when enjoyment was again allowed, as the Parson's young son Elihu, studying medicine with Dr. Thomas Williams (Col. Jones' nephew) in the house still standing just down the Street from the Manse, recorded in his "Diary," accounts of the "carryings-on" of Sam Adams and the Radicals at the General Court, brought back by the Deerfield Representative, Samuel Field, were a lively evening's entertainment to be shared later still at Catlin's Tory Tavern:

1 Thomas Hutchinson to Col. Israel Williams, July 20, 1773. Williams MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. II, p. 171.

2 Dr. Thomas was the younger brother of Col. Ephriam, Jr., the founder of Williams College. The Rev. Jonathan Ashley was in the Yale class of 1730. See the large collection of Williams and Ashley MSS. at the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Archives and Library, Deerfield.

"I went below & set with Colo. Dwight & Saml Field - Field entertained us with ye conduct of ye Assembly mentioned a toast which Sam Adams gave vizt May ye fair Fields of America be watered with ye Blood and manured by ye Ashes of its Malignant Enemies and another John Hancock gave Vitzt May ye Enemies of America have a free Export with ye Benefit of a Draw Back. But before I went down I read ye Governors Lieut Governors, Paxtons and Rogers (ie. Rome's) Letters which the House made such a Noise about. the Majr and Myself after Field was gone we set out to go down to Catlins overtook Williams upon ye hill & he went down with us found Barnard there..." 1

At Weston, the latter part of July, there were visits from the Joneses only daughter, Mary, and her husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, associate Pastor of the First Church at Salem, who, on July 21st attended Harvard Commencement. The Jones connections with the College were particularly close at this time. The Colonel's son Stephen (b. May 5, 1754), the second of his sons to attend (Judge Daniel Jones of the Cheshire County Court who had settled at Hinsdale, New Hampshire, had graduated in 1759) was just beginning his junior year, while his youngest son, Charles, (b. Jan. 22, 1760) and his eldest son, Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay eldest son, Nahum, (b. Aug. 6, 1757) were being prepared together by the Rev. Asa Dunbar for the Harvard Class of 1778. On July 20th Dunbar, whose stay at Weston began the day before, recorded in his "Diary": "Went a fishing to Sudbury." Good fishing, notably for pickerel, perch, and bream was to be had there in the slow-moving Musketaquid, best described by Col. Jones' Great-Grandson, Henry David Thoreau in his Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers in 1849:

"Concord River is remarkable for the gentleness of its current, which is scarcely perceptible... Compared with the other tributaries of the Merrimack, it appears to

1 "Diary" of Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, July 20, 1773. MSS. Ashley Papers, P.V.H.A. Archives, Deerfield. Samuel Field was probably an excellent teller of tales: the Deerfield historian George Sheldon described him as "a writer of some ability... after his death a collection of (his) prose and verse was published by Rodolphus Dickinson under the title of Field's Works; he d. in Con. Sept. 17, 1800." A History of Deerfield (1st edn. of Vol. II, 1896, 2nd edn. 1972) "Genealogies" pp. 159-160.

2 The MSS "Diary" of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, or that part of it now known, begins in July, 1773. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

have been properly named Masketaguid, or Meadow River, by the Indians. For the most part, it creeps through broad meadows, adorned with scattered oaks, where the cranberry is found in abundance, covering the ground like a moss-bed. A row of sunken dwarf willows borders the stream on one or both sides, while at a greater distance the meadow is skirted with maples, alders, and other fluviatile trees, overrun with the grapevine, which bears fruit in its season, purple, red, white, and other grapes. Still farther from the stream, on the edge of firm land, are seen the gray and white dwellings of the inhabitants...."

The summer of 1773 was to be the last of peaceful times in the rural towns of Colonial Massachusetts.

THE "SMALLPOX WAR"

"The pretended ground of this disorder is the India House Tea; but every species of rude & indecent language of the Govr & others, whom they are pleased to look upon in an unfriendly light, attended with threatenings of violence extending to life itself, were openly avow'd in their Townsp. The Govr attempted to call a Council, but under pretense of some necessary Avocation they neglected to attend. So he could have no advice of Council how to proceed in regard to the unquiet state of the people. One in the T(own) M(eeting) publicly affirm'd in his Harangue that they had no Govr, no Courts of Justice, nor any Constitution at all. That therefore people had a right to do as they pleased. That it was a pity they had not sunk the Commissrs at their first arrival, & (he) intimated that it was not yet too late to do themselves justice on them, on the G(overno)r, & all others who wished to enslave them...

"Wednesday last the people were warned to meet at (the) Liberty Tree to hear the resignation of the Consignees of the Tea & the sd Consignees were summon'd & commanded to attend, but did not, it seems, think proper to obey. 1000s, it is tho't, met at the Tree, but not finding the Gentlemen there w^m they sought for, march'd to K(ing) Street & surrounded Mr. Clark's Warehouse. A riot was begun & an attempt to force themselves into the Chamber of the Warehouse & seize the Gentlemen they wanted who were all in the Chamber, but, being opposed by some spirited Gentlemen, were defeated. One of the Judges of the Inferior Court being present commanded the peace & order'd them to disperse. Him, it is said, they assaulted, wounded, & if he had not dodged a partic(ular) blow aim'd at him with a large stick of wood, (he) must infallibly have been killed.

"Such are the Effects of popular Govermt, Sedition, Anarchy, & Violence, & all this flame kindled & kept alive by about $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. men of bad principles & morals..."

The Rev. Henry Caner at Boston to Governor John
Wentworth of New Hampshire, November 8, 1773 1

On the very day that the Rev. Henry Caner, since 1747 Rector of King's Chapel, was writing to Governor Wentworth of the state of political violence in Boston, Thomas and John Fleet's "neutral" Boston Evening Post reported what may have been an attack by Whig arsonists upon property of Col. Jones in Weston: "We hear that a Dwelling/^{House}

¹ The Rev. Henry Caner at Boston to Gov. John Wentworth of New Hampshire, Nov. 8, 1773. Caner Letterbook, MSS., University of Bristol Library.

belonging to Col. Jones of Weston, was consumed last week by fire."¹
 Col. Jones owned seven farms in Weston and the neighbouring town of Natick at that time, but the house referred to was not the family mansion on Beacon Hill.²

No hint of Provincial politics appears in the records of the Weston Town Meeting of September 20th, however, which was concerned largely with the routine business of a Massachusetts Colonial town, taking up such matters as the salary and allotment of firewood for Parson Samuel Woodward, the support and management of the Weston town schools, tax rates, and the re-making of town "ways". The Town Meeting rejected a proposal to "Joyn with Watertown and Waltham to make the Great Bridge in Watertown any wider" - probably on the grounds of expense - but passed the "Town Creditors accounts," which included the disbursements of Col. Elisha Jones and the other two Overseers of the Poor:

"To Elisha Jones Esqr one of the overseers of the Poor for what he Provided for the Poor as per his account on file	£	S	D	qr
	3	8	6	1
To mr John Allen one of the overseers of the Poor for what he Provided for the Poor as per his account on file	5	0	10	2
To Capt Samll Baldwin one of the overseers of the Poor for what he Provided for the Poor as per his account on file	3	5	10	2 " 3

¹ Boston Evening Post, monday, November 8, 1773. 2/3.

² For Col. Jones' property in and near Weston, see Middlesex County Registry of Deeds: Book 83, p. 282; Book 84, pp. 286, 574, 479; Book 85, pp. 300, 400; and Book 88, p. 344. And see Appendix.

³ M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 195-197. The "Accounts" themselves have not survived. It was customary for town merchants while serving as Overseers to supply the poor from their own stocks. Col. Jones' ledger now at the Golden Ball Tavern at Weston does not show an account for his service as Overseer for the period 1772-1773.

With the General Court in recess until January, 1774, and the Whig leaders in Boston waiting upon events in England - the outcome of the petition for the removal from office of Governor Thomas Hutchinson and Lt. Gov. Thomas Oliver, tactics which had been successful in 1769 in the case of Governor Francis Bernard after a similar Whig campaign of character villification, letter-publication, and finally a petition to the government in England for his removal - there was little political activity in Massachusetts Bay until after the news of the Tea Act (May) and the impending¹ shipments of dutied tea reached Boston at the beginning of October.

Through the long and deceptively quiet summer of 1773 there is a shadowy record of the comings and goings of Col. Elisha Jones' family at Weston and Salem in the much abbreviated "Diary" of his son-in-law the Rev. Asa Dunbar, which begins, abruptly, in July. On August 6th Col. Jones was at the Dunbar Manse near the "Great Meeting House" in Salem, and the next day, as Dunbar recorded, "Mrs. Dunbar went to Weston with her Father."² Mary Jones Dunbar, or "Polly" as she preferred to be known in the family, was expecting her first child in November. One reason for the visit may have been an outbreak of the dread killer, smallpox, at the nearby town of Marblehead, less than five miles from Salem, which had reached epidemic proportions by the beginning of August and so far overcame the fears of Marblehead Town Meeting regarding the spread of the disease that it had been persuaded to approve the building by private subscription of an inoculation hospital in the harbour on Cat Island.³

1 For the views of Boston Whigs, see Thomas Cushing, Speaker of the House, to Agent Benjamin Franklin in London, Dec. 10, 1773. William Willcox, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, Vol. 20 (1976); Massachusetts Committee of Correspondence Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 2nd Ser., Vol. IV (1887-1889), pp. 82-90. For the Tea Controversy, see below, "The Weston Tea Party."

2 The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

3 On August 16th Salem Town Meeting voted to build a hospital in the Great Pastures, and to cooperate with Marblehead in administering the Hospital on Cat Island. George Francis Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries 1709-1856 (1911) p. 81; Gerard H. Clarfield, "Salem's Great Inoculation Controversy, 1773-1774," E. I. H. C., Vol. 106 (1970) pp. 277-81.

Polly remained with her parents at Weston for the next month, until the beginning of September. From time to time as his duties permitted the Rev. Asa Dunbar joined them: on August 16th he records a journey to Weston, preaching at Little Cambridge on August 22nd, and another stay at Weston on August 24th, when he noted in his "Diary": "Mr. and Mrs. Woodward to dine at Col. Jones."¹ The Rev. Samuel and Abigail (Williams) Woodward were old family friends as well as relations. Woodward had succeeded the Rev. William Williams as Minister at Weston in 1751, and had married a daughter of his cousin the Rev. Warham Williams, the Waltham Minister.² Apart from preparing boys for College, Woodward is thought as well to have given instruction in divinity to the town schoolmasters of Weston - including Asa Dunbar in 1771-1772 - who regularly boarded with him. Parson Woodward would have made the dinner of August 24th an enjoyable if not a merry gathering - not least of those present - according to a description of him made by his son-in-law and successor, the Rev. Samuel Kendal, in a sermon delivered at Weston on January 12, 1813:

"He was a serious, sensible, practical preacher, rarely entering upon controversial points, but always striving to mend the heart and life. Extremes he carefully avoided, while he preached Christ... and adopted the evangelical style in his discourses. He was cheerful and facetious without lessening his dignity as a minister, or a Christian. He had uncommon social talents. No man could more happily blend the cheerful with the grave in conversation, and yet preserve their exact bounds. His company was sought and admired by all classes, old and young, the serious and gay; and he discovered a disposition to please and improve all; and with a peculiar air of pleasantry, he could give perfect ease and satisfaction to the most mixed circles.... He delighted to see all happy."³

1 The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," August, 1773. MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc.

2 The Rev. Warham Williams, Harvard, 1719, was the youngest son of the Rev. John ("The Redeemed Captive") and Eunice (Mather) Williams of Deerfield. See Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VI, pp. 361-364.

3 Samuel Kendal, A Sermon, Delivered at Weston, January 12, 1813 (Cambridge, 1813) pp. 43-44. For the Rev. Samuel Woodward, of the Harvard class of 1748, see Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XII, pp. 349-352.

The intrusion of politics - a perennial topic of the times - among the gathering at Col. Jones' on August 24th would have divided the company and called forth, in particular, Parson Woodward's talents as a harmonizer and avoider of extremes. The parson himself, like many of the Massachusetts Congregational ministers, was a Whig of some conviction: on the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775 he prayed before the Town's rebel militia company before marching in the ranks with his son Samuel (Harvard class of 1776) to fight the British Regulars at Concord - although he never afterward would talk of his experiences on that day. Abigail Woodward appears to have shared her husband's political views, by no means a certainty even in Colonial Massachusetts, but Whigs were notably rare among those who were born into the Williams clan.¹ The Rev. Asa Dunbar, a moderate with strong beliefs that "Every good man and true allows his fellow-creatures the right of private judgment..."² stood aside from the forthright Toryism of his wife,³ as events were to show, held with that characteristic, passionate conviction of principle even in the face of a hostile majority, which has marked so many of that Jones family of Watertown and Weston since the 17th century. For the Colonel, an "Old Light" subscribed to the humanitarian Seasonable Thoughts of the Rev. Charles Chauncy (1743) with most of his Williams relations and such

1 After Woodward's death his widow was to marry (Dec. 6, 1795) one of the most notorious of the younger Whig cronies of Sam Adams in Boston, the tailor Thomas Marshall, at the time of the Boston Massacre a Lt. Col. of the Boston Militia. One of the "New Men" who made a fortune during the war, he used the profits of rebellion to buy in at auction (Sept. 4, 1782) and for the pittance of £1,000 in inflated continental currency, Col. Elisha Jones' mansion house and "home estate" of 75 acres which had been "confiscated" by the General Court in the Act of April 30, 1779. Middlesex County Registry of Deeds. A man of violence and a bully, Marshall was well suited to his role as a leader of the Boston mob; it was Marshall who in the famous incident of Oct. 28, 1769, assaulted the Tory publisher John Mein from behind with a shovel. See John E. Alden, "John Mein: Scourge of Patriots," Col. Sec. of Mass. Publications Vol. 34 (1942) pp. 571-592.

2 Asa Dunbar, "An Oration: Delivered at Lancaster" (Worcester, 1781) p. 11.

3 Woodward's widow, as Abigail Marshall, lived on in the Jones House on Beacon Hill until her death, June 4, 1805. Mary Jones, left a widow herself by Dunbar's death (June 22, 1787) at Keene, N.H., in 1795 married Capt. Jonas Minot of Concord, a farmer, and she lived at Concord until her death in 1830. No record has been found in the writings of her grandson Henry Thoreau, or elsewhere, that Mary ever visited the family home after it was taken over by Thomas Marshall.

friends as Jeremiah Gridley and other rationalist Tory men of the law, the way forward for the Bay Colony was political reform and not an accommodation with Sam Adams and the Whig activists, who for some years had governed Boston through their control of Town Meeting by mob violence - and through the new mechanism of the Committees of Correspondence were then bidding to extend their dominion to the whole of the Colony.

Despite the threat of smallpox, which defeated the precaution of quarantine and the Pest House, spreading from Marblehead to Salem by the end of October, Mary Jones Dunbar returned to Salem on September 4th. In the weeks that followed the Salem Manse was plagued by illness and the threat of it: for much of October the Rev. Asa Dunbar records in his "Diary" attacks of the chronic intestinal illness, which he describes as "ye cholic," that was to trouble him with increasing frequency for the rest of his life.

"October	4	Very Poorly	
	5	Very Poorly. Ministers Meeting	
	10	No Preaching at out Meeting	
	17	Mr. Steward supplied my place	1
	30	Endeavouring to grow better all this week"	

On October 28th the decision was made to send the two boys that Asa Dunbar was preparing for Harvard to Col. Elisha and his wife Mary Allen Jones at Weston, their parents and grandparents respectively:

"October 28th Nahum and Charles went to Weston to tarry" ²

Asa Dunbar's health appears to have improved little in November when Mary's first confinement approached, an anxious troubled time for Col. Elisha Jones and the family.

¹ The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," October, 1773. MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc.

² Ibid.

On November 24, 1773, however, Mary gave birth safely to a girl, her first child, who was called Mary. Asa Dunbar wrote the news to Col. Jones the same day, the only one of Dunbar's letters to his Father-in-Law known to survive:

Salem
November 24, 1773

Dear Sir:

I have the happiness of informing you that Mrs. Dunbar is comfortably in bed with a daughter. She was delivered about three o'clock this morning after a moderate illness of thirty six hours. Her circumstances seem very agreeable and the child is a perfect and a promising child. We have already named her¹ after both her grand Mamas and her immediate mother¹ and we will endeavour that she shall not disgrace the name they have borne with so much honor.

As to myself I am at present so far recovered and so comfortable that I hope soon to be released from my long confinement. Miss Louisa is very well. We are all very² impatient, and yet almost afraid, to hear from poor Nahum for whom we are much concerned, having had no intelligence from him since we received your kind letter. Please be so good as to write at the first opportunity.

The person by whose favor I expect this to be conveyed to Cambridge being in waiting, I can add nothing further but a sincere declaration that I am

Sir
With all duty and affection
Your very humble servant
Asa Dunbar³

¹ Mary was called "Polly" in the family like her mother. The two Grandmothers were Mary Allen Jones, and Mary Hayward Dunbar, daughter of Deacon Thomas Hayward of Bridgewater. See for the Dunbar family at Bridgewater: Nahum Mitchell, History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater in Plymouth County Massachusetts. (Boston, Kidder & Wright) 1840. p. 148. Polly died, aged 21, at East Hoosuck (Adams), Massachusetts on June 12, 1794, as recorded after Dunbar's death in his Commonplace Book, MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc.

² Whatever Nahum's misfortune at this time—an accident or perhaps an illness — it was only temporary. For his return to the Manse at Salem with Charles and his Aunt Mary Jones Dunbar on Feb. 7, 1774, see below.

³ Asa Dunbar to Col. Elisha Jones at Weston, Nov. 24, 1773. The only known text survived copied into Asa Dunbar's Commonplace Book, now at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

Within a month, and probably as soon as she was able to make the journey, however, Mary and her baby were escorted to her parents' home at Weston by Asa Dunbar, who recorded a visit there himself later on December 21st and 22nd. Mary was to remain at Weston until February 7th, after Asa had been released from the new Salem Hospital, built on land set aside in the "Great Pasture," where he underwent inoculation for smallpox by Dr. James Latham.¹

It was through the Rev. Asa Dunbar that the family became involved in the so-called "Smallpox War," of 1773-1774, which split and defeated the Whigs of the North Shore, Essex County towns of Salem and Marblehead - the most important in the Colony after Boston - at the very time that the Whigs in Boston were busy exploiting their greatest propaganda stroke, the dumping of 340 chests of tea from three vessels into Boston Harbour by a band of "Mohawks" and their followers on the night of December 16, 1773. It was Asa Dunbar's good friend Timothy Pickering (1745-1829) who, with his father, Deacon Timothy the elder, had been instrumental in securing his appointment as assistant Pastor of the First Church in 1772 and in 1773 one of the Salem Selectmen and an Overseer of the new Salem Hospital,² who hired Dr. James Latham, an Englishman then running an inoculation hospital at Livingston Manor, in upper New York, to treat 15 classes of smallpox patients at the new Salem Hospital.³ Latham claimed to use the English "Suttonian system" of inoculation by which certain un-named drugs assured patients lighter infection, less pain, discomfort, and quicker recovery than

¹ The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," November-February, 1773-4. MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc.

² The documents relating to Dunbar's "call" to the First Church at Salem are copied into his MSS. Commonplace Book, now at the Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester. There are a number of references to Pickering in Dunbar's MSS "Diary" and in the Pickering papers, now at the Mass. Hist. Society, Asa Dunbar is frequently mentioned during this period.

The other Overseers of the Salem Hospital were: two more Salem Selectmen, John Gardner (Pickering's brother-in-law) and Stephen Higginson, merchant William Pickman, and Salem's leading apothecary John Prince.

³ The contract was dated Nov. 12, 1773. Pickering MSS., XXXIII, p. 29.

the usual treatment in the Colonies which included heavy dosing with Calomel (mercurious chloride) and antimony purges that, it was believed, prevented inoculated patients from developing the dreaded and so often fatal serious cases of smallpox.¹ Latham's first class of 132 at the Salem Hospital in December, 1773 was apparently successful, and in January, 1774, the Rev. Asa Dunbar enrolled in the second, as his characteristically abbreviated "Diary" records:

"January, 1774

- 2 Preached at home (Salem)
- 3 Began to take physic preparatory to Small Pox
- 7 Went to ye Hospital & was inoculated for ye Small Pox
- 9 Preached at ye Hospital upon Temperance
- 15 Symptoms at their hight. Wrote a Sermon
- 16 Preached at ye Hospital upon Chearfulness
- 23 Broke out at ye fullest
- 30 Very much unstrung with taking physic
- 31 Left ye Hospital this morning " 2

For a description of the terrible sickness, agony, and distress endured by Dunbar and the other patients during their treatment in Dr. Latham's disastrous second class one must turn to Dunbar's anonymous denunciation of Latham as a "mountebank" and a fraud in a half-page article on the front page of the Essex Gazette on March 15, 1774. "I will not pretend to say how far the public ought to resent this imposition," he wrote. "There is no law for hanging mountebanks, that I know of, in this land of liberty.... But there are some individuals, who are not fond of being deceived by the dirty artifices of avaricious pretenders, and who, as the greatest act of kindness, would willingly open the eyes of those too credulous brothers." 3

1 Henry R. Viets, in A Brief History of Medicine in Massachusetts (Boston, 1930), p. 77, notes that Calomel was not part of the therapy of inoculation when it was first introduced to Boston by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, who had "walked the London hospitals," in 1721, but was added later, as the treatment became more elaborate, a practice thought to have been begun by a Connecticut physician, Dr. Benjamin Gale, about 1750.

2 The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," January, 1774. MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc.

3 The copy of the Essex Gazette of March 15, 1774 in the Timothy Pickering MSS., Vol. XXXIII, p. 59 (Mass. Hist. Soc.) has an inscription which identifies the author as Asa Dunbar. Dunbar signed the article "A Friend of the Public." In a letter of March 14th Timothy Pickering thanked Dunbar ("my best friend") for his support—see below. Octavius Pickering, Life of Timothy Pickering (1867) Vol. I, pp. 42, 46.

Dr. Latham's great crime was that despite his assurances he had administered Calomel as part of the treatment in the manner of Colonial practitioners. As Asa Dunbar related, the patients, apart from the disease in more or less mild forms, had suffered the dreadful symptoms of mercury poisoning, among them swellings, partial paralysis of the limbs, loosening of teeth, sore and swollen mouths, protruding tongues, and uncontrollable salivation - together with Latham's added therapy of exposure out-of-doors and open windows for long periods in the severe temperatures of a Massachusetts January. It was an experience from which Dunbar's health, never robust - according to his "Diary" - did not entirely recover, and it probably contributed to his early death at the age of 42 in June, 1787.¹

Dunbar's article for the Essex Gazette was apparently written to support Timothy Pickering's campaign - begun in the Gazette on February 15, 1774 with the first of five articles signed "A Lover of Truth" - to oust Latham and to replace him at Salem Hospital with Dr. Hall Jackson, who had been successful in inoculating patients at the Cat Island Essex Hospital until it was closed, not long before, by the people of Marblehead, convinced that it was the source of the continued presence of smallpox in that town. At Salem as at Marblehead, the "Smallpox War" cut sharply across party lines while, of course, following the inevitable courses of private feuds.² Dunbar, however anonymously, gave support to his friend Timothy Pickering, since 1770 an "apostate Tory," who earlier had championed Latham against his inveterate political and theological enemy Dr. Nathaniel Whitaker

1 The cause of death was recorded as "an apoplectic fit."

Despite its known bad effects American doctors were still using Calomel as a physic at the time of the Civil War, and the Surgeon-General, Wm. Hammond, was forced to prohibit its use in the Union Medical Corps in May, 1863. Not in time, however, to prevent the large doses being given (in January, 1863) to Louisa May Alcott, who fell ill while serving as an Army nurse in Washington, and was invalided home to Concord. She, like Asa Dunbar, never recovered her health; the painful symptoms of mercuric poisoning - and of Louisa May's admiration and unrequited love for Dunbar's grandson, Henry Thoreau - are well described in her newest biography by Martha Saxton, Louisa May (1978) See pp. 245-8, 270-282. Thoreau was the inspiration for her only book of fantasy and romance, Moods, published in 1864.

2 See George A. Billias, "Pox and Politics in Marblehead, 1773-1774" 1956, E.I.H.C.V. 92, pp. 43-58; Gerald Clarfield, "Salem's Great Inoculation Controversy, 1773-1774," E.I.H.C., 1970, V. 106, pp. 277-296.

the radical Whig Pastor of the Salem Third Church, a militant "New Light," a friend of the evangelist George Whitefield and disciple of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards.¹ Pickering finally gained the victory in this controversy which for months dwarfed all other issues in Salem, when, after a number of patients in Latham's third (February, 1774) class developed natural cases of smallpox (an unanswerable demonstration of incompetence in any inoculator) he succeeded in obtaining Latham's dismissal.

By "changing sides" as a conservative Whig, Pickering, moreover, was able to keep his personal popularity, the same Salem Town Meeting that voted to close down the Salem Hospital (to the end Pickering supported its retention) electing him to the politically crucial office of Town Clerk. In Salem as in Marblehead fear of the smallpox outweighed local antipathy for Tory supporters of Thomas Hutchinson's Government, however unpopular. The Marbleheaders, so many of them the crews of fishing vessels, always more turbulent and mob-minded, had experimented first with an inoculation hospital, and when it seemed to prolong the disease in the town, not only closed it and burned down the buildings, but when the men who set the fire on Cat Island were found and taken to Salem Gaol, came in force over the Bay to their rescue as Asa Dunbar at Salem recorded in his "Diary" on February 25, 1774:

"Marblehead Mob released ye two Prisoners" 3

¹ As a Calvinist supporter of "the radical cousin" Dr. Jonathan Edwards and collector in England of funds for Dartmouth College (Col. Jones with Col. Israel Williams and others had tried -without success - to found the "Old Light" Queens College in Hampshire County) Dr. Whitaker was a ready-made Whig agitator and noted as such even among Sam Adams' "Black Regiment". See Gilbert L. Streeter, "Salem Before the Revolution," E.I.H.C., Vol. 32, 1896, pp. 93-97.

² See the sketch of Timothy Pickering in Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XV, pp. 449-450.

³ The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," Feb. 25, 1774. MSS., Am. Ant. Soc.

Dunbar left no account in his "Diary" of the violence of the Whig mobs in Salem and Marblehead during the "Smallpox War," whether directed against Whigs or Tories, some of which, living in the midst of it, Dunbar undoubtedly witnessed. Almost a month after the release of the incendiaries from Salem Gaol by the Marblehead mob, Dunbar recorded the death of one of Salem's leading citizens:

"March 18 Judge Ropes died last Night" 1

Judge Nathaniel Ropes (1727-1774) was a member of the Council, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, and a Judge of the Superior Court, but the Whig mob of Salem had no mercy upon dying Tories however respectable: the night before the Judge's death they attacked his home on Main (now Essex) Street, not far from Dunbar's First Church, and broke his windows - a doubly serious matter in the chill and frost of a March night. 2

In Salem as at Marblehead, however, the greater violence of the Whig mobs was directed against the -largely Whig - political leaders and town officers who were the supporters of the inoculation hospitals. At Marblehead, where the worst of the mobbings appear to have occurred, the original sponsors of the Cat Island Hospital included besides the Whigs Jonathan Glover (1726-1804) a shipmaster and merchant, and Jeremiah Lee (1721-1775) one of the leading merchants and shipowners of Essex County, two of Marblehead's most prominent Tories, Robert ("King") Hooper, so-called because of his great wealth and hospitality, a shipowner and merchant, and Benjamin Marston (1730-1792)³ a partner in business with his brothers-in-law Jeremiah Lee and "King" Hooper. In Marblehead as in Salem, however, Whig-controlled Town Meetings saw to it that Whigs were

1 The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," March 18, 1774. MSS. Am. Antiq. Soc.

2 The death of Judge Ropes is also recorded in the "Diary" of Mrs. Mary (Vial) Holyoke of Salem, March 18, 1774. See the note by George Francis Dow, who annotated The Holyoke Diaries 1709-1856 (1911), p. 82, for the mobbing of Judge Ropes the night before his death.

3 Marston later became a Tory refugee. See his Loyalist MSS. in PRO. A.O. 12:10, ff. 166-167, and A.O. 13:51; the sketch by Clifford Shipton in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Class of 1749, Vol. XII; and the Rev. John L. Watson's article, "The Marston Family of Salem, Mass." N.E.H.G.R., Vol. XXVII, 1873, pp. 390-393.

appointed to the boards of hospital overseers. The owner-proprietors of the Marblehead Cat Island Hospital when it began operations were all leading Whigs from the town: Jonathan Glover and his younger brother John (1732-1797) the future commander of the sea-going Marblehead Militia Regiment that manned the first vessel commissioned in "Mr. Washington's Navy," Glover's own on lease, the Hannah, in August, 1775;¹ another prominent Salem merchant, Azor Orne, Marblehead's Representative in the General Court for the session of 1773-1774, together² with Sam Adams' young radical protege Elbridge Gerry (1744-1814), Secretary of the Marblehead Committee of Correspondence and already a power of some note in the Whig Provincial Party as a member of the Provincial Committee of Correspondence who with Sam Adams and James Warren of Plymouth had been the principal drafters of the Circular Letter (dated Oct. 21, 1773) to the other American Colonies appealing for unity in the defense of Colonial rights.³

In December, 1773, after a new outbreak of smallpox cases in the town of Marblehead, popular fears and hostility to inoculation as a spreader of contagion, nurtured by ignorance and not a little politics, bred a panic that swept "King" Hooper the arch-Tory back into control of Town Meeting, which imposed such stringent restrictions upon the operation of the Cat Island Hospital as to make it all but impossible for it to carry on its work. Nor was popular protest, encouraged by Sam Adams and the other Whig leaders in Massachusetts since the time of the Stamp Act riots to flout the law, long in venting its passions by violence. In January, 1774 the Whig mobs of

1 See George Athan Billias, John Glover and his Marblehead Mariners (1960) pp. 72-83. Billias is the best modern historian of Marblehead.

2 On Jan. 1, 1774, the Rev. Asa Dunbar wrote in his "Diary": "Capt. Jonathan Orne died, an agreeable and important friend." MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc.

3 The most recent biography of Gerry is by George Athan Billias, Elbridge Gerry: Founding Father and Republican Statesman (New York, 1976); see also the sketch by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XV, p. 240.

Marblehead and Essex County began a rampage of mobbings, tarrings and featherings, and other assaults, accompanied by the destruction of property, which was to continue virtually unchecked for the better part of three months. There was a general breakdown of public order and civic authority not to be seen again in the Province until the great Whig mass uprising that followed the Powder Alarm nine months later on September 1, 1774. By September the Whig leaders were in control of the mobs - but in Essex County from January to April, 1774 it was the Whig Selectmen and other officials, and the hospital overseers, who were the mobs' chief victims.

At Marblehead the violence began on January 11th with the mobbing of inoculated patients who returned early from the Cat Island Hospital, the burning of the Hospital boat, and, later in the day an attack in force by a mob with blackened faces upon the home of one of the Hospital proprietors. While stoning his windows the mob chanted its intention to hang the proprietor if the smallpox patients who had returned before time were not arrested.¹ Several more days of violence followed, after which the Hospital proprietors declared that

"it was no longer safe for anyone to express dissatisfaction at their proceedings; or take any steps to prevent them."²

On January 15th the Proprietors were forced to announce the closing of the Hospital. All was quiet the next day, but on the evening of the 17th black-faced mobbers reappeared in all parts of Marblehead demanding that the Hospital be burned. This threat was not carried out immediately, however, the mob diverting itself instead with the punishment of four men caught stealing contaminated clothing put out to air at the Hospital, tarring and feathering them, and dragging

¹ Essex Gazette, January 18, 1774, March 29, 1774.

² Essex Gazette, March 29, 1774.

them through the streets. But the ordeal of the cloathing thieves was not over. That same day Salem's only newspaper, Samuel Hall's Whig Essex Gazette which had supported the founding of the Hospital and was attempting to play down the growing violence of the Whig mobs in Essex County (where since its first issue of August 2, 1768 the paper had built up a considerable circulation)¹ by laundering its coverage (as was the custom of Whig anti-government editors to avoid libel suits and to protect the reputation of the Whig party)² and by giving more of its space for local news to letters concerned with the medical arguments for and against inoculation such as that half-page letter of the Rev. Asa Dunbar denouncing Dr. Latham's treatment at the Salem Hospital printed on page one in the issue of March 15th when the anarchy was at its height, carried this short and pointed advertisement:

" WANTED — A quantity of damaged feathers —
also an old one-horse cart. " 3

Within hours these items had been supplied, and a spectacle went forward which the Essex Gazette in its next issue described as "the most extraordinary Exhibition of the Kind ever seen in North-America." While a large procession assembled at Marblehead, it was thought of a thousand people, many of them in their blue militia uniforms, the "four objects of Resentment" were again tarred and feathered, placed in the cart, and to the music of regimental fife and drum the company marched over to Salem. There, and reinforced by Salemites who set up a large white flag also in the cart, they paraded the streets of Salem Town for some time before the Marbleheaders made their way back and finally released their prisoners.⁴

1 For Samuel Hall and the Essex Gazette, see Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence The Newspaper War on Britain 1764-1776. (1958) pp. 93-94.

2 Lawyers fees were low and litigation (as for Norfolkers in Old England) a popular intellectual pastime. Clifford Shipton wrote of Col. Jones' friend and lawyer Jeremiah Gridley that, "Although recognized as the most learned lawyer of his day, Gridley usually received only twenty shillings for arguing a case. His retaining fee as counsel for King's Chapel was a guinea..." Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VII, p. 521.

3 Essex Gazette, January 18, 1774.

4 Essex Gazette, January 25, 1774. There is no mention of any design on the flag. It might have belonged to the Salem Militia. Or to Hospital proprietor John Glover, the shipowner, whose "signal" was a white (cont.)

On February 25th the Whig mob burned the Hospital on Cat Island, and after rescuing two of the incendiaries whom the civic authorities had managed to find and lodge in Salem Gaol - as the Rev. Asa Dunbar recorded in his "Diary"- then turned the full force of its violence upon the Hospital proprietors. These men - Azor Orne, John and Jonathan Glover, and Elbridge Gerry - were left by the Whig-induced paralysis of law and public order in Essex County to defend themselves like any Tory, who, since the Stamp Act Riots from the Governor down to the poorest Yankee peddler of tea, English books, or other goods prohibited by the Whigs to be imported, had had the ill-luck of attracting the enmity of an influential Whig with the consequence of a punitive visit by a Whig mob, the mere "liquorish boys" as Sam Adams described them. As the Whig leaders of Marblehead and Essex County barred shutters, loaded guns, and prepared to defend themselves, watching through the tedium of lengthening nights for the torches of oncoming mobs - darkness and faces smeared with grease and lamp-black were used to gain anonymity - how many thought of Sam Adams' classic justification of violence as a political weapon, the notorious Appeal to the World or a Vindication of the Town of Boston of 1769, where Adams wrote:

"It has been usual for the Commissioners to affect an Apprehension of Danger to themselves and their Families, to serve the Purposes they had in view. There is indeed no accounting for the real Fears of Women and Children: The Ladies however can sometimes vie with their Husbands in Intrigue, and are thoroughly vers'd in the Art even of political Appearance.... It may be here observed as in general true, that no Man has Reason to fear the popular Fury, but he who is conscious to himself of having done that which has expos'd him to their just Resentment..." 1

Cont. flag with a blue diamond. For Glover as a shipowner, see Philip C.F. Smith and Russell W. Knight, In Troubled Waters: The Elusive Schooner Hannah (Salem, Peabody Museum, 1970).

1 This pamphlet was the reply of the Boston Whigs to the reports sent to Parliament by Francis Bernard the Governor and others of mob activities and the regimen of politically inspired public disorders in Boston.

Elbridge Gerry certainly shared Sam Adams' views regarding the justifiable uses of mob violence. "We must," he said, "find some way to overawe our adversaries."¹

Gerry and the other Hospital overseers - in fact the now besieged Selectmen of Marblehead, the two Town Representatives to the General Court, senior militia officers of the Marblehead Regiment, Justices of the Peace and members of the newly-formed Marblehead Committee of Correspondence, self-declared guardian of Colonial rights and liberties - survived the Whig mobbings of the late winter and spring of 1774, although much of their property was destroyed by the Whig mobs and lost to them by the theft which almost invariably accompanied these forays, liquor in particular, the fuel that made Sam Adams' "liquorish boys" to run.

It was fully in accord with Whig policy that the circumstances of these mobbings against Whig authority - a mishapening not to occur again in Massachusetts on such a scale until the "Rebellion" led by Daniel Shays in Berkshire County in 1786 - were afterward so largely suppressed. But happily for the cause of historic truth, stirring and dramatic stories with ancestors for heroes, particularly among the old Colonial families of the Bay, are not the sort to be put down by political prejudices or political fashions, however long lasting - or the ideological blinkerings of modern historical writers. Thus George Billias, the honest biographer of Hospital overseer John Glover, in his accounts of the Smallpox War in Marblehead (which no doubt come nearer to Clifford Shipton's concept of "What actually happened" than any before him)² makes good use of the family narrative of the defense of Jonathan Glover's house in March, 1774, by his military brother John. Warned of an intended visit by the Whig mob, John in good time hauled two loaded cannon into his brother's front hall, pointing them down

¹ James T. Austin, The Life of Elbridge Gerry (1828) Vol. I, p. 22. See also the biography by George Athan Billias, Elbridge Gerry: Founding Father and Republican Statesman (McGraw Hill, 1976). When Gerry was elected to the General Court in 1772 he lectured Sam Adams on the duty of rebellion. Gerry was one of the "angry young men" of his time.

² See Clifford Shipton, New England Life in the 18th Century: Representative Biographies from Sibley's Harvard Graduates (Cambridge, 1963) Introduction.

the front walk. When the mob arrived, near midnight, and advanced upon the house, the front door was thrown open, and there in the hall, a blaze of light so that all might see, stood John Glover with a lighted torch near the touch holes. He ordered the mob to halt - and halt they did.¹

To end the violence, which came to a head in the threat of a pitched battle between a Deputy Sheriff's Posse from Salem and the Marblehead Whig mob, the Hospital proprietors were finally compelled to drop all charges against the incendiaries of Cat Island and others involved in mob damage.² But if, for the time being, an uneasy semblance of public order was thus restored in the vicinity of Salem and Marblehead, the "Smallpox War" had opened politically damaging rifts in the Whig party, not only in the strategic county of Essex, but among the Representatives in the General Court and the inner circles of the Whig Provincial leadership.

It is probable that Col. Elisha Jones, who was the Representative for Weston in the winter session of the General Court that convened in Boston on January 26th, 1774, was in the Chamber when the Whig leaders of Essex County were driven by the collapse of law and order there to make a formal and public appeal to the General Court for armed protection against their own Whig mobs openly aided and abetted by mutinous, uniformed militiamen. On Saturday, February 12th, the House heard Clerk Sam Adams read out the petition of Jeremiah Lee et al (including Elbridge Gerry and Azor Orne, the Marblehead Representatives, and those from Salem, Richard Derby and Timothy Pickering's brother John) "setting forth that great Disorders and tumults have arisen in said Town (of Marblehead), and praying relief from this Court."³

¹ George Billias based this account on the Crocker Memorial of the Glover family, p. 22. General John Glover And His Marblehead Mariners (1960) p. 46. For the fullest accounts by an eye witness, see the references to the "Smallpox War" in the Journal of the Marblehead merchant Ashley Bowen: Philip C. F. Smith, ed., The Journals of Ashley Bowen (1728-1813) of Marblehead, Col. Soc. Mass. Publications, Vol. XLIV (1973) for 1773 and 1774.

² In April, 1777 John and Jonathan Glover filed suit for damages of £1,000 against Abijah Bowden as "The Leader of a Number of Desperate Persons who set fire to that Valuable Building." See Benjamin Hichborn of Boston, the Glovers' attorney, to Abijah Bowden, Dec. 27, 1777. Marblehead Historical Society Collections, No. 3545.

Sam Adams described his predicament in a letter to Elbridge Gerry dated March 25, 1774, after the end of the Session. "When your petition was read in the House," he wrote,

"I was fearful that our enemies would make an ill improvement of it. I thought I could discover in the countenance of some a kind of triumph in finding that the friends of liberty themselves, were obliged to have recourse even to military aid, to protect them from the fury of an ungoverned mob..."¹

Besides Col. Elisha Jones, Sam Adams' "enemies" in the House for the session of January-March, 1774, taking as a yardstick the politically significant vote of the day before - February 11th - these were but eight members, the handful who voted against the Whig resolve demanding the removal of Chief Justice Peter Oliver for his acceptance of a Crown stipend rather than the annual salary customarily appropriated to High Court Judges by the General Court.² Besides Mark Hopkins of Egremont and Alford, the young lawyer who had married Electa, daughter of Col. Jones' niece Abigail Williams and the Rev. John Sergeant, the Indian missionary founder of Stockbridge, these were largely the Tory stalwarts of many years experience in the House: the Colonel's old friend John Worthington of Springfield (Worc.), Josiah Edson of Bridgewater (Plymouth), Thomas Gilbert of Freetown (Bristol), William Tyng of Palmouth and Cape Elizabeth (Cumberland, Me.), Abijah White of Marshfield (Plymouth), Capt. Jeremiah Learned, Oxford and Charlton (Worc.) The ninth member was a newcomer to the Tory ranks in the House, Daniel Leonard, a lawyer, of Taunton (Bristol), perhaps the most prominent of the Whigs who were the converts of Whig mobbings and violence, the Boston Tea Party and the Smallpox War.

Cont. 3. Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... 1773-1774 February 12, 1774. p. 151.

¹ Sam Adams to Elbridge Gerry, March 25, 1774. James T. Austin, The Life of Elbridge Gerry (1828) Vol. I, p. 37.

² This list of Tories is as recorded by Sam Adams as Clerk of the House and printed in the Journal... 1773-1774, February 11, 1774. p. 148. See also the Salem Essex Gazette, February 22, 1774. 5/3.

The debate which followed the reading of the Petition of Jeremiah Lee and the other leading men of Essex County asking for the protection of the Provincial Government against the Whig mobs rampaging at will through that part of Massachusetts raised the most fundamental Constitutional questions which then divided the Tories, or "Friends of Government," who with Col. Jones believed in the rule of law as the only bastion against anarchy, and evolutionary constitutional reform by consent through legal means, and Whig Radicals like Sam Adams, who regarded "organized" mob violence and the "selective" destruction of property belonging to political opponents as legitimate weapons by which a minority might enforce political change. No official account of House debates in Colonial Massachusetts was ever kept, the House Journal recording only decisions taken, but by Sam Adams' own description of the proceedings in his letter to Elbridge Gerry on March 25th, Col. Jones and the Tories had made the most of their opportunity to brand the Whig Radicals as revolutionaries. "They" (the Tories), he wrote,

seemed to me to be disposed to confound the distinction, between a lawless attack upon property in a case where if there had been right there was remedy, and the people's rising in the necessary defence of their liberties, and deliberately, and I may add rationally destroying property, after trying every method to preserve it, and when the men in power had rendered the destruction of that property the only means of securing the property of all." ¹

Whatever the merits of any argument, debates in the House were decided by political majorities, and Sam Adams, with the management of the work of the Assembly under the tight rein of his powers as Clerk, had to call upon at this session a massive Whig majority. Despite probable abstentions and even defections of some conservative Whigs whose natural sympathies would have supported the appeal of the Essex Whigs for Provincial aid in suppressing

¹ Sam Adams to Elbridge Gerry, March 25, 1774. James T. Austin, The Life of Elbridge Gerry (1828) Vol. I, p. 37.

the mob violence of Whig mobs, Sam Adams was able to shelve the issue by using the time-honoured expedient of appointing a House Committee to investigate the matter. Two Whigs of unquestioned loyalty to the Sam Adams Junta of Boston Radicals were chosen: Maj. Jedediah Foster of Brookfield (Worcester) and Robert Treat Paine of Taunton (Bristol) who, "with such as the Hon. Board (of Selectmen) shall join (were to) be a Committee to repair to the Town of Marblehead, enquire into the causes of uneasiness there, and report."¹

The House Committee Report, dated February 18th, avoided largely the thorny and politically divisive (for the Whigs) Constitutional law-and-order aspects of the Smallpox War. It attributed the troubles to popular fears concerning the carrying out of safety regulations designed to stop the spread of contagion by Hospital Overseers; the (Whig) Selectmen's refusal to implement safety recommendations voted by the (Tory-controlled) December, 1773 Town Meeting; "A loss of confidence of the poorer sorts of which the majority of the Town is composed" in the Hospital "at a time when the poorer sorts were all at home and out of business" (most of the Marbleheaders were the crews of fishing vessels) and who were "not being able to bear the expense of Inoculation" were exposed by those who could pay for it and left "to Suffer the Small Pox in the natural way, at the great Hazard of their lives." And last of all, that it was the less well off who suffered most from the loss of trade which any visitation of smallpox entailed.²

1 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives...1773-1774. Feb. 12, 1774. p. 151. The Whig apologist Frank Davol in his joint biography of Paine and Daniel Leonard (who had begun to vote with the Tories in the House in January, 1774) Two Men of Taunton (1912) makes no reference to Paine's serving on this Committee, which was to bring him into conflict with Elbridge Gerry and the other Whig leaders of Essex County.

2 The Committee Report to the House dated Feb. 18, 1774, is in Massachusetts Archives (Boston) Vol. 87, pp. 384-385.

Dirk Hoerder in Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts 1765-1780 (1977) in a brief discussion of the Smallpox War (pp. 54-4, 250-1) maintains that "What looked like a small-scale Civil war caused by prejudices against inoculation and fear of smallpox was in fact a violent outbreak of sociopolitical and class conflict." But these Marxian terms are too limiting. Pauline Maier's thesis that mobs in fact promoted public order cannot be demonstrated by the Smallpox War - see her study From Resistance to Revolution (1973) and other works that avoid any discussion of it.

The corrosive effect upon public authority and the functioning of town and county government of unhampered mob violence during the Smallpox War - a foretaste of the Whig-promoted anarchy that was to descend upon Massachusetts Bay after the Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774 - was recognized only too clearly by the Whig leaders of Essex County, who lived with weeks and months of public disorders and lawbreakings the worst excesses of which, as Selectmen and town officers, they found themselves powerless to prevent or contain.¹ No effective help had been forthcoming from Governor Thomas Hutchinson, preoccupied, it must be said, with the "larger" Imperial questions raised by the Boston Tea Party, the continuing personal attacks made upon him by the Whigs, and his ever-present concern for his own reputation as a colonial administrator. It was Hutchinson's policy - at the inevitable cost of further deterioration progressively in governmental authority - to avoid the use of military force, whether by his admittedly small force of regular troops, or the Massachusetts Bay Militia, designed in peace-time to support the Magistrates (so many of them traditionally militia field officers), when called upon, in keeping public order. In his History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay (Vol. III ending with his departure for England on June 1st, 1774, completed in England Oct. 22, 1778 and first published in 1828 after his death) Hutchinson, significantly enough, made no reference to the months of civic strife known as the Smallpox War or his failure to carry out his duties in Essex County as Chief Magistrate of the Bay as well as supreme commander of the Militia. Instead, Hutchinson covered his own failure to act with historical perjury, making it appear - quite falsely and to the aid and comfort of Whig historians ever since - that among the local authorities in Massachusetts, whether Whig or Tory, after the Boston Tea Party

"There was not a justice of peace, sheriff, constable, or peace officer in the province, who would venture to take any cognizance of any breach of law, against the general bent of the people." 2

1 Marblehead Committee of Correspondence to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, March 22, 1774. Bancroft MSS., New York Public Library.

2 L.S. Mayo, ed., The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay Vol. III (2nd. edn. 1936, Cambridge, Mass.) p. 314.

And as for the Militia, Hutchinson continued with the following:

"The military authority, which, by charter, was given to the governor, had been assumed by this body of the people, who appointed guards and officers, which appeared sometimes with fire-arms, though generally without them. And when he required the colonel of the regiment of militia in the town, (Boston) to use the powers with which by law he was intrusted, he excused himself, by urging the hazard to which he should be exposed, and the inefficacy of any attempt." ¹

In protest against the course of events, the members of the Whig Marblehead Committee of Correspondence - Elbridge Gerry, Azor Orne, and John and Jonathan Glover - resigned in a body, for reasons which they set forth in a letter to the Boston Committee of Correspondence on March 22nd:

"We should probably have continued in ye same Pursuit until Time has determined ye event of our Struggles; had not ye late prevalent disorders have put an End in this place to all order & Distinction & rendered publick Officers of every degree obnoxious to ye Controul of a savage Mobility." ²

Nor would the Marblehead Committee agree to serve again "without material Alteration in the Conduct of the Inhabitants." ³

March 22nd, as the Rev. Asa Dunbar recorded in his "Diary," was significant as the day on which Judge Nathaniel Ropes, much respected throughout Essex County, was buried at Salem, whose death had been caused, it was believed, by the attack of a Whig mob on his house four days before. ⁴

Sam Adams, as Secretary of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, in a letter sent to Elbridge Gerry, Secretary of the resigned Marlborough Committee of Correspondence, on March 25th, 1774, described the magatory House proceedings with respect to the petition of Jeremiah Lee and other prominent men of Essex County for aid in

¹ L.S. Mayo, ed., The History...of Massachusetts-Bay (1936) Vol. III, p. 314.

² Marblehead Committee of Correspondence to the Boston Committee of Correspondence, March 22, 1774. Bancroft MSS., New York Public Library.

³ Loc. Cit.

⁴ Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," March 22, 1774. MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc. See also G.F. Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries 1709-1856 (1911) p. 82.

restoring order (Gerry and his colleague as Town Representative, Azor Orne, had evidently not been present). But first of all Sam Adams gave Gerry and the other former Committeemen a pointed lecture on the better management of their Whig mobs:

"The tumult of the people is very properly compared to the raging of the sea. When the passions of a multitude become headstrong, they generally will have their course: a direct opposition only tends to increase them; and as to reasoning, one may as well expect that the foaming billows will harken to a lecture of morality and be quiet. The skilful pilot will carefully keep the helm, and so steer the ship while the storm continues, as to prevent, if possible, her receiving injury..." 1

1 Sam Adams to Elbridge Gerry, March 25, 1774. James T. Austin, The Life of Elbridge Gerry (1828) Vol. I, p. 37.

As it happened, the hard lesson of the Smallpox War was well learned by the Marblehead and Salem Whigs: they saw to it that the hard core of troublemakers, largely fishing crews and sailors, when not employed at their seasonal calling on the Grand Banks and other fishing grounds, were kept occupied with the mobbing of Tories, and looting their property. Preferably these operations were carried out at some distance away, along the coast. These marauders, nothing but common pirates and who found it easy enough to slip past the infrequent patrols of Naval vessels north of Boston, by the end of the summer of 1774 were ranging the Maine coast in force: Col. Elisha Jones' eldest son, Nathan, of Jones' Cove, on Frenchman's Bay, wrote to Gen. Gage in Boston on Oct. 27, 1774, that "on the 25th and 26th Instant upwards of three hundred men with a Sloop and Several Fishing Schooners (from Salem, Newbury, Portsmouth, and other coast towns) came and took possession of my Sloop, threw part of (the) leading overboard and stripped her of her sails and rigging, then sent a Committee of Eleven men to me with a paper... The content of the paper was that I should promise not to ship any more lumber for his Majesty's use..." Col. Nathan Jones to Gen. Gage, Oct. 27, 1774. Gage MSS., Clements Library, University of Michigan.

By the end of 1774 the disaffected Whig leaders of Marblehead, spurred on by circumstances, including the Boston Port Bill and other punitive Parliamentary legislation, had returned to the Whig Party fold. These included Jonathan Glover who signed - and later recanted - the "Address of the Inhabitants of Marblehead to Gov. Hutchinson," dated May 25, 1774. The text, with signers, is printed in James H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts (1907), pp. 127-128.

BOYCOTTING THE COMMITTEES OF CORRESPONDENCE
AND THE VIOLENCE BRED BY BOSTON'S TEA PARTY
NOVEMBER, 1773 - JANUARY, 1774

"342 chests of tea shipd by the E India Co and consigned to Richard Clarke & Tory Benj Faneuil, Gov. Hutchinson Tory Tho & Elisha Hutchinson was by a number of persons unknown, disguised like Indians taken out of 3 ships viz Hall Bruce & Coffin and thrown into the sea — all done in 110 minutes..."

Samuel Phillips Savage of Weston, Moderator
of the "Body of the People" meetings in
Boston, December 14, 16, 1773. ¹

During the fall and winter months of 1773-1774 while the Whig mobs of Essex County were running wild in the Smallpox War, elsewhere in the Bay Colony the Whig Committees of Correspondence— in towns which had chosen them — and Whig agitators, including radical-minded ministers in the pulpits and other firebrands wherever they could get a hearing, were stoking the fires of anarchy and mob violence in the name of "righteous" resistance to the Townshend duty on tea, to the Whigs the symbol of "unconstitutional" usurpation by Parliament of a right to tax the Colonies without their consent. News of the provisions of the Tea Act of May, 1773 and of the shipments of dutied tea to Massachusetts reached the Whig leaders in Boston by the beginning of October, and was soon followed by Sam Adams' carefully directed campaign of violent protest.²

¹ Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," December, 1773. MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

² The first newspaper account of the Tea Act appeared in the Boston Gazette (Oct. 11th), and condemnation of it in Isaiah Thomas' radical Massachusetts Spy, Oct. 14th. The fullest account of the Tea troubles is Benjamin Labaree's The Boston Tea Party (1964). But see the MSS of Massachusetts historian Francis S. Drake at the N.E.H.G. Society (Boston) the basis for his still invaluable study Tea Leaves (Boston, 1884), and the recent study by Dirk Hoerder, Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts 1765-1780. (1977) pp. 85-143, 247-270.

Just as during the Whig boycott of English goods in 1768, the first targets of the Whig mobs were importers, to be followed in due course by retailers and the hapless tea-addicted consumers. On October 23rd Sam Adams' "secret" North End Caucus resolved to oppose the landing of dutied West India Company tea by every means, and to act in concert with other interested groups. On the night of November 1st the Sons of Liberty served notice upon the consignees in Boston that they were required to meet with them under the Liberty Tree¹ on November 3rd publicly to resign their contracts and give undertaking that they would ship any tea arriving at Boston back to England. Boston merchant John Rowe, a conservative Whig, described the public intimidation of the consignees which followed:

" Nov 2 This morning...When I got abroad I found an advertisement stuck up at almost every Corner as Follows

'To the Freemen of this & the neighboring Towns Gen^ll^m, you are desired to meet at Liberty Tree this day at Twelve of Clock at noon, then & there to hear the Persons to whom the Tea is shipped by the East India Company, make a publick Resignation of their Office as Consignees upon Oath & also swear that they will re-ship any Tea that may be Consigned to them by said Company by the first Vessell sailing for London.' Boston Nov.3rd 1773 — O.C. Secretary. " 2

The tea consignees, however, quite understandably, did not obey. In his account of the events of November 3rd John Rowe with his characteristic reticence in matters dangerously inviting of retribution, makes no mention of mob violence:

"Nov 3. This day the Inhabitants of the Town are alarmed Occasioned by the advertisement of yesterday —The Gentlemen to whom the Tea was Supposed to be Consigned did not obey the Summons & make their Appearance at Liberty Tree, upon

1 "Proceedings of the North End Caucus," printed in Elbridge H. Goss, The Life of Col. Paul Revere (1891) Vol. II, p. 641. See also John Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) p. 130.

2 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) Nov. 2, 1773. p. 252. "O.C. Secretary": One of the signatures of the Loyal Nine, aptly described by Dirk Hoerder (Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts 1765-1780 (1977) p. 94) as "a kind of clearing house between top leadership and crowd." "O.C." stood for Oliver Cromwell.

which the Sons of Liberty appointed a Committee to go & wait on them to know their Determination, upon which the Committee with a large Concourse of People went from Liberty Tree to the store of Mr Rich^d Clark & Sons at the Bottom of King Street where they found Mr Rich^d Clark, Mr Benjⁿ Faneuil the Governour, two Sons, M^r Jos Winslow of Marshfield who are the Gentlemen These Teas are supposed to be Consigned to. There were several of their Friends there with them, Colo. Hatch of Dorchester, Judge Lee of Cambridge, Mr Nat Cary, M^r Tho^s Laughton, & many others— M^r Mollineux as Chairman of this Committee Read to them a Paper & produced another which they Required them to sign &c — M^r Rich^d Clark & the other Gentlemen gave them for answer —they would not Comply with their request or words to that purpose — this was an Unexpected answer to them & has given them much Displeasure The Principal People that accompanied M^r Mollineux were as Follows — M^r Sam^l Adams, M^r W^m Dennie, M^r John Pitts, Colo. Heath of Roxbury, Dr. Church, Dr. Warren, Dr Young, Cap^t J^{no} Matchet, Cap^t Hopkins, Nat Barker, Gabriel Johnnot, Ezek^l Cheever & about five hundred more as near as I could guess —The same piece was posted up this day as yesterday with this addition —Shew me the Man that dare take this down ..." 1

Unlike merchant John Rowe the Anglican Rev. Henry Caner of King's Chapel had no reason, the protection of his business and property, to set down less than the truth of these mob happenings led by Sam Adams and the radical leaders. In a letter to Gov. John Wentworth of New Hampshire on November 8th he wrote:

"Wednesday last the people were warned to meet at (the) Liberty Tree to hear the resignation of the Consignees of the Tea & the sd Consignees were summon'd & commanded to attend, but did not, it seems, think proper to obey. 1000s, it is tho't, met at the Tree, but not finding the Gentlemen there w^m they sought for, march'd to K(ing) Street & surrounded Mr. Clark's Warehouse. A riot was begun & an attempt to force themselves into the Chamber of the Warehouse & seize the Gentlemen they wanted who were all in the Chamber, but, being opposed by some spirited Gentlemen, were defeated. One of the Judges of the Inferior Court being present (i.e. Judge Joseph Lee of Cambridge)² commanded the Peace & order'd them to disperse. Him, it is said, they assaulted, wounded, & if he had not dodged a partic(ular)

1 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) pp. 252-3.

2 See the sketch of Judge Joseph Lee by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, p. 594. Shipton used only the account of John Rowe, however, and not the important letterbook of Rev. Henry Caner in the University of Bristol Library in England.

blow aim'd at him with a large stick of wood, (he) must infallibly have been killed.

"Such are the Effects of popular Governat, Sedition, Anarchy, & Violence, & all this flame kindled & kept alive by about $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. men of bad principles & morals..." 1

A succession of planned tea-protest Whig mobbings were to come in Boston through the late Fall of 1773, before the expected arrival of the Tea ships in mid-December.² With the Minute Book of the Boston Committee of Correspondence is a note dated October 26, 1773 and titled "Agreement not to be Recorded," with a list of 15 who undertook "to support and vindicate each other" if they or others were made responsible "for any noble Effort they have made to serve their Country by defeating the operation of any Act of the British Parliament expressly designed to extort a Revenue from the Colonies agst their Consent." This list was headed by Sam Adams, and included the leading Boston radicals, among them Town Clerk William Cooper, John Pitts, Drs. Joseph Warren, Thomas Young and Benjamin Church, John Bradford (an influential merchant and member of the inner-Whig Long Room Club) William Molineux, and Robert Pierpont, the Suffolk County Coroner.³

1 The Rev. Henry Caner at Boston to Gov. John Wentworth of New Hampshire, Nov. 8, 1773. Caner Letterbook, MSS., University of Bristol.

"Men of bad principles and morals": a reference to the unsavoury reputations of many of the Whig leaders in Boston. Sam Adams had only been saved by political influence from prison for embezzling thousands of pounds of public money while serving as Tax Collector for Boston. The huge sum of £8,000 was missing from his accounts by 1765, when he "declined" re-election. See Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. X, pp. 423-424. "Discreet editing" to which Sam Adams' papers - and those of other Whig leaders - were subjected has removed much vital evidence of their less reputable activities: no one has yet established what happened to the large sums "lost" by Sam Adams. Certainly it was not spent upon high living by him or his family perennially seen to be "down-at-heel". The funds may well have been used by Sam to "finance" the Boston mob and for Whig political bribery during elections &c. Foremost among the political agitators were Thomas Young the surgeon, a first-generation Irishman from Ulster County, New York, an avowed atheist, and Irish-born William Molineux, a ne'er-do-well of good family noted for his violence and described even by merchant John Rowe as "first leader of Dirty Matters." Cunningham, ed., Diary... (1903) p. 286.

2 Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston 1767-1776, described the mob attack upon the home of merchant Richard
Cont.

No evidence has been found that like his colleague on the Middlesex County Bench, Judge Joseph Lee of Cambridge, Col. Elisha Jones took any part in the undoubted attempts of the largely Tory magistrates in the vicinity of Boston to curb - if they had not the power to suppress - Sam Adams' tea protest mobs, operating within the Massachusetts capital. But as with a number of Tory magistrates in towns some miles removed from the centre of the Whig-fomented tea agitation in Boston, and in places where

(Cont.) Clark on November 18th:

"The Ships Laden wth Tea from the East India House are hourly expected, the People will not suffer it to be landed at Boston, they demand the Consignees to promise to send it back. Mr Clark resolutely refuses to comply, will submit to no other terms, than to put it into warehouse till they can hear from England. They threaten to tear him to pieces if its Land^d. he says he will be tore to pieces before he will desert the Trust repos^d in him by the Consigners. His Son who is just arrived from England... & all the family were got together, the first night rejoicing at his Arrival, when the mob surround^d the House, attack^d it wth Stones & clubs did great damage to the House, & furniture, when young (Clark) spoke to 'em, told 'em if they did not desist (he shou^d) certainly fire a Gun at them, wch he did, & wounded a man, it's supposed for they retreated carrying off a man, but they threatened to destroy every person in the House if anyone of their associates was killd & a great number of Stones each so large as to have killd any person they had hit, were thrown about the Table where the family were at Supper, but Providence directed 'em so that they did not fall on any person. All the avenues to the House at the same time were guarded by armed Men to prevent Mr Clark escaping. This was beyond anything of the kind since we came here." (That is, since 1767) Ann Hulton to her friend in Liverpool Mrs. Lightbody, Boston, Nov. 25, 1773. Letters of a Loyalist Lady (1927) pp. 64-65.

3. The men whose names appeared on the "Agreement not to be Recorded" were drawn largely from the Boston Committee of Correspondence; these were: Sam Adams, James Otis, Joseph Warren, Benjamin Church, William Dennie, William Greenleaf, Joseph Greenleaf, Thomas Young, William Powell, Nathaniel Appleton, Oliver Wendell, John Sweetser, Josiah Quincy, John Bradford, Richard Boynton, William Mackay, Nathaniel Barber, Caleb Davis, Alexander Hill, William Molineux, and Robert Pierpont. Boston Town Records, 1770-1777, Boston Record Commissioners, Report, XVIII (Boston, 1887) p. 93. The "Agreement not to be Recorded" is in the Minute Book of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, Oct. 26, 1773, Committee of Correspondence MSS., New York Public Library.

the local militia (the right arm of the Bay Colony magistrates) was notably loyal to Government, Colonel Jones, with a firm hand on his own Third Middlesex Regiment, was to a large degree successful in keeping the peace in his town of Weston until the "tea riot" at the Golden Ball Tavern there on the Post Road on March 21, 1774.¹

Col. Jones' surviving accounts book (with, it must be said, few entries for the 1770's) gives no indication that such retailing in Weston as was still carried on in 1773 and 1774 as part of his wide-spreading business interests included dealings in tea. It may have been that by this time Col. Jones had relinquished much of this local trade - in favour notably of the large profits to be made in the supply of Maine lumber and firewood to fuel-hungry Boston - to his younger cousin Capt. Isaac Jones (1728-1813). Whatever Col. Elisha's interest, in 1760 Isaac had opened a store with a license to sell liquor, which had prospered, and in 1768-1770 he built the large tavern called (to this day) the Golden Ball on the Post Road.²

As part of his regular trade Isaac Jones was a tea retailer - and he continued this business through the fall and winter of 1773-4 despite the growing clamour of Sam Adams' Whig campaign of intimidation and violence which condemned all importers of tea, retailers, and consumers - the latter to be punished initially by social ostracism - as enemies of the liberties of their country. However, by the winter of 1773-4 - if not before - Isaac Jones, like so many other retailers in Massachusetts, was getting his supplies in the form of tea smuggled into the American colonies. In Isaac's case from stocks of the Dutch East India Company in Holland, brought thence up the Hudson River to Albany, and then overland.³

1 See below.

2 Col. Elisha Jones' Accounts Book is now at the Golden Ball Tavern at Weston, a family museum operated by the Golden Ball Trust.

Isaac Jones was the son of Col. Jones' Uncle James, of Weston. See Dr. Henry Bond, Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, including Waltham and Weston; To which is appended The Early History of the Town (Boston, 1860) pp. 312-13.

3 Statement by Isaac Jones dated March 18, 1774 and published on March 21, 1774 in the Boston Evening Post. See below.

Traffic in smuggled tea (and other foreign goods) was long-established in Massachusetts, and profitably undersold the dutied British product imported largely by Boston merchants; it had been to eliminate this competition that the East India Company had secured Government approval for the scheme to sell its dutied tea at an even cheaper rate in the Colonies. As the Tory historian Peter Oliver put it:

"The English Ministry imagined, that it would prevent the smuggling of Tea from the Dutch, to send a sufficient Supply, that the Price might be so lowered as to discourage the illicit Trade; & the Condition of Sales was to be at publick Auction, to the highest Bidder. If the Scheme had succeeded, the Consumption, in the Massachusetts only, would have been a saving to that Province of £2000 Sterlg. p. Year. This Scheme was founded upon a lenient Principle of the british Government, in Order to avoid any Force in restraining so pernicious a Trade.

"The Objection made to it, by the Colonists, was, yt. the Duty was to be paid in the Colonies, instead of being paid in England...

"Notwithstanding the British Parliament's good & kind Intention to the Colonies in the above Scheme: yet they never considered that the smuggling Business was so universal, & that the Smugglers Interest had engrossed so great a Power; for it was absolutely necessary, if they meant to land the Tea, to have sent ten Soldiers, to every Chest of it, in Order to have guarded it; whereas the Mob had drove off the military three Years before..." 1

Col. Elisha Jones and the Tory supporters of the Constitution in Massachusetts Bay were generally opposed to any enlargement of Parliamentary powers of taxation (payment of duties on tea in the Colonies fell into this category, thus the prevalence among Tories as well as Whigs of arguments which condoned smuggling and circumvention²) as well as the use of mob violence to achieve political and legal change (regarded by Whigs such as Sam Adams as "lawful means" justified by the integrity of their objectives). Through the fall and winter of 1773-1774 Col. Jones and those Tories who had not

1 D. Adair and J. Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961) p.101.

2 A notable exception was Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, who regarded all smugglers with profound contempt, who, he believed, were the cause of most of the political trouble in Massachusetts. See Shipton, Bibley's Harvard Graduates, IX, p.214.

withdrawn from politics out of fear of Whig reprisals as during the Stamp Act agitation of 1765,¹ worked to defeat the mounting Whig campaign for a boycott of dutied tea by continued and concerted opposition to the proliferation and influence of that most effective of Whig contrivances for fomenting popular discontent and sedition, the Committee of Correspondence. The Tory manifesto of the "Worcester Protest" in June, 1774, would link the success of the Whig opposition to dutied tea - built upon mob violence - with the Committees of Correspondence:

"We therefore, whose names are hereunto subscribed, do each of us declare and protest, it is our firm opinion, that the committees of correspondence in the several towns of this province, being creatures of modern invention and constituted as they be, are a legal grievance, having no legal foundation, controverted by a junto to serve particular designs and purposes of their own, and that they, as they have been, and are now managed in this town, are a nuisance: And we fear, it is in great measure owing to the baneful influence of such committees, that the teas of immense value, lately belonging to the East India company, were, not long since, scandalously destroyed in Boston, and that many other enormous acts of violence and oppression have been perpetrated, whereby the lives of many honest, worthy persons, have been endangered and their property destroyed." 2

When to broaden the appearance of support elsewhere for Boston's opposition to the landing of dutied tea its Committee of Correspondence on November 22nd held a meeting in Faneuil Hall of representatives of the Committees of Correspondence from five nearby towns - Roxbury, Cambridge, Dorchester, Brookline, and Charlestown - which sent a

1 Col. Jones' senior colleague on the Middlesex Bench, Judge Edmund Trowbridge of Cambridge (apt. a Justice of the High Court in 1767) wrote to Province Agent William Bollan in London, Sept. 7, Oct. 23, 1765:

"No man is Safe Unless he Joyns the Cry against the Stamp Act, I have for near a Month past Expected my house would be demolished as the Lieutenant Governor's (Thos. Hutchinson) was & if I Could be Sure They would only destroy my house I should be much Easier Than now I am, I hope the Government at home will repeal the act before mad People are The Only Ones That are left Alive amongst us..." See the sketch of Trowbridge in Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, p. 514.

2 From a "true copy" in the Loyalist MSS. of the author, James Putnam, with the names of the 52 signers. PRO. A. O. 13:73. The text was obliterated by the Whigs from the Worcester Town Records; printed in the Boston Gazette, July 4, 1774, and in William Lincoln, History of Worcester, (1837) pp. 87-88. For the Tory "Town Protests," see below.

circular letter to the towns of Massachusetts condemning the Tea Act, Col. Jones and the Weston Tories were successful in preventing the holding of any Town Meeting to consider it, or the appointment of a Weston Committee of Correspondence.¹ Nor did Weston, only a short journey up Charles River, send official town delegates to the series of Whig-organized popular mass protest meetings against the landing of the dutied tea wherein people from other towns were invited to join gatherings first at Faneuil Hall and later at the Old South Meeting House with the so-called "body of the people" of Boston during November and early December, 1773. Lurid handbill notices stuck up by "Liberty Men" in Boston and nearby towns appealed for attendance with such as, on November 29th: "Friends! Brethren! Countrymen!.... the hour of Destruction or manly Opposition to the Machinations of Tyranny stares you in the face." The people assembled to the ringing of the many Boston church bells, as for Town Meetings. As Governor Hutchinson wrote to Lord Dartmouth on December 2nd, "Altho' this Meeting or Assembly (of Nov. 29th) consisted principally of the lower Ranks of the People, and even Journeymen Tradesmen were brought to increase the Number and the Rabble were not excluded, yet there were divers Gentlemen of Good Fortune among them."²

1 See Weston Town Records. The best summary of the activities of the Boston Committee of Correspondence in opposing the landing of the tea is in Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics... The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (1970) pp. 155-163. See also Benjamin Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, (1964) pp. 109-118.

The action taken by Brookfield (Worc.) shows the popular temper in a "Whig" inland town. Capt. Jeduthan Baldwin, who had been housewright for the building of Col. Jones' mansion in Weston in 1754-1755, and later won a measure of fame as builder of the redoubt on Bunker Hill, an ardent Whig, was one of a Committee chosen by Brookfield Town Meeting on Dec. 7, 1773, to draft a reply to the Boston Committee of Correspondence.

"We think it our indispensable duty, in the most public manner to let the world know our utter abhorrence of the last and most detestable scheme, in the introduction of Tea from Great Britain to be peddled out amongst us, by which means we were to be made to swallow a poison more fatal in its effects to the national and political Rights and Privileges of the People of this country, than ratsbane would be to the natural body.

"Therefore, Resolved, that we will not by any way or means knowingly encourage or promote the sale or consumption of any Tea
Cont.

The Tea crisis had reached its critical stage with the arrival in the harbour at Boston of the first of the "tea ships," Capt. Hall's Dartmouth, on Sunday, November 28th. Watches were set by the Whig-controlled Boston militia at Griffin's Wharf to prevent the tea from being landed. A succession of mass-meetings, meanwhile, on November 29th and 30th, argued and resolved measures to have the tea sent back to England. There were but few Tory voices raised in protest, the most notable being that of the young painter John Singleton Copley (who was related by marriage to the Clarke family who were among the tea agents).¹

Governor Hutchinson's handling of the affair reflected all too clearly his largely self-inflicted impotence, and isolation from those elements even among the Tories, the very men of substance and used to the responsibilities of public office, who might ordinarily have been counted upon in a crisis of governmental authority. The Tea Agents still in Boston - Benjamin Faneuil, Thomas Hutchinson, Junior, and Jonathan and Richard Clarke - appealed in vain to Hutchinson for protection (as had the printer John Mein in the non-importation riots of 1769) and then fled to Castle William for their lives. Hutchinson made the empty gesture of trying to enlist the intervention of his Whig-controlled Council, and of exhorting the local Justices of the Peace to carry out their duties to suppress riots (something Hutchinson himself had refused to do in the mobbings of 1769). One of Hutchinson's last acts before retreating to his country home at Milton Hill was to send Sheriff Stephen Greenleaf to Old South Church with a message denouncing the assembly of "The Body" as illegal and an order for it to disperse. The Whig meeting merely hissed the Sheriff loudly to his exit, and² resolved to continue its deliberations.

Cont. whatever, subject to a duty payable in America, but all persons whoever they may be, who shall be concerned in a transaction so dangerous, shall be held by us in the utmost contempt, and be deemed enemies to the well being of this country." Thomas Baldwin, ed., The Revolutionary Journal of Col. Jeduthan Baldwin 1775-1778 (1906), xxii-xxiv.
³ Hutchinson to Dartmouth, Dec. 2, 1773. Hutchinson Letterbooks, Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 27, pp. 577-8.

¹ Copley left Boston for England in June, 1774. See Letters & Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham (1914) pp. 220-223.

² Boston Selectman John Scollay to Arthur Lee in London, Dec. 23, 1773. Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4 Ser., Vol. IV (1858) pp. 383-4.

By December 15th all three of the expected tea ships had reached Boston and were moored by Griffin's wharf with the Dartmouth, the Eleanor on December 2nd, and finally the Beaver, which had brought smallpox as well as tea for cargo; a fourth vessel, the Clarke's brig William, under Captain Loring, it was learned at Boston on December 15th, had been cast away on the back of Cape Cod. Still no agreement had been reached for the disposition of the tea: as Peter Oliver later wrote, "the Mob insisted that the Teas should be sent to England. The Consignees would not take such a Risque upon themselves, for had the Teas been lost, they must have been the Losers..."¹

Before the twenty-day period allowed by law for the payment of the tea duty was due to elapse for the first cargo - in the Dartmouth - on December 17th, the Whigs held two more "Body of the People" mass protest meetings, on December 14th and December 16th,² again not at Faneuil Hall but at the larger Old South Meeting House. The blatant use of the Meeting Houses in Boston and elsewhere in Massachusetts for the promotion of sedition by the Whig leaders - two at least of whom, Dr. Thomas Young and William Molineux, were proselytizing atheists - whatever their customary use to accomodate the secular Town Meetings, was not lost upon traditionalists - who tended to be Tory. It was a precedent of the sort that bred retaliatory irreverence in its turn when British troops were in desperate need of shelter during the siege of Boston and took over a number of the then empty Meeting Houses, and was reflected later still in the writings of Peter Oliver and other Tories. It was with the moral outrage of an Old Colony Puritan that Oliver thus

1 D. Adair and J. Schutz, eds. Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961), p. 102. Besides those who had fled from Boston to Castle William in the harbour the consignees were Richard Clarke of Salem (Essex), Joshua Winslow of Marshfield (Plymouth), and the Governor's son Elisha who went to stay with Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver at his home in Middleborough (Plymouth).

2 See the Diary of Whig merchant John Rowe. Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) pp. 257-8, and William Tudor, ed., Deacon (John) Tudor's Diary... A Record of More or Less Important Events in Boston, from 1732 to 1793, By an Eye Witness (Boston, 1896), p. 44.

described the "Body Meetings" of December, 1773:

"that the Action they were about to perpetrate might be sanctified in a peculiar Manner, Adams, Hancock & the Leaders of the Faction, assembled the Rabble in the largest Dissenting Meeting House in the Town, where they had frequently assembled to pronounce their Annual Orations upon their Massacre, & to perpetrate their most atrocious Acts of Treason & Rebellion — thus, literally, 'turning the House of God into a Den of Thieves'." ¹

For the "Body Meetings" of December 14th and 16th, again to give semblance of Provincial support, the Whigs chose a man from outside Boston for the all-important post of Moderator — Col. Elisha Jones' bitterest political enemy after Sam Adams, Samuel Phillips Savage, merchant and former Boston Selectman, who had removed to Weston after the Stamp Act riots. A bigoted Whig and old crony of Sam Adams, Savage was privy to the innermost of Whig secrets and connected to the North End Caucus and Loyal Nine through his son-in-law, Henry Bass. Nor is it surprising that the belief has persisted in the town of Weston to this day that the Boston Tea Party was planned in the study of Savage's house, still standing near the Lincoln Town Line on the Old Lancaster Road. ²

With the consignees safe behind the great guns of Castle William — put there in earlier wars to keep out the French — and less inclined than before to make concessions, the "Body Meeting" seized upon Captain James Hall and Francis Rotch, owner of the Dartmouth, anxious to clear his vessel and be free of the troublesome cargo. When a last-minute appeal by Rotch to Gov. Hutchinson at Milton had been rejected, and Rotch had returned to the Meeting the cavernous hall of Old South lit by a few candles only sparsely, at a quarter to six on that dark and rainy evening of December 16th Sam Adams broke up the assembly with the most significant statement of his long political career: "This meeting," he said, "can do nothing more to save the Country." ³

¹ D. Adair and J. Schutz, eds. Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961), p. 102. The Whigs commemorated the "Boston Massacre" of March 5, 1770 with an annual oration.

² The late Emma F. Ripley, who had access to documents which can no longer be found, and now perished oral material, was in no doubt about about this story. See her sketch of Savage's "The Patriotic House," in Weston, A Puritan Town (1961) p. 261.

³ Quoted in John C. Miller, Sam Adams... (1936) p. 294.

It was a prearranged signal that for the Whig leadership violence and not law would be the arbiter in the Colonial quarrel with Britain. To a cacophony of war whoops from the Old South galleries and from outside the hall, shouts of "To Griffin's Wharf," and "Boston Harbour a tea pot tonight," the Meeting House quickly emptied, while carefully organized squads of "Liberty Boys" with faces blackened and some in "Mohawk" disguises made their way to the quayside. They went quickly and effectively about their appointed work of dumping the cargoes of East India Company tea into Boston harbour. "All done in 110 minutes," as Samuel Phillips Savage, Moderator of the Old South "Body Meeting" that day wrote, with evident satisfaction, in his "Diary."¹ John Adams, like his cousin Sam and so many Whig leaders who had not seen active service in the French Wars, was "charmed" by the success of disciplined violence:

"The die is cast. The people have passed the river and cut away the bridge.... This is the grandest event which has ever yet happened since the controversy with Britain opened. The sublimity of it charms me! ... All things were conducted with great order, decency, and perfect submission to government..." 2

This in a letter of December 17th to James Warren at Plymouth. John Adams was no less euphoric in the much-quoted entry that day in his Diary:

"This is the most magnificent Movement of all... There is a Dignity, a Majesty, a Sublimity in this last Effort of the Patriots that I greatly admire.... This Destruction of the Tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid, & inflexible, and it must have so important Consequences and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it as an Epocha in History..." 3

¹ Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," December, 1773. MSS. Mass. Hist. Soc.

² John Adams to James Warren, Dec. 17, 1773. Charles Francis Adams, ed., The Works of John Adams... Vol. IX, pp. 333-334.

³ L.H. Butterfield, ed., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, Vol. II, pp. 85-86. (1961)

How many people from Col. Jones' town of Weston made their way to Boston for the "Body Meetings" at Old South on December 14th and 16th, probably will never be known. But one man has been identified as among the "Liberty Boys" that spilled the tea from the ships: he was Samuel Hobbs, aged 23, then working as a journeyman in the tannery of Simeon Pratt at Roxbury.¹

Whig violence in the enforcement of a tea boycott quickly spread from Boston, as merchant John Rowe noted in his Diary on December 31st:

"The People of Charlestown collected what Tea they could find in The Town & burnt it in the View of a thousand Spectators. There was found in the House of one Withington of Dorchester about half a Chest of Tea -- the People gathered together & took the Tea, Brought it into the Common of Boston & Burnt it this night about eleven of Clock This is supposed to be part of the Tea that was taken out of the Ships & floated over to Dorchester." 2

But despite the tactics of assault and destruction used by the Whig mobs, and the vigorous propaganda campaign mounted in the Whig newspaper press, the tea boycott was far from being so well - or willingly - observed by merchants, retailers, and the consuming public as is generally portrayed. Nor was this tea boycott without strong and overt opposition by the law-abiding elements of society who were only too well aware that their own rights of person and property were being infringed by the boycott.

As the windrows of salted tea leaves, carried by the tides, widened out in Boston Harbort, there followed a fury of justification by Sam Adams and the Whig radicals on the one hand, and on the other by Governor Thomas Hutchinson and the ranking members of the Colonial

1 Col. Daniel S. Lamson, History of the Town of Weston Massachusetts 1630-1890 (1913) p.71. Ebenezer Hobbs had set up a tannery on a brook tributary to Stony Brook in Weston about 1750. For the Hobbs family, see Dr. Henry Bond, Genealogies ... of the Early Settlers of Watertown... Waltham and Weston... (1860) pp.299-301.

2 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) December 31, 1773, p.259.

Administration at Boston, military and civilian. Sam Adams and the Boston Whigs, in "a perfect Jubilee" at their defiance of government authority, maintained that the tea - private property - had been destroyed only as a last resort to prevent payment of unconstitutional duty when it was landed, and shifted the responsibility to the consignees for "their aversion to all conciliatory measures"(that is, for not agreeing to the fixed demand of the protesters that the tea be sent back forthwith to England). "I think we have put our Enemies in the wrong," wrote Sam Adams, whose practice it was whenever possible to appear to do so," and they must in the Judgement of rational Men be answerable for the Destruction of the Tea, which their own Obstinacy rendered necessary."¹

For Col. Elisha Jones and the Tory majority of law-abiding people in Massachusetts Bay, however, inured as they were by years of experience, in the generation that saw the Stamp Act Riots, to the destructiveness and threat to public order of the Whig mobs, it was the inaction of Governor Hutchinson and the civil and military authorities, the paralysis of Government and subsequent attempts to justify it, that posed the greatest threat for the future stability of the Colony. Hutchinson, as in all times of crisis, sheltered first behind the Council, Whig-dominated in 1773 and in any case reluctant as were too many substantial men of property in both parties to draw the wrath of the Whig mobs. Finally mustering a quorum on December 21st, the Council met at the home of the ranking officer of the Massachusetts Militia, Maj. Gen. William Brattle, at Cambridge. It rejected Hutchinson's proposal for a proclamation offering a reward for information leading to the conviction of persons responsible for the destruction of the tea, agreeing instead to the routine but in the

¹ Thomas Cushing for the Boston Committee of Correspondence to Arthur Lee in London, Dec. 21, 1773. Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4 Ser., Vol. IV, (1858), pp. 377-378; John Scollay to Arthur Lee, Dec. 21, 1773. Ibid., p. 385. Sam Adams to James Warren at Plymouth, Dec. 28, 1773. Warren-Adams Letters, (1917) Vol. I, pp. 19-20. Boston Whigs in "Jubilee," see Essex Gazette, Dec. 28, 1773. 1/2.

circumstances¹ knowingly futile expedient of an investigation of the affair by Attorney General Jonathan Sewall and the presentation of findings for action by a Grand Jury.²

During the Tea Duty Crisis Hutchinson as Governor had done little more to "help" the situation than to prevent the possible escape to sea of the Dartmouth and the other Tea Ships at Griffin's Wharf: Admiral John Montagu, commandant of the Naval squadron and the Marines stationed at Boston was asked to blockade all ships channels not within range of the guns at Castle William, and Col. Alexander Leslie, commanding the garrison of regular troops at the Castle, to charge the cannon in the fortress and set up an artillery battery on the far side of the channel.³

After the Tea Party, Hutchinson, a master of negativist illogic, argued at length the "helplessness" of his position in reports to London, to Governor William Tryon of New York, to his old friend and Harvard classmate Col. Israel Williams at Hatfield - and to posterity in his History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay (Vol. III, London, 1828) - to any, in short, who would listen, pleading the case of a rigid interpretation of duty in upholding the revenue acts and of not giving in to the demands of

1 See Mass. Council Records, Mass. Archives, Vol. 16, pp. 748-9; Hutchinson's report of the Council proceedings, and a copy of the minutes, enclosed in Hutchinson to Dartmouth, PRO. C.O. 5/763, December 24, 1773.

2 From the time of the Boston Massacre trials, and before, and notably with Grand Juries, the Boston Whigs kept a tight control of jurors. Hutchinson himself wrote that William Molineux boasted that they "would always be sure of 11 jurymen in 12" Mass. Arch. Vol. 27, p. 280.

"Resort to the law" was a device favoured by Hutchinson himself to avoid taking action: it was, for example, his advice to the crusading journalist John Mein, the tory who had been beaten and abused by the mob for printing the truth about non-importation evaders, incl. John Hancock, and who had applied to Hutchinson for protection, which was refused. The Mein case is well summarized in Hillier Zobel, The Boston Massacre, (1970) pp. 156-163.

3 Hutchinson to Dartmouth, Dec. 15, 1773. PRO. C.O. 5/763; Montagu to Customs Commissioners, Dec. 16, 1773. PRO. T. 1/505.

an illegal assembly, that is, the "Body of the People" meetings at Old South.¹ "There was no part of the Authority except the Governor himself," Hutchinson maintained, "which was not either favorers of the scheme (opposition to landing the tea) or afraid to appear against it." Fearing as he said "a greater convulsion than there was any danger of in 1770" at the time of the so-called "Boston Massacre," Hutchinson made no call upon the regiments of loyal militia outside Boston (of which Col. Elisha Jones' Third Middlesex was a close-by and notable representative) or the regular forces also at his disposal of Ad. Montagu and Lt. Col. Leslie for their intervention to protect property and to keep public order in Boston.²

There can be no doubt that both Ad. Montagu and Lt. Col. Leslie had offered Hutchinson their cooperation beyond the requested preventative measures against the escape to sea of the Tea Ships. Ad. Montagu reported to the Admiralty that "neither the Governor, (Boston) Magistrates, Owners, or the Revenue Officers of this place ever called for my assistance," adding "I could easily have prevented the Execution of this Plan but must have endangered the Lives of many innocent People by firing upon the Town." Col. Leslie had advised the direct and simple solution of sending in his troops to take possession of the tea (then under the "guard" of John Hancock's Cadets, one of the smartest contingents of the Massachusetts Bay Militia as being the official Governor's Guards) until order could have been restored in Boston.³

¹ Hutchinson to Francis Bernard, Jan. 1, 1774. Hutchinson Letterbooks, XXXVII, p. 609. Mass. Arch.; Hutchinson to Dartmouth, Dec. 14, 1773. Ibid., p. 588; Hutchinson to Dartmouth, Jan. 4, 6, 1774, and to Gov. Wm. Tryon, Jan. 15, 1774. Egerton MSS 2661, pp. 6, 7. Brit. Mus.

² Lawrence Mayo, ed., The History... of Massachusetts Bay by Thos. Hutchinson (1936) Vol. III, pp. 313-4.

³ Hutchinson maintained, however, that "it would not have been possible ... for so small a body of troops to have kept possession of the town..." Ibid. See Montagu to Stevens, Dec. 17, 1773 AD 1/484/497-8; Leslie to Haldimand, Dec. 21, 1773, New York Hist. Soc. Collections (1881) p. 532; Leslie to Barrington, Dec. 6, 17, 1773. House of Lords MSSV. 266, pp. 206-7.

For Col. Elisha Jones' posting of a military watch each night in the town of Weston to prevent mobbings from his Third Middlesex Regiment, see below, "Weston's Tea Party."

Hutchinson himself had retreated out of Boston for the duration of the Tea Crisis, beyond reach of the Whig mobs, first to his country home at Milton Hill, and thence to join the Tea consignees in the fortress at Castle William, most of whom were his relations.¹ Hutchinson by his abdication of responsibility for the protection of the local inhabitants during the Tea Crisis, left the Boston Tories and the law-abiding among the Whigs there, at last, to the free governance of Sam Adams' mobs — never slow to find and use the new limits of their power.² Nor was order to be restored in Boston before Hutchinson's departure for England (June 1, 1774) and the arrival of the new Governor, General Thomas Gage, and his garrison army of regular troops in the spring.²

¹ Hutchinson's latest biographer, Bernard Bailyn, devotes only five pages to the Tea Crisis, the most important of Hutchinson's term as Governor, and these prefaced by the specious remarks that "The origin of the tea crisis, which was clearly building up in Nov., 1773, was in no way Hutchinson's devising. It developed from conjunctions of forces far above him, in spheres he did not know. But the tea trade itself he knew as well as any man in America..." Bailyn, however, does acknowledge Hutchinson's large personal and financial interest in the operation of the East India Company's tea monopoly in the American colonies. Hutchinson "knew enough too of the political sensitivity of that (tea) trade to have hidden in deepest secrecy his personal involvement in the actual merchandising of tea; while he handed over much of that business to his sons, he continued to be personally involved in the fortunes of the trade. Most of his liquid capital—nearly £4000 — was invested in East India Company stock, and in addition his crown salary of £1500 sterling per annum was drawn from the income of the tea duty in America. In addition to all of this, two of his sons, and relatives of theirs, the Clarkes, had become — though not, he swore, at his solicitation — principal consignees of the East India Company's new monopoly of American sales." *The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson* (1974), pp. 259-263.

For John Hancock and the stationing of the Corps of Cadets on the Tea Ships, see the report by Col. Alexander Leslie dated Dec. 6th, 1773, (Gage MSS, Clements Library, University of Michigan) quoted by Clifford Shipton in his sketch of Hutchinson, *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, VIII, p. 204. As Commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts Militia, Hutchinson had it in his prerogative to countermand these orders, but there is no evidence that he did so.

² For the manipulation of the Boston mob by "Joyce Jr," an agent of the Whig mob steering committee the secret "Loyal Nine," after the Tea Party, and the outbreak of a new wave of violence in Boston before the General Court was due to meet on Jan. 26, 1774, see below, "Weston's Tea Party."

Outside Boston, public order depended after the Tea Party to an even greater extent upon the thin line of royally-appointed magistrates, many of them with Col. Elisha Jones of Weston the traditional soldier-magistrates (Colonels had the power to call-out their militia regiments) who, with the subordinate and elected town constables, had since the earliest days of the Bay Colony been its first defense. Most of the magistrates outside Boston, contrary to the reports of Governor Thomas Hutchinson and other royal appointees connected with the Administration, little bettered by Whig propaganda, appear to have remained loyal to Government - as did Col. Elisha Jones of Weston - during the winter of 1773-1774 and for some considerable time to come. It is significant that there are only a handful of survivals among their books of "Acts and Judgements" in which all cases - including those of mob violence and other breaches of the peace - were required to be recorded, these being, like that of Col. Elisha Jones, early and particular targets of destruction by contemporary Whig historical "revisionists." Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, Lt. Col. John Jones of Dedham, a Suffolk County magistrate, whose book is one of the few not to have been "lost," was still prosecuting sabbath breakers in July and August, 1774.¹ Despite the Whig furore and much to the chagrin of Sam Adams, one magistrate, John Greenough of Wellfleet, even aided one of the Tea consignees, Jónathan Clarke, to salvage the tea cargo (58 chests) from the brig William, wrecked on the back of Cape Cod, and to

¹ These entries read:

Dom. Rex vs Eph. Bacon

Suffolk, ss. Memo That on ye 25th day of July 1774 - Ephriam Bacon of Dedham yeoman in £10 and Oliver Kendrick of Dedham yeoman in £10. Recognized That ye said Ephriam should appear before ye Court of Genl Sessions of ye Peace to be held at Boston on ye 26th Inst, at 10a m - to answer for his unlawfully absenting himself from the publick Worship of God on Lord's Days three months, as Expressed in a bill of Indictment filed in said Court.

Suffolk, ss. Augt 8, 1774 — Ephriam Bacon in ye Same Sum and with ye Same Surety recognized & held to answer at ye Genl Sessions of ye Peace ye 1st Tuesday in October next."

Amos Perry, ed., Book of Minutes of Col. John Jones of Dedham, Mass. (Boston, 1894), pp. 39-40. (Amos Perry was Col. John's grandson); see also his article, "Col. John Jones of Dedham and his Paternal Ancestors in America," N.E.H.G.R., April, 1890. pp. 158-167.

trans-ship it (all but two chests) in a Salem fishing schooner safely to Castle William, where by order of Governor Hutchinson the tea was landed early in January. "It is said that the Indians this way, if they had suspected the Marshpee (Mashpee) tribe would have been so sick at the knees," wrote Sam Adams, "would have marched on Snow Shoes...to have done the Business for them."¹

While there was no gainsaying the trend of growing violence and numbers of Whig-engendered mobbings outside Boston (and Essex County where, through the winter of 1773-4 the "Smallpox War" was at its height) only a minority, about one-third, of the 260 Massachusetts towns and districts, estimated at "more than eighty," replied to the December Circular Letter of the Boston Committee of Correspondence with resolves of Towns Meetings and other endorsements of resistance to the Tea Act. Of these, moreover, two only, Watertown (Middlesex) on January 3rd, and Montague (a small settlement near Connecticut River in Hampshire) on January 20th, approved the destruction of the tea at Boston on December 16th.² Even fewer towns - an estimated 25 - resolved without reservation to join in the Boston Radicals' call for a tea boycott (two of these, Hull (Suffolk) and Grafton (Worcester), extended the prohibition to all dutied goods).³

¹ Sam Adams to James Warren at Plymouth, Jan. 10, 1774. Warren-Adams MSS, Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. I, p. 20; Jonathan Clarke at Provincetown to Richard Clarke at Castle William, Dec. 31, 1773. Misc. MSS., bound, Mass. Hist. Soc. Reported in Boston Gazette, Dec. 20, Jan. 17, 1774.

² For a quantitative analysis of the reactions of those "Whig" towns outside Boston with already-appointed Committees of Correspondence to the Boston Tea Party, and based for the most part on their replies to the Boston Committee of Correspondence Circular Letter of Dec., 1773, see: Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774, pp. 163, 167-168. For Watertown, see BCC, Minute Book, VI, pp. 530-533; and Montague, BCC, Letters and Proceedings Received. Geo. Banoroff MSS, New York Public Library (copies at Mass. Hist. Soc.)

³ For towns joining the tea boycott, see Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics... (1970) pp. 168-171.

No evidence has been found that Col. Elisha Jones' Weston Town Meeting took any direct action in the form of votes, resolves, or instructions to him as its Representative to the General Court, due to reconvene in Boston on January 26th, 1774, which condemned the Boston Tea Party - as did a number of other Massachusetts Bay towns. This would not, however, have been consistent with Weston's conservative and Tory policy on Provincial issues since it re-elected Col. Jones to the General Court in May, 1773 (and which was to continue through the summer of 1774) as well as the town's past record of support for the rights of private property at such times as the Boston Stamp Act Riots, when it voted at Town Meeting of May 12, 1766 to condemn "the out Rages Committed there on the 27th of August 1765" and approved instructions drafted by Col. Elisha Jones to Weston Representative Abraham Bigelow "to make full Compensation to the Late Sufferers in the Town of Boston by the Roiters on the 27 of August 1765 to be Pd out of the Publick treashurey: and that you allso Do youer Endeavor that the Same be Replased In the treashurey again if Posibel from the Perpetrators thereof or from any town or town that have a betted the Same..."¹

How many Massachusetts towns did act officially to disapprove the Boston Tea Party and to urge upon government the punishment of those responsible and compensation for property destroyed probably will never be known so thorough has been the censorship of public and private records by the Whigs.²

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records, (1893) p.127. There is no material unpublished on this subject in the Weston Town Archives. These instructions were copied into the Weston Town Records by the semi-literate Town Clerk, the Whig Braddyll Smith.

2 It must be said that such accusations have also been made against Tory officials. The generally fair-minded George Sheldon, in his classic and still reliable History of Deerfield Vol. II, (1896) wrote of Col. Jones' nephew, "Dr. (Thomas) Williams, the Tory town clerk, made only such record of the doings of the town as he saw fit. Meetings of a political character, carried in the interest of the Whigs, his dignity forbade his noticing at all. But as the strength of the Whigs increased, new leaders came to the fore, and after being directed "to make a true faithful record of the votes passed" in vain, he was the next year superseded by David Dickinson, a Whig." p.681.

One of the first Tory protests against Whig opposition to the Tea Act had taken place before the Boston Tea Party, at Plymouth in the Old Colony. The Tory leader, Edward Winslow, unable to prevent a Town Meeting early in December from passing resolves endorsing the Boston Committee of Correspondence Circular Letter opposing the tea duty and upholding the right of the "Body of the People" meetings to assemble in Boston (which had been declared illegal by the Governor in a Proclamation read out at Old South by Sheriff Greenleaf), drew up a "Protest" which was signed by 41 Plymouth Tories and printed in Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, Dec. 23, 1773:

"With the first of said resolves we will not concern ourselves further than to observe that we cannot see the necessity of this town's adopting similar measures with the citizens of Philadelphia. The 2nd. contains a censure upon a number of gentlemen (who are appointed consignees by the East-India company) which we cannot think either decent or just. Nor can we suppose that they have forfeited that protection to which good citizens are entitled, or exposed themselves to the indignation of good men.... We say That we think it an affront to the common sense of mankind and to the dignity of the laws, to assert that such a meeting as was held in the town of Boston on the first of... December, was either lawful or regular." 1

A significant reflection of Tory merchant thinking in Massachusetts at this time, the "Plymouth Protest" was followed by a succession of others. Partisan feeling ran high enough in the wake of the Boston Tea Party at the Littleton (Middlesex) Town Meeting on Jan. 8, 1774, to overturn a Whig majority and carry a vote to abolish the Littleton Committee of Correspondence. 2

1 Edward Winslow (1745-1815) was Great Great Grandson of Edward of the Mayflower, and best known to Col. Jones' sons who served with him as Muster Master General of the Provincial forces during the War of the Revolution, and as a Judge in New Brunswick.

For the "Plymouth Protest" see Massachusetts Gazette, Dec. 23, 1773, 2/2; and the Rev. W. O. Raymond, ed. Winslow Papers (1901) p. 363. James Warren, an ardent Whig, who attended the Plymouth Town Meeting wrote to John Adams: "Little Ned Winslow (one of my cousins) with a few other insignificant Tories appeared at the meeting and played their game by holding up the Terrors of the Governor's Proclamation which rather served us than themselves. From these Gentry in this Town we have little to fear." James Warren to John Adams, Jan. 3, 1774. Warren-Adams Letters, I, pp. 23-4.

2 Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News-Letter, Jan. 13, 1774. 3/1.

Toward the end of January, 1774, came two more important Tory "Protests," and from towns which would become conspicuous centres of loyalty to Government in the months to follow. The first was at Freetown (Bristol) where on January 25th the Town Meeting was led by one of the best known of the soldier-magistrates, Col. Thomas Gilbert (1714-1796), with a distinguished record of service in the French Wars; the second at Marshfield (Plymouth) already known as a Tory stronghold, on January 31st, when Nathaniel Ray Thomas, a resourceful Tory leader and a Justice of the Peace since 1762, was elected Moderator. Thomas asked leave of the Meeting "to speak his mind," not an uncommon procedure, and persuaded the people to pass a resolve which denounced the Boston Tea Party as an unjustifiable act of violence.²

At Weston the challenge to Government by the local Whigs in January, 1774 apparently was not made primarily on the issues raised by the Tea controversy. The surviving Town Records show but one question approved for discussion on the warrant for the Town Meeting of January 13th: the setting up of a Weston Committee of Correspondence, a Whig petition sponsored by the radical Town Treasurer, Braddyll Smith. But if a Whig proposition had been admitted for discussion, the townsmen elected Col. Elisha Jones as Moderator - customarily an endorsement of a man's views on political questions as well as an indication of standing and popularity with the town's electors. It is to be regretted that no account has been found of the "full debate" mentioned in the Town Records:

"At a meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Weston Duly Quallified and Legally warned in Publick Town Meeting assembled at the Publick meeting house in Said town on Thursday the 13 Day of January AD 1774 at one oClock in the afternoon then and there

1 To Hear the Petition of Capt Braddyll Smith and others viz To Chuse a Committee to take into Consideration the Circumstances of our Publick affairs and to Corrospound with

¹ For an account of the Freetown meeting, see the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter, Feb. 10, 1774. 1/1, 2. For Gilbert, see Lorenzo Sabine, Loyalists in the American Revolution, (Boston, 1864) Vol. I E. Alfred Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts (1930), pp. 144-145.

² Mass. Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter, Feb. 3, 1774. 2/1; this Meeting was also "noticed" in the Whig press, see Massachusetts Spy, Feb. 24, 1774, and the Boston Gazette, Feb. 7, 1774, 1/1. For Thomas, see Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, pp. 136-142.

the NEIGHBOURING* Towns and to consider what is Best to be done that our Injured Rights and Priviledges may be Restored and Secured and act thereon or any other matter or thing the town Shall think Proper Relative there unto

The Inhabitants of Said town being generally assembled on Said Day Preceeded and made Choice of COLLO JONES*to be Moderator of Said meeting

1 The warrant for Calling the Meeting and the Petition being Read and after a full Debate thereon it was Moved and Seconded and accordingly Put to vote to Know the minde of the town wheather they will take So much Notice of the Said warning and Petition as to Pass any votes Reletive thereto and it Passed in the Negetive by a very great majority." 1

* In capitals.

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) p.198.

Another of the Tory "Protests" at this time was made at Pittsfield (Berkshire) where Col. Jones' son Capt. Elisha Jones the younger, one of the largest landowners (with his father) was leader of the Tories. See J.E.A. Smith, The History of Pittsfield (2 Vols, Boston, 1869, 1876) Vol. I, pp. 184-186.

A TORY REPRESENTATIVE AT GOVERNOR HUTCHINSON'S
LAST GENERAL COURT, JANUARY - MARCH, 1774

"The troubles and difficulties the town(Boston) is thrown into by the Tea affair has lessen'd the value of real estates exceedingly, and has prevented the sale of old Royall's house. Mr Elisha Hutchinson offer'd me seven hundred pounds sterling for it just as these troubles began, but his being oblig'd to abandon the town and, I believe, the country for ever put an end to our treaty, and since I have not had any offer made for it. When the spring opens I shall advertise it again, and use my best endeavours to turn it into money as soon as possible. You can form no idea of the miserable scituation the town is in, no body dare speak their sentiments for fear of being tarr'd and feather'd, or perhaps worse treated."

Richard Lechmere, Boston merchant, to his London
Agents Lane, Son & Fraser, Feb. 14, 1774. 1

Little more than a fortnight after Col. Jones and the local Tories had defeated an attempt to set up a Committee of Correspondence in Weston, as Town Representative he journeyed to Boston for the winter session of the General Court, which convened on January 26, 1774 during a spell of the coldest weather known there for thirty years. The ink froze as John Rowe made entry in his Diary in the large house on the north side of Pond Lane (Bedford Street), known to a later generation of Bostonians as the home of the genial blind historian William Hickling Prescott.² Even the sea froze, as John Rowe recorded, "all the way from the South End down to Castle William, also almost the whole harbour."³ Whatever the difficulties of travel for those attending the General Court, however, the severe weather in Massachusetts of January, 1774, was providential for Col. Jones and

1 Richard Lechmere to Lane, Son, and Fraser, Boston, February 14, 1774. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, (1902) Vol. XVI, p. 285. It was advertised in the Boston Evening-Post, March 14, 1774: "A handsome convenient Brick Dwelling House, scituate in Hanover Street, Boston, late the estate of Jacob Royall, Esq; deceased, containing three rooms upon a Floor, three upright Stories, the Cellar pav'd and ciel'd, a large Yard & Garden, an excellent Well of Water, Stable & Chaise House, with every Convenience suitable for a Gentleman. Any Person inclining to purchase may apply to Richard Lechmere.

2 His best known work is The Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella (1837).

3 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) entry for Jan. 23, 1774. pp. 260-1.

the small minority who were Tories: had it occurred the following winter, or the next after that (which were to be the warmest in memory) it had brought them disaster with the peninsula on which Boston stood joined to the mainland by ice thick enough to bear men and waggons.¹ As it was, by mid-January, 1774, there was "fine sleighing," and Deacon John Tudor (of Boston) wrote:

"Januy 15 Last night Snow'd so, that by 9 O'clock this morning it was 14 Inches on a level, which with what was on the ground before made it about 20 Inches

18th It had snow'd every day at times for a Week past

31 Still cold, fine sleiding for 200 miles to the Westward as Travelers tell us and Snow in general 3 feet deep..."²

It may have been that Col. Jones was driven to Boston for the House session by his butler-coachman, Cicero, one of his black "servants", in the sleigh, which, piled high with rugs would have been a comfortable way of making the journey for that time.

The General Court met at Province House, however, under the threatening shadow of some of the worst street violence that the mob-ridden town of Boston had known. These "dirty matters," as John Rowe called them, as before were under the avowed direction of the mythical "Joyce Jun'r," one of the folk-figures from the annual "Pope's Day" riots who was a symbol of popular revolt against Government.³ In mid-January, 1774, after rumours reached town that the Tea Consignees were preparing to return from Castle William, "Joyce Jun'r" posted handbills warning that they would be tarred and feathered by the mob if they did so.⁴ On the night of

¹ See below.

² William Tudor, ed., Deacon Tudor's Diary.. (1896) January, 1774, p. 45.

³ He was supposed to represent Cornet Joyce who captured Charles I, and was portrayed riding an ass/wearing out-size jack-boots and a grotesque mask. His "office" was to call out the men and boys in mob style-using a certain whistle-and to ride along in the middle of them in the Pope's Day processions. The best discussion is by Esther Forbes, Paul Revere... (1942) pp. 96-7, 471-2.

⁴ See Benjamin Labaree, The Boston Tea Party, (1964), p. 151.

January 26th , as John Rowe put it, "A Great Concourse of People were in Quest of the Infamous Richardson this night — they could not find him, very lucky for him." ¹

More sinister was the mobbing and torturing of the customs official John Malcolm, on January 25th, the day before the General Court met. Malcolm was taken from his house near North Square and so viciously mistreated that even Whig John Rowe was moved to declare that "sober people thought it was an act of outrageous violence." Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston (1767-1776) described the affair in a letter dated January 31, 1774:

"But the most shocking cruelty was exercised a few Nights ago, upon a poor Old Man a Tidesman one Malcolm he is reckond creasy, a quarrel was pickd wth him, he was afterward taken, & Tarred, & featherd. Theres no law that knows a punishment for the greatest Crimes beyond what this is, of cruel torture. And this instance exceeds any other before it he was stript Stark naked, one of the severest cold nights this Winter, his body coverd all over with Tar, then with feathers, his arm dislocated in tearing off his cloaths, he was dragd in a Cart with thousands attending, some beating him wth clubs & Knocking him out of the Cart, then in again. They gave him several severe whippings, at different parts of the Town. This Spectacle of horror & sportive cruelty was exhibited for about five hours.

"The unhappy wretch they say behaved with the greatest intrepidity, & fortitude all the while, before he was taken, defended himself a long time against Numbers & afterwds when under torture they demanded of him to curse his Masters The K: Govr &c which they could not make him do, but he still cried, Curse all Traitors. They brot him to the Gallows & put a rope about his neck sayg they woud hang him he said he wisht they woud, but that they could not for God was above the Devil. The Doctors say that it is impossible this poor creature can live. They say his flesh comes off his back in Stakes.

"It is the second time he has been Tarred & featherd & this is lookd upon more to intimidate the Judges & others than a spite to the unhappy Victim tho' they owe him a grudge for some things particuly he was with Govr Tryon in the Battle with the Regulators & the Governor has declared that he was of great servise to him in that affair, by his undaunted Spirit encountering the greatest dangers..." ²

¹ Ann Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) p. 261.

² Letters of a Loyalist Lady (1927), pp. 70-71.

Ann Hulton's final observation on the mobbing of John Malcolm was a prophecy for Col. Jones and unknown numbers of other Massachusetts Bay Tories. She wrote:

"These few instances amongst many serve to shew the abject State of Governmt & the licentiousness & barbarism of the times. There's no Magistrate that dare or will act to suppress the outrages. No person is secure there are many Objects pointed at, at this time & when once mark'd out for Vengeance, their ruin is certain." 1

As one of the Tory minority in the session of the General Court which began on January 26th, 1774, a minority which on recorded votes was not to exceed nine Representatives, Col. Elisha Jones was not chosen - as before - to membership on any of the "political" committees, such as the "Committee to Consider the State of the Province," the "Committee for the better regulating the Militia of this Province," or to report what action should be taken against judges who decided to accept Crown stipends. We find

1 Ibid., p. 71. Many Whigs of "the better sort" deplored the excesses of the mob in its treatment of Malcolm, and "Joyce Jun'r" saw fit to deny responsibility in handbills stuck up around Boston on January 30th:

Brethern and Fellow Citizens
This is to Certify, That the modern Punishment Lately
Inflicted on the ignoble John Malcolm was not done
by our Order. We reserve that Method for Bringing Villains
Of greater Consequence to a Sense of Guilt and Infamy.

Joyce Jun'r.
Chairman of the Committee of Tarring and
Feathering.

☞ If any Person be so hardy as to tear this down, they may
expect my severest Resentment J. jun'r

Col. Jones safely occupied by the Clerk of the House, Sam Adams, with appointment to committees dealing with legal problems and petitions for land grants - subjects in which he was eminently knowledgeable through long experience as a solicitor and magistrate, as a member of the General Court, and himself as a large proprietor of lands in the new townships of western Massachusetts and Maine. On January 27th, when the House got down to business on the second day of the Session, Col. Jones, with Col. Daniel Leonard of Taunton (Bristol) and Mr. Henry Gardner of Stow (Middlesex) were chosen a committee to consider a petition of Asabel Wheeler, a Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex, "praying that he might be allowed to alter his return on an Execution against Jonathan Maynard..."¹ Col. Jones' other Committee assignments included: on February 4th, with Mr. Nathaniel Bailey of Weymouth (Suffolk) and Mr. Nathaniel Allen of Gloucester (Essex) consideration of a petition of Henry Spring of Sandisfield (Berkshire) "praying for a grant of land";² on February 16th, with Col. Benjamin Lincoln of Hingham and Cohasset (Suffolk) and Mr. Benjamin Hall of Medford (Middlesex) to consider a petition of Benjamin Edwards, Esq., of Woburn, "praying that he may be admitted to file a complaint to the Superior Court, to be held next in Boston, on a judgment mentioned..."³; also on February 16th, with Capt. Joseph Twitchel of Sherburne (Middlesex) and Mr. Isaac Merrill of Almsbury (Essex) the petition of Cesar Ferril "praying for an Affirmation of a Judgment obtain'd by him..."⁴; and on February 17th with Col. Benjamin Lincoln and Mr. Nathaniel Allen the petition of Joseph Josselyn, Esq., of Hanover (Plymouth) "Praying for a grant of land."⁵

1 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774), p. 105

2 Ibid., p. 126.

3 Ibid., p. 164.

4 Ibid., p. 166.

5 Ibid., p. 168.

The most important contribution made by Col. Jones to the work of this session, however, was in the sphere of political reform. Here Col. Jones, noted among the "Tory Reformers" and others of his party in the House who aptly enough called themselves "Friends of Government," joined with the Whig majority of Town Representatives in framing and passing through its third reading on February 23, 1774, "A Bill to Prevent Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Representatives." It was a subject which must particularly have engaged the Colonel's interest: false charges brought by the Whigs of his own alleged corruption in the Town Office of Assessor had kept him from reelection to the House for nine years, until his name could be finally cleared by the Courts. It may have been that Col. Jones was one of the principal supporters, if not drafters, of the "Bribery and Corruption" Bill: certainly his name appears first on the list of a committee chosen by the House of Representatives to "send up" the Bill for concurrence of the Council on February 23rd.¹

This Committee was notably bi-partisan beyond the very small number of Tories in the House, accounting for one-third at least of the nine members. Besides Col. Elisha Jones the "Friends of Government" included Col. Edward Bacon of Barnstable (Barnstable) and Col. Thomas Gilbert of Freetown (Bristol). The others were Col. Jerathmeel Bowers of Swanzey (Bristol) (a later Tory convert²); Mr. Peter Curtis of Lanesborough (Berkshire); Mr. John Hancock of Boston (Suffolk); Mr. Stephen Nye of Sandwich (Barnstable); Capt. William Stickney of Billerica (Middlesex); and Dr. George Wheaton of Norton and Mansfield (Bristol).³

1 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774) pp. 156, 186.

2 Bowers was a great friend of Daniel Leonard of Taunton, who went over to the Tories after the Boston Tea Party. For a sketch of Bowers, see E. Alfred Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts (1930) pp. 46-47.

3 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774) p. 186.

The largely Whig Council passed the "Bribery and Corruption Bill" on February 24th, well before the end of the session, but it was among the reformist legislation enacted by the General Court between January and March, 1774, which did not receive the signature of Governor Thomas Hutchinson. On February 25th Hutchinson informed the House that he had received discretionary leave to go to England, urging that it give "all the despatch possible to business..." (Hutchinson was to prorogue the House on March 8th)¹

In the 1770's Col. Elisha Jones and other forward-looking Tories (including the two supporters with him of the "Bribery and Corruption" Bill, Col. Thomas Gilbert of Freetown and Col. Edward Bacon of Barnstable) both in the Town Meetings and the General Court supported measures which would improve the working of Government under the existing Constitution and the introduction of needed reforms - most importantly - whenever these could be brought into being by Colonial enactment rather than by Parliamentary edict imposed from without. These Tory views, best seen in practice through what can now be recovered of their legislative and other political activities before 1775, were the foundation concepts of "His Majesty's Yankees" which with their ideas of Town Meetings and representative self-government in legislative assemblies the Tories were to take with them to Upper Canada and Nova Scotia after the Revolution. It was the experience of Col. Jones and the other forward-looking Tories in the General Court Session of Jan-March, 1774, which was the last to shape the first great manifesto of the Massachusetts Bay Tories formulated a few weeks later: that series of Loyal Addresses presented to Governor Hutchinson in May, 1774 before his departure for England, of which the "Address of the Middlesex County Magistrates" - signed if not in part at least² drafted by Col. Elisha Jones - was to be the most important.

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774), pp. 186, 202.

² See below: "Col. Jones and the Middlesex Magistrates Address Hutchinson: Tory Proposals for Accomodation with England and Reform in Massachusetts Bay, May - June, 1774."

It was Governor Hutchinson, with his narrowly legalist and rigid concepts of Colonial Government (as in the case of the payment of judges' salaries carried to extremes never ordained by London) and his circumspect distrust of commitment, to change or anything else,¹ who barred the way to Col. Jones and the Tory reformers. As much, and more invidiously, as Hutchinson did to Sam Adams and the Whig radicals who, unlike the Tories, were bent not upon making the Constitution to function, but rather upon creating its impotence and final destruction.

It was Governor Hutchinson who gave little help or encouragement to the appeal of Jeremiah Lee and the Whig leaders of Essex County (read out to the House of Representatives on February 12th) who were beset by mobs in the "Smallpox War" and in great need of support in their efforts to restore public order.² But of equal or greater importance to the future of Col. Jones and Tories like him who were to stay in the Colonies and carry on the struggle to maintain the Charter-Constitution, Hutchinson in his last General Court continued his policy of opposition to attempts by Colonial legislators, Tory or Whig, to improve the working of Government by the introduction of substantive reforms.³

¹ Hutchinson's latest biographer Bernard Bailyn makes much of Hutchinson's qualities of caution, circumspection, and lack of willingness to make commitments, which so marked his public career. The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (1974) see pp. 15-32. Bailyn's view, here, is probably more accurate than that of Clifford Shipton, who, in a rare excess of historic balance, is far too dismissive of Hutchinson's shortcomings. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, 149-217.

² Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774), p. 151, and see above, "The Smallpox War."

³ Hutchinson, however, did approve certain procedural measures - as in earlier sessions of the General Court: for example, a bill for changing the time for holding the Superior Court in Col. Jones' County of Middlesex. Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives, pp. 223, 241. (1773-1774)

The record of bills to which he refused his signature shows with what narrowness and rigidity Hutchinson interpreted standing instructions to refer proposed innovatory legislation or that touching upon the Constitution to London, the established procedure being that such measures as were thus approved could be reintroduced later for adoption by the General Court.¹ At the Session of January-March, 1774, Hutchinson's failure to accept the Bill against bribery and corruption in the election of Representatives cast him yet again in the seeming role of Devil's Advocate - to the benefit of the Whig propaganda press, which took care to print the current list of "bills refused" against him.² And to the disadvantage of Col. Elisha Jones and the other "reformist" Tories in the House who were its supporters. In the summer of 1774, with Hutchinson safely gone to England, PRAEDICUS (Sam Adams) was to use Hutchinson's rejection of the Bribery and Corruption Bill as grounds for charging Col. Jones with being the "Manager" of a "New Scheme of Corruption":

"Money," wrote PRAEDICUS, "was now concluded upon as the sole Means to be depended upon to answer the Ends of Administration? And does not this account for the pious Hutchinson's Rejection of the Bill against Bribery and Corruption? Col. Jones, it is remembered, was as much concerned lest this Bill should produce Perjuries and other bad Consequences, as certain Gentlemen are that the Non-Consumption Agreement will have those dreadful Effects." ³

1 Not trained as a lawyer (no bar in Massachusetts to his appointment as first a judge and later Chief Justice) Hutchinson had a pettifogger's feeling for detail: Once he sent a bill back to the House with the complaint that its opening lacked a customary "etc." - the usual abbreviation for the King's dominions, including the North American Colonies - while acknowledging that "by the Body of the People" his action "would be considered to proceed from mere humour." The Acts and Resolves ... of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Vol. V, pp. 346-7.

2 Massachusetts Spy, March 17, 1774. 1/1.

3 PRAEDICUS in the Boston Gazette, July 25, 1774. 3/1. See below, "Col. Jones Exposes Sam Adams' Conspiracy for a Continental Congress." The Bribery and Corruption Bill was reintroduced in the House at the next session, on June 13, 1774. Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1774), p. 30.

There is no record in the House Journal, or elsewhere, that Col. Jones was a member of the committees chosen to bring forward the other bills rejected by Hutchinson during the session of January - March, 1774: a Bill obliging Sheriffs of the Several Counties to give Bond for the faithful discharge of their respective Offices, and a Bill to prevent the further importation of Negroes into Massachusetts Bay. Nor were the votes on these Bills recorded. It may have been that Col. Jones and the Tories supported the Sheriff's Bill, if reform were needed, joining again with the Whigs.

They may also have acted with the Whigs in support of the anti-slave trade Bill. Hutchinson had not approved earlier legislation of this kind, in 1771, as he had explained to Lord Hillsborough, doubting the professed belief of the sponsors that slavery, "so great a restraint of Liberty," was illegal "in a merely moral aspect." Slaves in Massachusetts, he pointed out, had all the rights of a servant (they were in fact almost everywhere referred to as "servants") "who had bound himself for a term of years exceeding the ordinary term of human life" - and might even have the right to own property.¹ (Hutchinson was in error here as the Weston tax records show that slaves did own property in the town, and were taxed accordingly).² Doubtless there were many among the General Court, regardless of their politics, who shared Hutchinson's views - although in 1774 as in 1771 a majority voted for abolition of the slave trade. Slaves in Massachusetts were used as house servants by those rich enough to afford them: Col. Jones is known to have had at least two at that time, Cicero, the butler-coachman, and a woman, the cook, whose name has been forgotten. Col. Jones is not known to have had an interest in the slave trade (known as "the Guinea trade") which, for all of Hutchinson's denials of its moral aspects, was acknowledged as a "dark subject." In 1774 at least one town, Medfield

1 Hutchinson to Hillsborough, May 1, 1771. PRO.C.O.5:760.

2 In Hutchinson's view the right of a slave to own property had not been tested in the Courts. In Weston several had been deeded property: viz. Murrey Philemon, slave of Benjamin Harrington, in 1756, who appears in the tax records. The so-called "suits for liberty"-actions for trespass brought against masters for damages arising from restraint of freedom-had been successful, and in growing numbers, since the 1760's.

in western Suffolk, instructed its Representative to vote against the slave traffic as against the principles of human liberty, in January, 1773. There is no question that Sam Adams and the radical Whigs used the anti-moral aspects of slavery - as they did other issues - as a tool to fight the Administration. Sam Adams and the Whig Representative from Salem, John Pickering Jr. are thought to have drafted the "revolutionary" Circular Letter sent by a committee of four slaves to the members of the House of Representatives and the Committees of Correspondence in the towns which called for abolition of the slave trade. In the high fashion of Whig propagandists it compared the un-free status of the colonists of Massachusetts Bay with that of their slaves, and called for legislation to promote a scheme for emancipation and subsidized repatriation to Africa.¹

Twenty "public and private" measures, most of them, as was usual, dealing with routine legislation, were enacted by the General Court (and signed by Hutchinson) during the session of January - March, 1774, carried through with little effective Tory challenge by the overwhelming Whig majority. The great political battle, however, the last between the departing Governor and Sam Adams' Whigs, was fought on the question of judicial salaries, carried on from the previous year, and directed against Chief Justice Peter Oliver who alone of the High Court Judges had stood up to Whig blackmail and refused to give up his right to a Crown stipend.²

1 For Medfield instructions of Jan. 13, 1773: Boston Committee of Correspondence, Letters and Proceedings Received, MSS., Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library. This Circular, printed as a broadside (copy at Mass. Hist. Soc.) was dated April 20, 1773, and began: "Sir, The efforts made by the legislative of this Province in their last sessions to free themselves from slavery, gave us, who are in that deplorable state, a high degree of satisfaction..."

2 The list of bills enacted by the General Court and signed by Hutchinson was printed in the Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774), pp. 241-243. See Peter Oliver's own account, "Salary for the Judges," in D. Adair & John Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961) pp. 107-111.

The first important test came in the House on February 11th with a Whig resolution calling for Oliver's removal from office by Governor Hutchinson. Oliver had

"contrary to the Usage and Custom of the Justices of the said Superior Court...contrary to the plain Sence and Meaning of the said Charter and against the known Constitution of this Province...received the said Salary and Reward out of the Revenue unjustly and unconstitutionally levied and extorted from the Inhabitants of the American Colonies...(and) by his Conduct...(had) perversely and corruptly done that which hath an obvious and direct Tendency to the Perversion of Law and Justice in the said Superior Court." 1

Of the debate little is known, but Oliver's defense was undertaken by only nine men, using the measure of those prepared to risk the danger - real enough - of Whig mobs by recording their names in a public vote - which was lost to a massive Whig majority of 87. It may well have indicated his degree of participation that Col. Jones' name was placed first by Sam Adams, Clerk of the House, in the list of Tory "Nays" printed in the Journal and in the Whig press. Last was Mark Hopkins, the lawyer from Egremont and Alford (Berkshire), married to Col. Jones' Great Niece Electa, daughter of the Rev. John Sergeant, pioneer missionary at Stockbridge, and Abigail, daughter of Col. Ephriam Williams, Sr. and Col. Jones' only sister, Abigail. The Tory nine were as follows:

Col. Elisha Jones, Weston, (Middlesex)
 Hon. John Worthington, Springfield (Worcester)
 Abijah White Esq., Marshfield (Plymouth)
 Josiah Edson, Bridgewater (Plymouth)
 Daniel Leonard, Taunton (Bristol)
 Col. Thomas Gilbert, Freetown (Bristol)
 Capt. Jeremiah Learned, Oxford & Charlton (Worcester)
 Col. William Tyng, Falmouth & Cape Elizabeth (Cumberland)
 Mark Hopkins, Egremont & Alford (Berkshire) 2

1 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774) pp.146-147.

2 Ibid., p.148. See the Boston Gazette, Feb.14, 1774. 2/2,3.

After passing the resolve for the removal of Chief Justice Peter Oliver on February 11th, the House of Representatives, without any constitutional authority, "ordered" the Superior Court to adjourn until the Chief Justice was removed — but Governor Hutchinson declared that there were no grounds for such action. Peter Oliver in his Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion later described the violent debate in the House which followed:

"The Term of the Supreme Court was now approaching -The Thunder Cloud gathered black enough to crock Charcoal - instead of red, the Lightning flashed its white Streaks. There was a Gallery at a Corner of the Assembly Room where (James) Otis, (Sam) Adams, (Joseph) Hawley, & the rest of the Cabal used to crowd their Mohawks & Hawcubites, to echo the oppositional Vociferations, to the Rabble without doors. Adams now addressed his Gallery Men, to attack the Chief Justice when he came to Court; & they perfectly understood his Meaning. Even one of the Assembly Men, a Colo Gardiner,¹ who was afterward killed at the Battle of Bunker's Hill, declared in the General Assembly, that he himself would drag the chief Justice from the Bench if he should sit upon it." 2

Col. Elisha Jones may have been one of "The Chief Justice's Friends" who "wrote to him, that if he should go to Court his Life would be in Danger..." 3

When a visit by a deputation of most of the Whigs in the House failed to persuade Governor Hutchinson to remove Oliver, the Whigs began proceedings to impeach him for "High Crimes and Misdemeanors." These Articles were put to the House on February 24, 1774 - and they passed with the very large Whig majority vote of 92 to 8. Again Col. Elisha Jones headed the Journal list of "Nays," but the names of three men who voted to support the Chief Justice on February 11th were missing: Col. John Worthington, Mark Hopkins, and the new Whig "convert," Daniel Leonard. New to the Tory ranks was Samuel March, of Scarborough (Cumberland). 4

1 A reference to the then Capt. Thomas Gardner of Cambridge, a radical Whig and one of the leaders of the Cambridge mob.

2 D. Adair & John Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961) p. 110.

3 Loc. Cit.

4 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774), pp. 198-200. See also the Boston Gazette, March 7, 1774. 1/2.

The "Articles of Impeachment" - which occupy two pages of the House Journal - are a long-winded chronicle of Chief Justice Oliver's alleged crimes, to which was attached the characteristic Whig sermon on political philosophy:-

"Peter Oliver...hath ungratefully, falsely and maliciously laboured to lay Imputation and Scandal upon this his Majesty's Government, insolently and contemptuously insinuating, that by the Parsimony, Injustice and Ingratitude of the said Government, in withholding from him an adequate and due Reward for his Services as a Justice of the said Superior Court, he hath been greatly impoverished, and that therefore he was obliged to take his Majesty's Grant from a Principle of Justice due to his Family and others. Whereas in Fact, the Rewards granted to him by this Government, were always fully equal to the Merit of his Service as a Justice of the said Court; as it is well known that the said Peter Oliver, Esq; before his Advancement to a Seat in the Superior Court, had been usually employed in the Business of Trade, Husbandry and Manufactures, to which he had applied his Mind; and that he was appointed to said Office without previous Education and regular Study in the Law..." 1

The Oliver impeachment proceedings were closely modelled upon the procedures used by the English Parliament - and not only because no Crown official had ever been impeached by the General Court and modes of precedent were lacking: the scheme for impeachment was part of Sam Adams' plan to extend the authority and powers of the Whig-controlled General Court beyond the limits of the Charter-Constitution of Massachusetts Bay until, like the Parliament at Westminster, ~~until~~² it ruled all branches of the Colonial government at Boston.

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774) pp.198-199. Printed in the Boston Gazette March 7, 1774, p.1.

² See John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936) pp.297-9; and Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (1974) pp.265-269. James Hosmer, a disciple of W.E.H. Lecky, wrote (1896) of the "impeachment" of Chief Justice Oliver: "In truth, the Whigs were getting beyond the Constitution. The natural right (sic.) of a great people to do as it pleased was fast becoming the popular ground." The Life of Thomas Hutchinson (1896) pp.310-311.

Hutchinson noted in his History that: "The only attempt of this kind, which I have ever heard of in any of the colonies, was by the house of representatives in Dudley's administration (in 1706); which they soon desisted from, and, by an act of the legislature, inflicted pains and

(cont.)

The Acts of Impeachment were sent up to the Whig-dominated Council, but Hutchinson, as Governor, refused to preside over any proceedings to consider them on the constitutional ground that under the Charter the Council and Governor had no jurisdiction, and because the Articles furthermore implied that the Crown salary offered to the Massachusetts judges by the London Government was a bribe. To get around Hutchinson's objections the Whig leaders, on March 1st., again brought the matter of Oliver's impeachment before the House - but cast in the form of a criminal indictment. As Hutchinson later put it:

"to avoid the governor's exceptions to his acting with the council as a court of judicature, instituted a new process, and, after exhibiting articles in the same words, they altered the conclusion only, and, instead of praying the governor and council, as in the former, 'that such proceedings, examinations, trials, and judgments, may be had thereon as are agreeable to law and justice,' they pray, that, 'if he be found guilty, he may, by the governor and council, be forthwith removed from his office, and some other person, more worthy, be appointed in his stead.' Both these, like two counts in a writ, lay before the council at the same time, that, if one should fail, the other might serve the purpose." ¹

It is significant that the number of Representatives present at the House debate on March 1st and prepared to cast their votes was substantially fewer than it had been on February 24th:

HOUSE VOTES ON THE QUESTION OF IMPEACHMENT

	Tory	Whig
February 11, 1774	9	96
February 24	8	92
March 1st	7	71

(Cont.) penalties; but even this was judged in England to be irregular, the crimes mentioned in the act not being cognizable by the general assembly, such proceedings being proper only in the courts of law; and therefore, the act was disallowed." L.S. Mayo, ed., The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay (1936) Vol. III, p. 320.

¹ Ibid., p. 321. For the proceedings in the House on March 1st, see Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774), pp. 211-217.

No list by name of those voting was printed in the House Journal or in the press. It can only be supposed, from his character and political record, that Col. Jones cast one of the seven Tory votes in favour of "Government" but against impeachment.

The handful of Tories remaining in the House and who, Col. Jones among them, continued to fight the policies of Sam Adams and the Whig radicals despite the overwhelming odds and the omnipresent dangers of the Whig mobs - were already marked men. But as the Whig radicals increased the pressure moderate Whigs and the timorous of both parties sought the traditional refuge of Representatives when there were politically embarrassing and even dangerous decisions to be made: an early departure for home.

It was against this background of Whig driving to anarchy that Hutchinson wrote his notable despatch to Lord Dartmouth of February 17, 1774, in which he restated his belief that the future of Massachusetts Bay lay in British intervention. People who were opposed to lawlessness and the spreading of it, he wrote, were too terrified to speak out (ignoring, as he customarily did, the contribution to stability being made by such Tories as Col. Jones in the House of Representatives and in the towns) and Hutchinson warned that unless a strong military force were sent to restore order soon the American colonies would be lost.¹ Hutchinson, in effect, abdicated what remained of his authority as Governor a week later, on February 25th, when he officially informed the House of his forthcoming departure for England.² The way was thus open for Sam Adams' final maneuvers to secure the impeachment of Chief Justice Oliver: the criminal indictment voted by the House on March 1st, followed by the charade in the Whig-dominated Council whereby, in Hutchinson's absence, the "presumption" was made that the Governor was presiding as the members deliberated and found in favour of impeachment.³

1 Hutchinson's letter to Dartmouth of Feb. 17, 1774, is in the Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2661, pp. 10-12. It says nothing of the stand made by Col. Jones and the Tories in the House - whom, it appears, Hutchinson himself had done nothing to support or encourage.

2 Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-4), p. 202.

3 Ibid., pp. 211-217. For the "fiction" used by Sam Adams in the Council, see John C. Miller, Sam Adams... (1936) pp. 298-299.

Meanwhile, as the Journal of the House shows, for the last days of the General Court session Col. Elisha Jones and the other Tories were among those responsible members of the General Court who, despite the Whig-engendered tumult, got on with their work - the Province business - for which they were elected. On March 3rd his committee (with Col. Benjamin Lincoln of Hingham and Cohasset (Suffolk) and Nathaniel Allen of Gloucester (Essex) reported favourably to the House on the petition of Joseph Josselyn of Hanover (Plymouth), recommending a grant of land to him, 400 acres, east of the Saco River in Maine.¹

Appropriately enough, however, one of the last decisions taken by the House in the troubled session of January - March, 1774, (finally prorogued by Hutchinson on March 9th) and on March 5th, the same day that John Hancock delivered the fire-eating "Boston Massacre" oration, was the vote to accept an invitation to the funeral of Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver, the only brother of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, who died on March 3rd. The Whig leaders, in their humanity, refused a request made by Governor Hutchinson that a safe-conduct from mobbing be given to the Chief Justice for the time of the funeral - which because of the threats to his life he was persuaded not to attend.²

Instead, the night before, on March 7th, the Whigs set up a large illuminated transparency in Boston showing Peter Oliver "in the horrors" (hell). The Whig merchant John Rowe (or a later expurgator) withheld the circumstances in his Diary entry for March 7th: "This night an Exhibition was Put on Mrs. Clappam's Balcony which drew the attention of most of the Inhabitants."³ Well it did,

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives (1773-1774) pp. 168, 223.

² Ibid., pp. 229, 243. For Hutchinson's intercession, see Clifford Shipton's sketch of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, p. 751.

³ Mrs. Clapham kept a Whig tavern in King Street where the Whigs set up anti-government "Exhibitions" on the nights after the "Boston Massacre" orations. Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) pp. 225, 240, 264.

for Whig purposes. This spectacle, "postponed" from "Massacre Night," was to serve as a cover and diversion for the Second Boston Tea Party, when another band of Whigs dumped a cargo of tea - this time brought by Capt. Gorham in the brig Fortune, into Boston harbour.¹

It is not known whether Col. Elisha Jones attended the "state" funeral of Lt. Gov. Andrew Oliver on March 8th. According to John Rowe, who described it in some detail, "...the Gentlemen of the Councill did not attend this Funerall & very few of the House of Representatives..." The probability is that the latter were the Tories. John Rowe remarked upon "Such a Concourse or rather Multitude of Spectators I never saw at any Funeral here (in Boston) before."² After John Hancock's Company of Cadets, the Governor's Guard, fired the salute, their purpose was made apparent. The brother of the dead man explained with an anguish little blunted by intervening years:

"The Vengeance of the Faction was carried to, & beyond the Grave. Upon his Interrment a large Mob attended, & huzzaed at the intombing the Body; & at night there was an Exhibition, at a publick Window, of a Coffin & several Insignia of Infamy -- & at this Exhibition some Members of the general Assembly attended. Could Infernals do worse? " 3

1 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) p. 264. See the Boston Gazette, March 7, March 14, 1774, 1/2. And see below, "Weston's Tea Party: Col. Elisha Jones sets a Military Night Watch..."

2 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) p. 265.

3 D. Adair & John Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961), p. 112.

WESTON'S TEA PARTY: COL. ELISHA JONES SETS A
MILITARY NIGHT WATCH IN THE TOWN TO PREVENT
MORE VIOLENCE BY WHIG MOBS, MARCH, 1774

"We learn from Hadley, that the famous P.L. of that Town, was apprehended as a common Traitor of his Country, for bringing some of the detestable Tea into that Town; after confessing the Crime, (he) was hanged the usual Time, then cut down by the common Hangman..."

Salem Gazette, August 5, 1774¹

On the morning of March 7th, two days after John Hancock's inflammatory "Massacre" commemoration at Dr. Sewall's Meeting House, "an absolute masterpiece of oratory without any regard for the facts,"² and while the Whig-fomented tumult in Boston was building toward its next peak of violence, the staging of the second Boston Tea-Party with the dumping into the harbour of cargo

1 Salem Gazette & Newbury & Marblehead Advertiser, August 5, 1774, 3/1. A fairly outspoken new Tory paper-first printed at Salem on June 24, 1774 by the former printer of the short-lived Boston Tory journal, The Censor, (1771-1772) Ezekiel Russell.

2 As Harvard historian Clifford Shipton rightly put it: "The men who fell in the Boston Massacre were, of course, the victims of the Whig politicians who had whipped them into a fighting mood in order to provoke a clash which could be exploited for political purposes... The Church (Dr. Benjamin)-Hancock oration... was an attempt to round up more goats to die for the cause:

"Let every parent tell the shameful story to his listening children till tears of pity glisten in their eyes, and boiling passion shakes their tender frames; and whilst the anniversary of that ill-fated night is kept a jubilee in the grim court of pandemonium, let all America join in one common prayer to Heaven, that the inhuman, unprovoked murders of the Fifth of March 1770, planned by (Lord) Hillsborough, and a knot of treacherous knaves in Boston, and executed by the cruel hand of Preston and his sanguinary coadjutors, may ever stand in history without a parallel. But what, my countrymen, withheld the

(Cont.)

from Capt. Gorham's brig Fortune,¹ Col. Elisha Jones' town of Weston, safely up Charles River by a dozen miles from Cambridge, held its annual spring Meeting for the election of Town officers, the passing of Town accounts, and the conduct of other Town business.

It is significant that this Town Meeting was held in the morning, at the unusually early hour of ten o'clock. Most of Weston's Town Meetings took place at the more convenient, not to say amicable, time of one p.m.: after the disposal of private affairs and the mid-day meal, with opportunity especially for those "coming in" from outlying parts through the deep snows of this severe March of 1774 to have met and talked with fellow townspeople, refreshing themselves over "flip" or rum punch, with tea for the daring at the Tory Golden Ball, kept by Col. Elisha's cousin, Capt. Isaac Jones, or for "Committeemen" and their supporters "Liberty Liquor" only at one of the Whig taverns - Smith's or Baldwin's - along the Post Road convenient to the Meeting House on the Common. The early morning session would have given Col. Jones time to attend part, at least, of the afternoon meeting of the General Court if, as was probable, as Town Representative and facing the test of re-election in May, he considered it important not to be absent from Town Meeting, where it was customary for questions to be asked about the proceedings of the Province business in Boston.²

(Cont.) ready arm of vengeance from executing instant justice on the vile assassins? Perhaps you fear'd promiscuous carnage might ensue, and that the innocent might share the fate of those who had performed the infernal deed. But were not all guilty? Were you not too tender of the lives of those who came to fix a yoke on your necks?" From John Hancock, An Oration, Delivered March 5, 1774 (Boston, 1774) pp. 9-10. See Clifford Shipton, sketch of John Hancock, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, p. 427.

1 A consignment of 28½ chests of tea to Thomas Walley and partners. The Fortune was brought up to Hubbard's Wharf (near Griffin's Wharf, the scene of the First Tea Party in December, 1773).

2 For the Weston Town Meeting of March 7, 1774, see M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records... (1893) pp. 199-204.

The early hour of Town Meeting, too, would have well suited the Weston Whigs, who, after all, had elected the entire Board of Selectmen¹ (who set the time for Town Meetings): for the dark purposes of those among them that were bound for Boston rendezvous later in the day, and Mohawk disguising. It is not known how many Weston men took part, but oral tradition in the town about the second Tea Party as well as the first persisted, "patriotically" perhaps, until the twentieth century. Plans for the affair, like most inner secrets of his close friend Sam Adams and the Boston Whig leadership, were doubtless known to Samuel Phillips Savage, although no record is now to be found in his "Diary" and other papers, heavily censored as were those of Sam Adams. John Adams, however, was certainly among those Whigs who had advanced information that Mohawks were to dump the Fortune's cargo of tea into the sea on the night of March 7th.²

Except for item 1 (Selectmen) and item 5 (jurors), the agenda, set out according to usual practice in the Meeting Warrant, was not directly concerned with the conflicts of Provincial politics - an indication that despite the Whig hysteria and mob violence directed toward the "remedy" of such issues as the importing of dutied tea and adequate payment of salaries of judges, the existing Charter-Constitution answered well enough the governmental needs of those townspeople it was set over to rule. The nine items on the Agenda were:

- "1 To Chuse Selectmen and other town officers for the year Ensueing that are by Law Required
- 2 To Hear the town Treasurers accounts for the year Past & act thereon
- 3 To Know the minde whether there Swine Shall go at large the year Ensueing
- 4 To know the minde of the town whether they will Repair their High ways by a Rate the year Ensueing and if so Grant money therefor

¹ The Board of 5 Selectmen elected in March, 1773 was solidly whig: Josiah Smith, Thomas Russell, Thomas Rand, Joseph Whitney, and Benjamin Peirce. L. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893), p. 168.

² Samuel Phillips Savage, "Diary," MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.; Lyman H. Butterfield, ed., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams (1961) Vol. II, p. 91.

- 5 To Hear and act upon a list Prepared for the Jury Box
- 6 To know the minde of the town if they will Joyn with Watertown and Waltham in Petitioning the Great and General Court for Some Release as to the Support of the Great Bridge over Charles River in Watertown and Chuse a Committee to Joyn with Such as Watertown and Waltham Shall appoint for that Purpose or act any other matter or thing Relating thereto
- 7 To Hear the over Seers accounts and act thereon
- 8 To Know the minde of the town if they aLough the account of Israel Whitemore Late Survayor for Blowing Rocks and Repairing Drills and for Pouder and act thereon
- 9 To Hear the Petition of Doc Josiah Starr and others Relating to the School houses and act thereon " 1

If anything, Weston Town Meeting on March 7, 1774 appears by the voting for Selectmen to have been more conservative than in 1773. It returned three Whig Selectmen: Josiah Smith, Thomas Rand, and Benjamin Peirce; elected another Whig, Deacon Thomas Upham; and one Tory, John Mirick, who had supported the petition to the General Court on behalf of the election of Col. Jones, dated June 8, 1773. Col. Jones himself was not chosen to any Town Office, excused from this often onerous and time-consuming duty, no doubt, by his serving the Town as Representative. But he did accept appointment by Meeting with two of his leading Whig enemies in the Town - Abraham Bigelow and Braddyll Smith - to be a committee for safeguarding the Town's interests in the perennial problem of the upkeep of the Great Bridge over Charles River at Watertown, item 6:

"Voted to Chuse a Committee of three persons viz Coll^o Elisha Jones m^r Abraham Bigelow & Capt Braddyll Smith to be a Committee to Joyn with Such as Watertown & Waltham Shall Chuse to Petition the great & Generall Court for Some Relief and assistance in Repairing & maintaining the Great Bridge over Charles River in Watertown Respecting the three towns Extraordinary Charge or Respecting Weston & Waltham only." 2

¹ M.F. Peirce, ed., The Town of Weston Records... (1893) p. 200.

² Ibid., p. 204.

Weston Town Meeting ignored the Whig campaign, begun during the summer of 1773, to persuade people not to serve as jurors and to boycott sessions of the Superior Court until the Justices agreed not to accept Crown stipends (by January, 1774 all but the Chief Justice Peter Oliver had done so) or to resign their offices. At the Meeting of March 7, 1774 as item 5 it

"Voted to accept of the List of Jurors as Read of & 23 first be in the first Box" 1

There can be no doubt that Col. Jones, as Town Magistrate and Justice of the Middlesex County Court, gave his fullest support to this measure. Approval of an annual list of Town jurors was one of the most important law-enforcement duties of the Massachusetts Town Meetings.

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., The Town of Weston Records... (1893) p. 204. In Weston the approval of jury lists was usually the fifth item on the Warrant for the annual March meeting.

Under the date of March 23, 1774 Samuel Phillips Savage at Weston made the following note in his "Diary" about the Whig campaign against Chief Justice Peter Oliver, referring to the House of Representatives - as did his mentor Sam Adams - as the Massachusetts Bay House of Commons:

"The Commons house of this province impeached Peter Oliver Esq officer of ye Supr Court for receiving a sallary from the King and not from this people."

"Diary," MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

Campaign against jury service: For the refusal of William Molineaux at the August, 1773 session of the Superior Court at Boston, see the Boston Evening-Post, Jan. 24, 1774, 2/1.

At Worcester the "Whig Society" formed Dec. 27, 1773 by leading radicals as a caucus for controlling Town Meeting, drew up a "Remonstrance" which was presented to the Superior Court sitting at Worcester on April 19, 1774, and endorsed by "the majority" of jurors - 19. Note references to the House of Representatives as the "House of Commons" of this Province:

"To the honorable, his majesty's justices of the Superior Court of Judicature now sitting at Worcester, in and for said county.

"We, the subscribers, being returned by our respective towns to serve as jurors of inquest for this court, beg leave humbly to inform your honors, that it is agreeable to the sense of those we represent, that we should not empanel, or be sworn into this important office, provided Peter Oliver, Esq. sits as chief justice of this court;

(cont.)

(Cont.)

and we would further add, that our own sentiments coincide perfectly with those of our constituents respecting this matter; so, to whatever inconvenience we expose ourselves, we are firmly resolved not to empannel, unless we are first assured that the above gentleman will not act as a judge in this court, for the following reasons:

1. Because the honorable House of Commons of this Province, at their last session, among other things, resolved, that Peter Oliver, Esq. hath, by his conduct, rendered himself totally disqualified any longer to hold and act in the office of a justice of this court, and ought, forthwith, to be removed therefrom

2. Because the House of Commons; in their said session, did impeach the said Peter Oliver, Esq. of high crimes and misdemeanors; the particulars of which impeachment, we apprehend, are known to your honors, which will excuse us from reciting them at large; to which impeachment the said Peter Oliver, Esq. hath not been yet brought to answer; and therefore, we apprehend, that the venire bearing test, Peter Oliver, Esq. is illegal.

But, if we should be mistaken, nevertheless, we remonstrate and protest, against the said Peter Oliver, Esq. acting as judge on any of the bills we may find at this session, unless he is constitutionally acquitted of said impeachment: because, we apprehend it would be highly injurious, to subject a fellow countryman to trial at a bar, where one of the judges is not only disqualified as aforesaid, but, by his own confession, stands convicted, in the minds of the people, of a crime more heinous, in all probability, than any that might come before him. These, with other reasons, that might be offered, we hope your honors will esteem sufficient to justify us for presenting the foregoing remonstrance.

Joshua Bigelow	John Fuller	William Henshaw
Thomas Robinson	John Tyler	Nathaniel Carriel
Phinchas Heywood	Daniel Clapp	Moses Livermore
Nathan Walker	Silas Bayley	Timothy Bigelow
Ephriam Doolittle	John Sherman	William Campbell

This "Worcester Remonstrance" was printed in William Lincoln, History of Worcester (Worcester, 1837) pp. 79-80.

Chief Justice Oliver did not go to Worcester, and the Court session proceeded without him. A similar Grand Jury protest was made in April, 1774, when the Superior Court sat at Charlestown, in Col. Jones' county of Middlesex. Oliver questioned the legality of the Court proceedings without the full number of judges, and supported the finding of jurors for contempt who refused to serve, as the law provided. No action, however, was taken against these jurors by those judges, including Edmund Trowbridge, who had refused to accept the Crown stipends. See Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, pp. 751-754.

Two days after the Weston Town Meeting, Governor Hutchinson prorogued the General Court, on March 9th. It was an uncereimonial and acrimonious end, and not altogether factually described by Hutchinson later in his History...of Massachusetts-Bay. "Having given his assent to such bills as were prepared for it,¹ omitting the usual formality of sending for the house to the council chamber, and of closing the session with a speech, he sent the (Province) secretary (Thomas Flucker) with a message to the two houses, signifying to them, that he had passed over without notice, the groundless, unkind, and illiberal charges and insinuations from each house against himself, rather than that any part of the publick business of the province should be left unfinished; but as some of their votes and resolves, which they had suffered to be made publick, struck directly at the honour and authority of the king, and of the parliament, he was obliged to stop them from proceeding any further."

With the Tories so few, however, the House was firmly in the control of Clerk Sam Adams:

"The house, being informed that this message was reading in Council, shut their doors, and refused admission to the secretary, until they had perfected what was necessary to the security of their pay as members of the house, and had passed a resolve, declaring that they had done all that, 'in the capacity of representatives of the people in this court,' can be done, for the removal of Peter Oliver, esq., the chief justice, from his seat in the superior court; and that it must be presumed the governor's refusing to take any measures therein, is, because he also receives his support from the crown. They also gave directions to their committee of correspondence, to write and transmit letters to the other colonies, and to Dr. Franklin, relating to the chief justice's receiving a salary from the crown, and to the enormous powers of the courts of admiralty, and other matters...and then suffered themselves to be prorogued: and a few days after, by proclamation, they were dissolved; their committee of correspondence which consisted of those members which governed all the measures of the house surviving, and continuing...to prosecute measures for promoting the same purposes." 2

1 He had withheld consent from several bills which had reached him some time before, including the "Bribery & Corruption" Bill: see above, "A Tory Representative at Governor Hutchinson's Last General Court."

2 L.S. Mayo, ed., The History...of Massachusetts-Bay by Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. III (1936) pp. 325-326.

To the end of his History...of Massachusetts-Bay - as to so large an extent in his despatches to London - Hutchinson had nothing to say of Col. Jones and the Tories who, despite the greatest of vicissitudes, remained loyal to Government to the end of his mismanaged administration. Greatly outnumbered in the House they repeatedly risked their lives and property in defiance of the Whig mobs to vote in opposition to the illegal and unconstitutional measures of Sam Adams and the Radicals. These Tories, by their support, however unsuccessful, of legislation - including the "Bribery and Corruption" Bill which they would again favour in the next session of the General Court in June, 1774 - designed to reform and strengthen the working of Charter Government in Massachusetts Bay with a minimal recourse to London, finally in Hutchinson's last General Court emerged as a political force independent of "control" by the Royal Governor. How far the views of Col. Jones and these Tory reformers differed from those of Hutchinson would be formulated in the following weeks in the "Addresses" presented before his departure from the Colony on June 1st - and notably the "Address" of Col. Jones and the Middlesex County Magistrates, who supported the idea of an association between the Colonies and Great Britain based upon mutual, and economic, self-interest. It was a concept a century and a half ahead of its time, and too far beyond Hutchinson's limited vision to be entertained. Possibly, however, it was an unacknowledged spur to Hutchinson's massive attempt at self-justification which drove him in his retirement in England, and which so deeply flaws the third volume of his History.

1 For the Address of the Middlesex Magistrates, see below, "Col. Jones and the Middlesex Magistrates Address Hutchinson..."

The idea of such an association with Britain and the colonies linked formally only by the sovereign was not new in Massachusetts in 1774: Hutchinson himself had discussed it with at least one correspondent in 1766 - and rejected it as a scheme for chaos. "The confusion," he wrote, "would be infinite from the present inclination to anarchy and the utter insufficiency of internal authority. And a prince 3,000 miles distant without aid from his other subjects could do but little towards composing it." Hutchinson to an unknown recipient, Feb. 26, 1766. Mass. Arch. XXVI, p. 197.

For Col. Jones, the ending of Hutchinson's last General Court in Boston was the prelude to an invasion of his town of Weston by the violence of a well-organized Whig mob. And as so often happened in the Bay Colony during this period, it was the pattern of Whig tactics for violence to show itself first as an anonymous threat which traded upon the "tea hysteria" blown up by the Whig press since news of the Tea Act had reached Boston in the fall of 1773. This threat, signed by "Rusticus," one of Sam Adams' many pseudonyms, appeared in the most radical of Boston's Whig papers, Isaiah Thomas' Massachusetts Spy,¹ on March 17th - but was dated, Whig-fashion for added significance, March 7th: the day of the Second Boston Tea Party at Hubbard's Wharf:

For the M A S S A C H U S E T T S SPY.

Mr. Thomas,

By giving the following a place in your most useful paper, you will oblige a subscriber and constant reader.

It is currently reported among us in the country, that Mr. I—c J—s of Weston, who has lately had a considerable quantity of Tea for sale, now makes his brags, that many of his good customers, (to whom he disposed off said Tea) belonged to the towns between Weston and Boston. And, (as he says) purchased of him freely, notwithstanding the sacred resolutions they had entered into, not to use, much less buy any Tea! or be concerned with any person that did, either directly or indirectly. Now if this be true, what can be the advantage of our town-meetings and resolves? If it is not true, does not the insolence of this arrogant boaster deserve the severest chastisement? Or indeed, which are the more worthy to be despised by their injured countrymen? The above I refer to the public for an impartial answer, before I proceed to point out any particular town or person.

R U S T I C U S 2

March 7, 1774

¹ Thomas, who had set up as a publisher three years before, was only 25 in 1774. The "Spy" was well described by Boston historian Esther Forbes as "rabid, yellow, and very successful." Paul Revere (1942) p. 213.

² Isaiah Thomas, Massachusetts Spy, March 17, 1774. 1/2

"RUSTICUS" threat was directed against Col. Elisha Jones' cousin Isaac, son of his uncle James Jones of Weston,¹ a captain in his Third Middlesex Regiment of Militia and proprietor of the leading Tory tavern in Weston, the Golden Ball, (still standing) on the Post Road to Worcester. Through the winter of 1773 and spring of 1774 the Whig Tea Boycott bit deeper, especially at Boston which depended for its supply largely upon dutied teas from England (Western Massachusetts had a long-established - if illicit - trade in smuggled Dutch tea brought in through New York and Connecticut). Under threat of the Boston Whig mobs, the Boston tea dealers, to safeguard their interests and to quiet rumours that they themselves had staged the First Boston Tea Party on December 16th to protect their monopoly, met on December 18th and 21st, and agreed to suspend the sale of all tea, smuggled Dutch as well as duty-paying English, by January 20, 1774. Supplies of tea - estimated by the Boston tea dealers' committee in early January as only six chests - in Boston and neighbouring towns "disappeared": but what could be had was sold quietly under-the-counter to good customers, if at the same time tea was destroyed in "tea burnings" publicly by Whig mobs when they could lay hands on it.²

As had been the case during earlier Whig boycotts of tea and other British imports, however, enterprising Tory merchants were well prepared to steal the trade of the mob-policed rivals in Boston and elsewhere. Isaac Jones, a well-established merchant as well as a tavern proprietor, in March, 1774 was doing a thriving business as a middle-man and retailer - not to say "maker" for those who asked for a brew in his tap-room at the Golden Ball - in smuggled Dutch tea brought overland from Albany at the head of sea-going navigation on the Hudson River, supplying other dealers and customers in the towns between Weston and Boston.³

1 James Jones, a successful farmer and investor in "wild lands" in western Massachusetts, d. in Weston, aged 91, Sept. 14, 1770; his wife, the former Sarah Moore of Sudbury, d. at Weston Sept. 28, 1774, aged 90. Dr. Henry Bond, Watertown... (1860) pp. 312-313.

2 Of the tea dealers, 79 agreed to a complete boycott, and 9 only to that on dutied tea. The "Minutes of the Meeting of the Boston Tea Dealers at Boston, Dec. 21, 1773" are at Boston Public Library; the "List of the Principal Dealers in tea lately applied to..." is in "Manuscripts Large," Mass. Hist. Soc.

3 Isaac Jones' accounts for the "tea trade" of 1773-4 are not now to be
(Cont.)

Even among the Whigs (excepting, of course, the Whig non-trading Boston tea dealers) there was a substantial body of opinion, if not a majority, that supported the trade of Isaac Jones and others in smuggled Dutch tea, and a number of these, moreover, who, however anonymously, were prepared to publish their views in the press. A TRUE WHIG in the "neutral" Boston Evening Post on January 10, 1774, declared that tea would continue to be drunk "by the greater part of the People, some of which are so very fond of it, that they had rather part with any enjoyment in life..."¹ He condemned the mobbish tea-burnings as idiotic, and, pointing out that Dutch tea was an alternative, argued that as the object of the boycott was to force a repeal of the Townshend Duty, it was folly to argue for a total ban that the use of smuggled tea was enriching dealers in colonies outside Massachusetts. "Are not those Colonies Friends and Brethren?" he asked. "Is not a Union with them one Grand Object?"²

(Cont.) Found with his other papers at the Golden Ball Tavern. It was not politic to keep records of anti-Whig trading in the 1770's, or with the British forces later during the War of the Revolution. But see Isaac Jones' letter to the Massachusetts Spy, dated at Weston, April 6, 1774, below.

1 As part of their attempt to enforce a tea boycott after the First Boston Tea Party, the Whigs renewed their press campaign against tea drinking, condemning it as bad for health and unpatriotic. Whig ladies in particular, felt the deprivation, as this piece shows. From the Massachusetts Gazette, February 17, 1774 (3/1):

"A Lady's Adieu to her Tea-Table

Farewell the Tea Board, with its gaudy Equipage,
Of Cups and Saucers, Cream Bucket, Sugar Tongs,
The pretty Tea Chest also, lately stor'd
With Hyson, Congo, and best Double Fine.
Full many a joyous Moment have I sat by ye,
Hearing the Girl's tattle, the Old Maids talk Scandal,
And the spruce Coxcomb laugh at - may be - Nothing.
No more shall I dish out the once lov'd liquor,
Though now detestable,
Because I'm taught (and I believe it true)
Its use will fasten slavish Chains upon my Country
And Liberty's the Goddess I would choose
To reign triumphant in A M E R I C A."

A TRUE WHIG, Boston Evening Post, Jan. 10, 1774, 2/2; and Ibid., Feb. 14, 1774.

If in this "Battle of the Tea Merchants" coffee began to be fashionable among the Whigs,¹ (vastly preferable to the "rage tea" which had always been the fate of the poor) tea inevitably became the patriotic drink of Tory drinks in home and tavern - and for the more or less secret revels of the Tory students at Harvard College where Col. Jones' son Stephen was a member of the class of '75. The tea was often laced, of course, even at fashionable Tory ladies' tea tables (as indeed it still is traditionally among Loyalist descendants) with "New England" rum.

At the marriage on November 2, 1775, of Col. Jones' Great-niece Polly, daughter of Dr. Thomas and Esther (Williams) Williams of Deerfield, to Dr. Elihu Ashley, son of the Deerfield Minister, the Rev. Jonathan and Dorothy (Williams) Ashley, tea (probably Dutch and smuggled up the Connecticut River) was used to toast the bride. Elihu recorded the event, otherwise austere because of the death two months before of Dr. Thomas Williams, and the dangers then abroad to the security of all Tory families: there was not the usual three days of wedding merrymaking and the gathering of family from Weston, Hatfield, Great Barrington, and Stockbridge:

"I went to my Dada's & fixt myself for ye Marriage, return'd here again about Seven had my Brothers & Sisters & Lt Catlin here to Drink Tea which being over the Knot was tied by ye Revd Jona Ashley, the Comd tarried till Ten then went away I sat up till Eleven & then to Bed." 2

There were secret tea parties as well among those of the family who were later to be Whigs. For all her "Whiggish" politics and friendships with such as President Ezra Stiles of Yale (a one-time suitor) Col. Jones' niece Abigail Williams, the strong-minded widow of the Rev. John Sergeant of Stockbridge and later of Col. Joseph Dwight (1703-1765) of Great Barrington, never gave up the custom,

1 See Boston Gazette, Dec. 20, 1773; Feb. 14, 1774. Isaac Jones, never known to miss a business opportunity, later served customers at the Golden Ball "Tea or Coffee": See the Narrative (Boston, 1779) of M^{rs}. De Berniere (10th Regt.) and Capt. Brown (52nd Regt.) who visited the Golden Ball on a secret mission for Gage, Feb., 1775.

2 Dr. Elihu Ashley, "Diary," MSS., Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Assn., Library, Deerfield.

during the War, or afterward. One secret tea party at Stockbridge in the 1770's attended by Abigail - and moralized, no doubt, by later New England generations - was later described by her descendant John Hopkins Denison, the biographer of Abigail's Great-grandson President Mark Hopkins of Williams College. In "Abigail Williams and Early Stockbridge," (1937) Denison wrote:

"Many distinguished men were interested in the (Stockbridge) Indian Mission — among them the Rev'd Samuel Kirkland and his two sons, one of whom¹ later became President of Harvard. Kirkland divided his time between the Oneida Indians and those at Stockbridge. All great men have one weakness. With Dr. Kirkland it was tea. He deeply resented the fact that patriotism had deprived New England people of their tea. The people of Stockbridge were intensely loyal and no one there would venture to purchase or use it. Thus when Abigail received an invitation from the Rev'd Dr. Kirkland to join Dr. West² in a farewell cup of tea as he was leaving for Oneida, she expected to be served with sage tea, the usual substitute. What was her surprise and delight to find a huge urn of the genuine article awaiting her. Little Dr. West manifested his astonishment and pleasure, for he was also a devotee. The little circle awaited with delightful anticipation the pouring of the forbidden beverage behind doors tightly closed. The first cup was just handed to Abigail when there was a loud knock at the door. Mr. Kirkland gave a frantic leap to save the sacred cup and hit the urn, overturning the scalding liquid in his lap. His tight small clothes afforded no protection and his look of anguish should have awakened sympathy, but between his expression of pain and terror and the look of horror and regret on Dr. West's solemn face as he saw the expected treat lost forever, Abigail was so moved with laughter that it was only by violent choking that she escaped disgrace. The knocking proved of no importance, but Dr. Kirkland lost his tea and had to postpone his departure for several days for his burns to heal." 3

¹ The Rev. Dr. John Thornton Kirkland, Harvard A.B., 1789

² Dr. Stephen West, Yale, A.B. 1755, who had succeeded the Rev. Jonathan Edwards as Pastor of Stockbridge, and had married Abigail's sister Elizabeth Williams, also Col. Jones' niece.

³ John Hopkins Denison, "Abigail Williams and Early Stockbridge," (1937) 188., p. 110. See also his Mark Hopkins A Biography (1935) VI, VII.

For the tea question, as with other political issues, Sam Adams and his disciples among the radical Whigs relied upon force exercised through mob violence as the deciding factor when argument could not produce a favourable or compliant majority. And so it was in Whig dealings with the uncompromising tea merchant Isaac Jones. In the next issue of the "neutral" Boston Evening Post, published on monday, March 21st, Isaac Jones in a letter dated March 18th replied to RUSTICUS' allegations made against him in the Massachusetts Spy of the day before:

"Messrs. Fleets, I accidentally cast my Eye on a Piece signed RUSTICUS in the Spy No 163 wherein he says that it is currently reported in the Country, that I have lately had a considerable Quantity of Tea for Sale; and that I made my Brags of selling it to my good Customers,&c.— True it is, I bought Tea in Albany some time last winter, as did a number of others belonging to this Province, and I have not had any Tea, nor sold any but what came from thence, and I had no Occasion to brag of selling it to any person; nor did I suppose that either the Buyer or Seller deserved Chastisement; as the New York Tea was then, and still is openly sold and consumed in that Province, and the Westerly Part of this as at any Time whatever; now I take this Opportunity to acknowledge all past Favors from my good Customers, and all other Friends, and to acquaint them my Tea is all sold and that I don't expect to have any more to oblige them with." 1

To know that Isaac Jones' reply was not to the Whigs' liking he had only hours to wait. That night, on monday, March 21st - monday evenings being the customary meeting - and mobbing - nights of the Sons of Liberty, they ataged a demonstration at his Golden Ball Tavern in Weston. Mills' and Hicks' Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy reported:

"We hear from Weston in the County of Middlesex, That on Monday Evening the 21st of Instant, a Number of People appeared before the House of Capt. Isaac Jones, Innholder, in that Town, gave a loud Indian WHOOP, and Immediately went off without speaking to any Person in the House..." 2

1 Boston Evening Post, March 21, 1774.1/2.

2 Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774.1/2.

The following monday night, March 28th, there took place the Weston Tea Party, when the Whigs, suitably disguised, as they had been at Boston, attacked the Golden Ball Tavern. The most detailed account now known was that printed by Mills' & Hicks' Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy:

"We hear from Weston...That on Monday Night last between nine and ten o'clock, a Number of Persons, supposed near one hundred again appeared there, and Capt. Jones having that Morning gone a Journey to Uxbridge, they fell to breaking the Windows of the House stove in all in the lower rooms, and then the Chamber, Mrs Jones was then in Bed with a young Infant, having lain in about three Weeks, the Windows of her room did not escape but she lay exposed to the Inclemency of the Weather, it being rainy, two Hours: —Near 30 of the People entered disguised with Paints, Paper Visages, &c — and ransacked the whole House from Cellar to Garret, without breaking down any Part excepting two Pannels of a Partition: Being asked what they were in Search of, they said, Jones, and would have him; but being told he was gone a Journey, they made free with the Bottles of Liquor in the Cellar, as also the Liquors that were in the Bar-Room breaking or carrying off the Bowls, Mugs, &c. also about 100 Lemons, and half a cask of Raisins." 1

The correspondent of the Massachusetts Gazette went on to point out that there were local people — probably some of them from Weston — in the mob, and that they were recognized:

"Several of them were known by the People in the House and called to by Name, when they went off.—Several other Circumstances upon this Discovery, our Informant 2 supposes will be given when a Particular Account is taken."

The wording of the only other account of the Weston Tea Party, which was printed in the "neutral" Boston Evening Post on the same

1 Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774, 1/2.
Mrs. Jones: Isaac's second wife, the former Mary Willis of Medford.
The "Infant" was Anna Jones, born on March 12th.

2 Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774, 1/2.

day, monday, April 4, 1774, more strongly suggests that when the mobbers were recognized they feared reprisal, if not prosecution, and left: "several of them, 'tis said, were known, and being called by name, they all soon after went off." ¹

After a "particular account" was taken, if any who were known to have taken part in the mobbing of the Golden Ball Tavern were later brought before the local magistrate, Col. Elisha Jones, no record can now be found: his magistrates' book of "Acts and Judgements" was taken from his library and destroyed with most of his other official and private papers by a Whig mob in the first months of 1775 - and the copy required to be kept in the Middlesex County Archives of his magistrate's record was also destroyed by the Whigs, who were very thorough indeed in abstracting records of any kind that might incriminate them, serving as evidence for public prosecutions or for private suits by Tories for libel or damages. The fact that so few magistrate's books - perhaps a dozen - have survived from the colonial period in Massachusetts argues strongly that these officials were far more effective in carrying out their duties upholding the law and public order, recording incidents of breaches of the peace and destruction of property such as at the Golden Ball Tavern at Weston on March 28, 1774, and bringing the "mobbers" to "book," than the Whigs (in the eighteenth century and later) considered it safe to their cause to be known. ²

1 Boston Evening Post, April 4, 1774. 2/3. The Evening Post version is shorter and word-for-word in what it uses from what appears to be the same source as the Tory Massachusetts Gazette: the Evening Post, trying as it said to be "neutral" left out the Gazette's description of the violence - window breaking even for the room of a woman in child-bed, and the smashing of the panels up-stairs.

2 One of the few magistrate's books now known is that of another of Col. Elisha Jones' cousins, Col. John Jones of Dedham, bordering on Weston. It is a quarto volume, containing record of the trial, verdict, and expenses of the 380 cases he heard as a magistrate: excerpts were printed in The Norfolk County Gazette, Hyde Park, Feb. 2, 9, 16, 1878. Col. John's papers were not confiscated by the Whigs after he resigned his commission; after several years he was again chosen a magistrate, and used the same book as under the Crown - perhaps a unique case. See the sketch by his grandson, Amos Perry, "Col. John Jones of Dedham and his Paternal Ancestors in America," New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., April, 1890, pp. 158-167; and Amos Perry, ed., Book of Minutes of Col. John Jones.. (Boston, 1894) 42pp.

Whatever action against the Whig mobbers of the Golden Ball Tavern Col. Jones was able to take as a magistrate, as Colonel of the Third Middlesex Regiment he raised the Militia to keep the peace. As the Boston Evening Post put it:

"A Military Watch was thought necessary, and accordingly the Colonel ordered one from the Militia in that Town to be kept every Night." 1

It was at night that the Whigs did their mobbing: it took no man from his work, and disguise was easier.

While the Tory press carried the story of the Whig mobbing and violence at the Golden Ball, little attention was paid to it generally by the Whig press, whose policy it was to "play-down" or ignore the unpalatable aspects of the operations of its mobs. But the brief notice of the Weston affair in Edes' and Gill's Whig Boston Gazette, also on April 4th, was threatening:

"The insolence of a certain Publican at Westown, has drawn on him the Indignation of the People in that and the neighbouring Towns, a Number of whom lately assembled to Compliment his Person, but he having fled, we are informed they broke his Windows and shewed other tokens of their resentment." 2

However much protection Col. Jones' military night watch afforded the town of Weston during the spring and summer of 1774, Isaac Jones' businesses of merchant and innkeeper depended upon public good-will - and past Whig campaigns of intimidation, as at the time of the Non-Importation boycotts (1768-1770), had when enforced been very damaging to trade. It was therefore logical enough that Isaac Jones thought it prudent to make what peace he could with the Whigs. He sent the following disclaimer on April 6th to the radical Massachusetts Spy, whence RUSTICUS had mounted his attack:

1 Boston Evening Post, April 4, 1774. 2/3. See also the Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774, 1/2.

2 Boston Gazette, April 4, 1774, 3/1. See also the Essex Gazette, May 5, 1774.

For the M A S S A C H U S E T T S S P Y
To the PUBLIC

It seems by the resentment shown by a number of people that assembled at my house on the 26th of March, when I was gone a journey in the country, that I have done something that caused their resentment, and I know not what it should be except my bringing some tea from Albany, sometime last winter which I then supposed would not have offended any body, as it paid no duty in America; but since I find it has, I would inform the public that I am sorry that I have offended them, and am determined not to offend in like manner for the future; for it is well known that I have been as much set against the dutied tea as any person whatever. I S A A C J O N E S

Weston, April 6, 1774 1

For some time thereafter the Whigs appear to have kept their mobbings away from Weston. But it was not long before Isaac Jones was resupplied at the Golden Ball, and again back in the tea trade.²

1 The Massachusetts Spy, April 7, 1774. 2/2.

2 For further clashes between Isaac Jones and the Middlesex County Whigs, see below.

COL. JONES AND THE MIDDLESEX MAGISTRATES ADDRESS HUTCHINSON:
TORY PROPOSALS FOR ACCOMODATION WITH ENGLAND AND REFORM
IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY, MAY AND JUNE, 1774

"May 18th.-...we have many among us, who are for compromising matters, and put forward a subscription to pay for the Tea. George Erving has declar'd this day, that if it should be promoted, he is ready to put down two thousand pounds sterling towards it, and will take it upon himself to wait on Governor Gage and know what his demands upon us are - which circumstance Jno. Amory mentioned at ye town meeting this day, which was in general rejected, though he urged the matter much.

"June 12th.-...Such is the cursed zeal that now prevails: animosities run higher than ever, each party charging the other as bringing ruin upon their country; that unless some expediency is adopted to get the Port open by paying for the tea (which seems to be the only one) am afraid we shall experience the worst of evils, a civil war, which God avert!— "

John Andrews (Boston) to William Barrell
at Philadelphia, May, June, 1774 1

In the annual Provincial elections of May, 1774, Weston at a Town Meeting on the afternoon of the sixteenth, not only reelected a Tory, Col. Elisha Jones, as Representative, but sent him back to the General Court, due to meet at Boston on May 25th, unfettered by instructions.² By comparison with the year before when in an attempt to keep a Tory from taking his seat the Weston Whigs resorted to false charges of electoral fraud and disputed his election even before the House, Col. Jones' reelection in 1774 was a quiet one - although there can be little doubt that it, too, was sharply contested by the local Whigs here, as elsewhere, never short of men hungry for Provincial office. Possibly in 1774 Col. Jones' vote (unrecorded in the Town Records) was too large this time for the Whigs to challenge. Whether he was returned by an increased majority, however, Col. Jones' achievement was remarkable indeed at a time when no more than a dozen towns in all Massachusetts Bay Colony were choosing Tories, fewer even than in the last Provincial election of May, 1773.³

1 John Andrews to William Barrell, May 18, June 12, 1774. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. VIII, 1865, p. 329.

2 M. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records... (1893) pp. 204-205.

3 See below for the list of Tories and their towns at the critical vote of June 17, 1774.

Col. Jones' election in 1774, at a time of heightened political conflict and civil disobedience, must stand as a renewed endorsement by the Town of Weston not only of the man, but of his beliefs and his policies as well as his record in public office. As a magistrate Col. Jones had been outstandingly successful in keeping the rule of law and peace in the town: in the only known instance of violence, the attack upon Capt. Isaac Jones' Golden Ball Tavern by a Whig mob dressed Boston-fashion as "Mohawks" two months before, he had taken action against participants who had been identified, and ordered a Military Watch from the town Militia Company to be kept in the streets each night.¹ In the previous General Court Col. Jones' record (as in the past) had been that of a traditional Massachusetts Bay Tory; a supporter of Charter Government, but to a notable degree independent in thought and an innovator while at the same time a reformist rather than a revolutionary. Thus Col. Jones had opposed the shabby and narrowly political maneuverings of Sam Adams' Whig majority in their impeachment of Chief Justice Peter Oliver, and the resolves petitioning the Crown for the recall of the Governor (Hutchinson) and Lieutenant Governor (Andrew Oliver). On the other hand Col. Jones and the other "traditional" Tories in the House - including such stalwarts as Col. Thomas Gilbert of Freetown (Bristol County) and Col. Edward Bacon of Barnstable - supported the reform bill (which because of its political innovations did not get Gov. Hutchinson's assent) "to prevent Bribery and Corruption in the election of Members to Serve in the General Assembly," which was to be reintroduced in the 1774 session of the General Court which began on May 25th.²

¹ Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774; see above.

² For Hutchinson's refusal to sign the Bribery and Corruption Bill, see the despatch dated Boston, March 15, 1774 in Thomas' radical Massachusetts Spy, March 17, 1774. 1/1. And see above.

It is notable that Weston Town Meeting returned Col. Jones to the House without instructions on Sam Adams' great issue of the 1774 Provincial Election campaign, the much-rumoured Boston Port Act. Adams' policy had been to prevent any payment - by Tories or Whigs - of compensation for the destruction of property during the Boston Tea Party of December, 1773 by packing Boston Town Meeting and other measures, as one of his biographers has put it, anticipating "with a martyr's joy the coming punishment of the town which forever would put an end to hopes of reconciliation."¹ For some time before the full text of the Act (which had received the Royal Assent on March 31st) arrived at Boston on May 10th - six days before the election at Weston - notably in a long article in Edes and Gill's Boston Gazette of April 25th, the Whigs "warned" that the port was to be closed and Boston subjected to other draconian punishments:² the text itself did not fall short of Whig expectations, providing that from June 1st the Boston port would be prohibited to shipping and commerce except for coasters - required to stop first at Marblehead for inspection - bringing vital supplies of foodstuffs, fuel, and fodder to the town until satisfactory compensation were made for the tea and other damage, and the seat of Provincial Government and the Commissioners of Customs removed from Boston to Salem.³

¹ Clifford Shipton, sketch of Sam Adams in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. X, p. 443. See also John C. Miller, Sam Adams (1960) pp. 298-299.

² "Extract of a Letter from London, dated 19 February, 1774" Boston Gazette, April 25, 1774. 1/2.

³ 14 Geo. 3, c. 19.

The Whigs lost no time in printing the Port Act as a broadside, luridly surrounded by mourning bands and topped with a crowned skull and cross bones under a Liberty Cap, and distributing it to the towns by Paul Revere and other despatch riders, together with the resolves of Boston Town Meeting of May 13th calling for a boycott of all trade with Britain and the West Indies, and a letter from the Boston Committee of Correspondence urging the country towns to support Boston in the forthcoming General Court and to give such instructions to their Representatives.¹ Most towns, however, whatever the dominant party in Town Meeting, took no stand upon the matter officially, as did Weston by returning its Representative, Col. Elisha Jones, uninstructed.² Dependent for its trade - and prosperity - largely upon road rather than water traffic, Weston shared the lack of concern of many - even radical - inland towns, who from long habit regarded the political troubles and mob violence in Boston with a large measure of self-interested detachment. Moreover, in connection with the Port Bill they were not slow to see the profits in the haulage business bound to arise from the use of Salem and other rival ports as alternatives when Boston was closed to vessels entering after June 1st. Nor was it from ingratitude that later newly-thriving teamsters were to dub their lumbering ox-waggon "Lord North's Coasters." ³

¹ For the distribution of the broadside and instructions, see Forbes, Paul Revere... (1942) pp. 215-217. It was important to Sam Adams' plan also to gain support for the trade boycott from the other colonies, and Revere was sent as far south as Philadelphia. See Boston Committee of Correspondence Minutes, May 12, 13, 1774. MHS. New York Public Library; and Boston Town Records, May 13, 1774. The idea of a trade boycott was later developed by Dr. Joseph Warren in the Whig manifesto the "Solemn League and Covenant." (See below) John Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) pp. 136-137. The name was taken from the Scottish movement to "reform" the Anglican Church in the 1640's.

² Kinvin Wroth in Province in Rebellion (1975) ignores the Tory aspect in the return by Town Meetings of Representatives without instructions in the Provincial election of 1774; so also Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts... (1970) which does, however, refer to a letter of the BCC to the town of Rutland at the time of the Provincial election of 1773 maintaining that a Representative who disregarded Town Meeting instructions to serve the Governor should "be refused the suffrage of his constituents at their next Election." p. 129.

³ John Andrews to William Barrell, June 12, 1774. MHS Proceedings, Vol. VIII, 1865, p. 330.

For Col. Jones himself, among other enterprises he had for many years carried on business as a merchant in Weston, and there is no evidence that he had given it up at the time of the Boston Port Act, although his accounts for this period are largely missing. Probably, as in earlier years, the bulk of his trade was in the capacity of wholesaler or middleman between the Boston importers and the retailers in towns in western Massachusetts, and like the Boston merchants and importers in May and June, 1774, Col. Jones would have made his own arrangements to circumvent the Port Act for the period of the embargo.¹ His cousin, the leading Boston merchant Capt. Ichabod Jones (baptized in Weston May 26, 1717) and married to Apphia Coffin Jones of the prominent shipping family of Newburyport, a Tory in 1774 for all that he had been one of the 15 Sons of Liberty to commission a silver punch-bowl from Paul Revere in 1768 to commemorate the refusal of the 92 members of the House to "recind" Sam Adams' famous "Circular Letter" to the other American colonies informing them of the measures adopted by Massachusetts to oppose the Townshend Duties - like John Rowe the Whig merchant and others, merely removed much of his business to Salem while keeping his residence in Boston.³

1 The only ledger book of Col. Elisha Jones known to survive, and now kept at the Golden Ball Tavern at Weston, has few entries in it after 1770.

2 See Dr. Henry Bond, Watertown (1860) p. 312, and references to him in Clifford Shipton's sketch of his son, John Coffin Jones of the Harvard Class of 1768. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVII, pp. 49-54. Dr. Shipton's research, so thorough and scrupulously honest, does not appear to have used the John Coffin Jones MSS, now at the Harvard Business School, which contain many of his father's papers as well. For Capt. Ichabod Jones and the punch-bowl - where his name is engraved with the other donors around the rim - see Forbes, Paul Revere, (1942) p. 134.

3 For John Rowe and the Port Act: Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe, (1903) July 15, 1774, pp. 278-279.

Capt. Ichabod's son John Coffin Jones, conspicuous in the family during the Revolution as a pragmatist,¹ had set up as a merchant in partnership with Thomas Lee in Boston after leaving Harvard, and appears to have moved his importing and shipping interests in the latter half of 1774 down to Marblehead, where delivery of such heavy items as nails brought from England was to be taken. The Boston store, whose premises were described as "near the Swing Bridge" however, was not only kept open after the Port Act went into effect on June 1, 1774, but its advertisements in the Boston papers show that stocks and the variety of imported "English goods" increased. This advertisement ran in Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette Oct. 13, 20, and 27th, at what was near the end of the year's importing season:²

LEE and JONES

At their Store near the Swing Bridge have for sale Season
A General Assortment of Piece Goods, Suitable for the present/
A beautiful Variety of Brocades, figur'd and strip'd
Lutestrings, Taffaties & Gorgoroons, black Armozeens
and Padufoys, flower'd Sattins of all Colours for Ladies
Cloaths, a few best Ermine Muffs and Tippetts.-
Gold and Silver Laces, Silver Watches, Looking
Glasses, Paper-Hangings, Corks, a few Cases of blue
and White China Cups & Saucers. Liverpool & Glass Ware
West India RUM by the Hogshead
Cornish's New England Fish-Hooks

☞ Also Nails of all Sorts to be delivered at Marblehead

1 In December, 1772, John Coffin Jones had sailed for London to "talk business" with suppliers. On Feb. 17, 1774, however, he was back in Boston when he married Mary Lee at Trinity Church (Anglican). It was not until the following year, in June, 1775, that John Coffin -after Bunker Hill- left Boston. On June 22, 29, and July 6, 1775, he advertised in Hall's New England Chronicle or the Essex Gazette (at Cambridge): "Lee & Jones. Advertise all who may have concerns with them, that John Coffin Jones resides at Newbury-Port, to whom they are desired to apply." Throwing in his lot with the rebels, John Coffin between Sept. 18 and Nov. 20th, 1776 owned three commissioned privateers: the Brigantines Civil Usage and Bilboa Packet, and schooner Warren. A fourth vessel, the schooner Lee, was commissioned Nov. 27th.

2 "The proudest names in the province appear" in the papers "offering for sale everything from fish lines to broadcloth". S. E. Morison, Maritime History of Massachusetts (1921) p. 25.

It was, of course, as in most civic disasters, the labouring people of Boston, and the poor of the town, who chiefly suffered under the restrictions of the Port Act, being put out of work at the docks and the maritime trades by the diversion of sea-going shipping to Salem and other ports. The situation of the unemployed in Boston after the beginning of June, 1774, offered a genuine grievance to be quickly exploited by Sam Adams' radicals with their campaign for poor relief that traded upon the humanitarianism of New England to further Whig political ends.¹

Not the least shrewd assessment of the Port Act was made by the "Downeast" shipmaster and merchant of Liverpool (Nova Scotia) Simeon Perkins, who wrote in his Diary for June 12, 1774:

"This Act is due to destruction of East India Tea last Fall. The Act appears to have been made in a hurry if not in some heat, and I fear will be productive of disagreeable consequences." 2

For Col. Elisha Jones and the Massachusetts Bay Tories - and, it must be said, for the law-abiding among the Whigs - Boston's remedy lay, as the Port Bill stated, in payment for the damage done by the Boston mob: both in the House of Representatives in the session of May-June, 1774, and throughout the summer of growing anarchy that followed, Col. Jones was in the forefront of those prominent men who strove for reconciliation with Britain and by constitutional means to restore stable and effective government to the Province.

¹ Weston Town Records do not show that any "official" contribution was made by this town to Boston relief. The first donation, on July 7th, was made by the town of Windham, Connecticut, 258 sheep. More than 80 towns contributed material aid. See Richard D. Brown, Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774. (1970) pp. 198-200; for the use of the Committee of Donations for politics, see John Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) pp. 137-140.

² Harold A. Innis, ed., The Diary of Simeon Perkins 1766-1780. (1948) 78.

On May 17th, the day after his re-election to the House of Representatives by the town of Weston, Col. Jones, as one of the Magistrates of the Bay Colony, would have been in attendance at the official reception in Boston of Governor Thomas Hutchinson's successor, General Thomas Gage, who had arrived at Castle William in HMS Lively from England on May 13th. These welcoming ceremonies were traditional, and as colourful as any Massachusetts could mount. The Boston Militia were drawn up under arms along King Street, together with other detachments of Provincial troops: a company of grenadiers, Capt. Adino Paddock's Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, Col. David Phipps' Guards Company,² and the Corps of Cadets that were the Governor's ceremonial guard, commanded by Hutchinson's appointment since April, 1772, by Col. John Hancock. According to the account in Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette:—

"At 11 o'clock his Excellency left the Castle (William) under discharge of the Cannon of that Fortress, and proceeded on Board his Majesty's Ship Captain, having previously given Notice of his Intention to Land on the Long Wharf. At 12 His Majesty's Council, the Secretary of the Province (Thomas Flucker), the Magistrates, High Sheriff, Marshall of the Court of Vice Admiralty, the Selectmen (of Boston) and many other Gentlemen, preceded by the Cadet Company, received him there upon his landing, and under the Discharge of the Cannon of the Admiral's Ship and the Batteries in the Town. Upon his passing up King Street his Excellency received the standing Salutes from the officers of the respective Corps.

"His Majesty's Commissions appointing him Captain General and Governor in Chief of this Province &c were then published in the Council Chamber, and after the usual oaths were administered, his Excellency was pleased to issue a Proclamation requiring all Officers whose Commissions would otherwise cease and determine, to continue in the exercise of their respective Commissions till further orders. Three volleys were then fired, and three cheers given by a vast concourse of People collected on this occasion.

1 Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, May 19, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92.

2 Both Adino Paddock and David Phipps, High Sheriff of Middlesex County, were to become active Loyalists, Paddock taking an active part in the defense of Boston during the rebel siege. See the sketch of Paddock in Oliver Roberts, History of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, Vol. II (1895) pp. 112-114, and his Loyalist Papers in PRO.A.O.13:49.

"After his Excellency had received the Compliments of his Majesty's Council, of the Gentlemen in Commission of the Peace, the Episcopal and Dissenting Clergy, Military Officers, and a great number of other Gentlemen, he proceeded (escorted by the Company of Cadets) to Faneuil Hall, where¹ an elegant Dinner was provided for his Welcome Reception."

No doubt for Col. Jones, as for other leading Tories, the prospect of a firm administration under Gen. Gage was cause for hope. Gage was no stranger to Boston or to Massachusetts, and his personal knowledge of the American colonies went back twenty years. As Lieutenant-Colonel of the 44th Regiment Gage had sailed with it to America in 1754, and he commanded the advanced column at the disastrous ambush of Braddock's forces by the French and Indians on July 9, 1755 during the advance on Ft. Duquesne. Later, Gage had seen service in company with the Massachusetts Bay Militia on the frontier of New York and Massachusetts, including the campaigns at Oswego (1756) and Ticonderoga (1758) where he commanded the Light Infantry in Abercromby's mismanaged expedition against Montcalm and the precipitate retreat of the British forces to Lake George. It is not known when Gage first met Elisha Jones of Weston, a Lt. Col. in Joseph Frye's Massachusetts Regiment in 1756, on campaign in the French and Indian War, or later when Gage, as Commander-in-Chief of H.M. Forces in North America (in succession to Amherst) from 1763 until 1772, made one of his inspection trips to Boston. In 1768, when Gage arrived at Major Byard's at Roxbury from New York on October 15th, and the "regiments were under arms & made a Good Appearance," Elisha Jones was Colonel-Commandant of the Third Middlesex Regiment.²

1 Massachusetts Gazette, May 19, 1774.3/1. See also the account in Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) entry for May 17, 1774. pp. 270-271.

2 Gage's despatches from the time of his taking command in America are printed in Clarence E. Carter, ed., The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State, 1763-1775 (1931-33) 2 Vols. In 1768 Gage arrived in Boston a fortnight after the regular troops quartered there had begun to land, and he remained until Nov. 24, the day after Boston merchant John Rowe was installed as Grand Master of Masons of North America, when Col. Jones may well have been among the "134 Brethren present." Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 180.

Richard Lechmere, the merchant and distiller, probably expressed the views of many Massachusetts Tories when he welcomed the arrival of Gen. Gage in a letter to his London agents Lane, Son, and Fraser on May 30, 1774:

"I very much approve of your declining to open any new accounts in this country, and I fear it will be a great while before you will be able to close those already open... One day more puts a stop to all imports, and a few more (which are really days of grace) puts an end to all exports, and the employment of every mechanick, a total stagnation of every kind of business ensues, and nine tenths of the inhabitants render'd wretchedly miserable, and to add to our misery I do not see the least disposition among our vile Sons (ie. of Liberty) to take any steps to relieve our distresses; but it is with pleasure that I can say the Friends of Government have now dared to show themselves by addressing Govr Hutchinson in a suitable manner upon his leaving the Province, as you will see by the papers, and we promise ourselves under the protection of General Gage we shall be able to speak our minds freely, and open the eyes of a deluded people, who have hitherto been deceived by a set of designing villains and bankrupts who have supported themselves at the expense of almost ruining Town and Province..." 1

Col. Elisha Jones was among the prominent men of Massachusetts Bay invited, as the custom was, to sign Addresses, or testimonials, to the departing Governor Thomas Hutchinson. There were Addresses from professional groups such as "The Ministers of the Episcopal Churches in Boston and the Neighbouring Towns," "The Barristers and Attorneys of Massachusetts Bay," and "The Merchants and Traders of the Town of Boston, and others..." of which Col. Jones' Boston merchant² cousin, Capt. Ichabod Jones was a signer. And Addresses from towns with which Hutchinson was particularly associated, signed by the "Selectmen and Principal Inhabitants," Marblehead, and Milton, where

1 Richard Lechmere to Lane, Son, and Fraser, May 30, 1774. MSS at Mass. Hist. Soc., and printed in their Proceedings, 1902, Vol. XVI, p. 286.

2 The texts of these three Addresses, but with incomplete lists of signers and which are unknown, were printed by Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, (1910) pp. 123-130. All these Addresses were dated May 30th.

Hutchinson's estate, Milton Hill, was one of the most beautiful country gentleman's seats (ranking with that of Brig. Timothy Ruggles at Hardwick) in all the Massachusetts Bay Colony at that time.¹

Col. Elisha Jones was among the 31 Middlesex County Magistrates who signed one of the longest and most detailed of the Addresses to Hutchinson, dated May 30, 1774. It is not known who wrote this Address (probably one or more of the signers), but as a statement of responsible Tory opinion in Massachusetts Bay on the eve of the closing of the port of Boston and the beginning of the operation of the so-called "Coercive Acts," it has no equal:-

May 30, 1774

"To his Excellency Governor Hutchinson:

Sir: The Magistrates of the County of Middlesex, impressed with a deep sense of the miseries and calamities in which the town of Boston and this Country will, especially, be involved, by the operation of the late Act of the British Parliament, prohibiting Imports and Exports to and from the Port of Boston, beg leave to address your Excellency on the most interesting occasion, and to beseech the exertion of those powers and talents for its relief, of which we have so long and so often experienced the great and beneficial effects: and we assure you, Sir, that notwithstanding the popular delusion, which prevails in some parts of this Province, your Excellency's administration of the Government has ever appeared to us so replete with evidence of your sincere and uniform desire to promote its best interests, as leaves us no room to doubt your willingness to employ your great abilities, to extricate the Province from those calamities in which, notwithstanding your utmost endeavours to prevent them, it is now unhappily plunged. We can assure you, Sir, that the Magistrates of this County have long beheld, with an indignant eye, those riotous and tumultuous proceedings which have, in so great a measure, destroyed public peace and order, rendered the safety of persons and property

1 The Address of the people of Milton (MSS now in Hutchinson MSS, Mass. Hist. Soc.) one of those suppressed by the Whigs, was printed by Shipton in his sketch of Thos. Hutchinson, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, VIII, 206:

"We have been Eye Witnesses, Sir, of your amiable private & useful publick Life: We have with Concern beheld you, in the faithful & prudent Discharge of your Duty, exposed to Calumnies, Trials & Sufferings, as unjust as Severe; & seen you bearing them with all becoming Meekness & fortitude.

"As to ourselves and Neighbours in particular; altho many of us, in future Perplexities will often feel the Want of your Skillful gratuitous advice, always ready for those who asked it, We cannot but rejoice for your Sake, Sir, at your being so seasonably relieved."

precarious, and drawn the resentment of Parliament on this Province; and that none of His Majesty's subjects more ardently wish for the restoration and establishment of order and good Government, than we of this loyal County. We hope and trust that the future conduct of this whole Province will be such, as that, aided by your good offices at the Court of Great Britain, we may be restored to his Majesty's favour, and quietly and peaceably enjoy all the rights and privileges to which English Colonists are Constitutionally entitled, And we humbly hope that the policy of Great Britain will ever be such, as shall induce them to view every desirable benefit, which they can rationally expect to receive from their Colonies, as founded in the principles of commerce, and not of taxation.

"With the most unfeigned sincerity we wish your Excellency a safe and easy voyage; that you may find that favour in the eyes of the King which your long and faithful services afford you the best grounds to expect from a wise and virtuous Sovereign; and, above all, that after many more years happily spent in doing good, you may finally receive the approbation of the King of Kings.

"We have the honour to be, with utmost gratitude, and sincerest 1 respect, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servants..."

This Address of Col. Jones and the other Middlesex County Magistrates was no servile recitation of Tory hopes and expectations of the Governor's influence in Whitehall, but it went to the heart of Colonial differences with the United Kingdom Government and proffered on its own account the classic arguments for an equitable solution held by Col. Elisha Jones and the other Tories like him who were prepared to risk their property and their lives in fighting for the preservation of constitutional government in Massachusetts Bay. For all that it was produced by the Middlesex Bench of Magistrates here was no lawyerly examination of doctrines of Parliamentary

1 This Address was printed by Peter Force in American Archives, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 364-365. Force states only that it was "Signed by 31 of the Middlesex Magistrates," and gives no names. As in the case of Col. Jones, however, many of these are to be found with their "retractions" made later under the fact or threat of Whig mob violence. For Col. Jones as a signer of the Middlesex Magistrates' Address, see the Boston Gazette, September 12, 1774.3/2.

supremacy, the discussion of which was to lead "Massachusettensis" (Daniel Leonard the Taunton lawyer) in the series of "Letters" published in the Boston Post Boy beginning at the end of the year on December 12th and running until April 3, 1775, to labour the politically disastrous argument of which-man-is-master, that quicksand for colonial ambitions, so readily to be exploited in the Whig replies of "Novanglus" (John Adams) in the Boston Gazette.¹ While the Middlesex Magistrates asked for the restoration of colonial rights under the Constitution (in return for the reestablishment of order), at the same time they viewed of equal - if not greater-importance the great "pragmatic" argument of the Revolution - that "the policy of Great Britain" for the mutual benefit of themselves as well as the colonies should be "founded in the principles of commerce, and not of taxation." It was to be the Tory philosophic disaster, moreover, that the wisdom of an enlightened policy of mutual economic (and political) self-interest (the genesis of the later Commonwealth) set forth in the Loyalist Addresses of the Middlesex Magistrates and others to Hutchinson as early as May of 1774, was neither pursued by later Tory writers to any appreciable degree, nor heeded by narrow-visioned Tory politicians in England.²

1 For the "Massachusettensis"-"Novanglus" contest, see below. And the "Introduction" by John Adams to the Boston edition of Novanglus and Massachusettensis, 1819. In 1821 Daniel Leonard published an edition of Massachusettensis in London with an introduction acknowledging his authorship.

2 The cause of the Revolution in New England has not been put better than by Ad. Sam Morison in his Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1921: "Boston became the headquarters of the American Revolution largely because the policy of George III threatened her maritime interests. 'Massachusetts Bay is the most prejudicial plantation in this Kingdom,' wrote Sir Josiah Child. (Brief Observations Concerning Trade and Interest 1668, 3rd. edn. 1690) Instead of trading only with the mother country, and producing some staple which she could monopolize, Massachusetts would spite the Acts of Trade and Navigation, would 'trye all ports,' would trade with England's rivals, and drive English ships from colonial commerce. Of course she had to do this in order to live and prosper; and every penny won from free trade (as she called it) or smuggling (as the English called it) was spent in England. Until 1760 Englishmen saw the point and let well enough alone; but the ministers of George III believed it their duty to enforce the statutes, and make Massachusetts a colony in fact as in name..." p. 27.

In his reply to the Address of the Middlesex Magistrates, as to those of other groups in Massachusetts which Addressed him on his departure, Hutchinson pledged his best effort in England to promote the cause of reconciliation with the Colonies - a promise which, in fact, he was to do his utmost to carry out:-¹

"I thank you, Gentlemen, for this honour done me by your Address. You may depend on my improving every favourable circumstance in order to obtain for the people of this Province, a restoration to his Majesty's favour and securing to them the enjoyment of all those rights and privileges which English Colonists are Constitutionally entitled to; and I join with you in humbly hoping that the expectation of benefit from the Colonies to the Kingdom will be founded on the principles of commerce, and not of taxation.

"This public Declaration from the Magistrates of so large a County, of their abhorrence of those riotous and tumultuous proceedings which have drawn the resentment of Parliament upon the Province, and of their ardent wishes for the restoration and establishment of order and good Government, will, I conceive, have a tendency to promote the success of my endeavours." ²

For Col. Elisha Jones and the other signers of Addresses to Gov. Hutchinson, dated before his departure for England on June 1st., and numbering all together probably several hundred of the leading inhabitants of the Province, Whig propaganda immediately branded the act of subscribing as an endorsement of the policies of the man they took repeated pleasure in villifying as the "arch-traitor" to Colonial liberties. More than this, the Whigs accused the Addressers of being thus self-confessed enemies of society, a crime which could be expiated only by public confession and a written statement printed for all to see in the newspapers. Lists of Addressers appeared in the Whig press from time to time and were circulated as well in the

¹ See the sketch of Hutchinson by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates Vol. VIII, pp. 205-211, on the whole a sympathetic view. Bernard Bailyn in The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (1974) dismisses the Massachusetts Addressers of Hutchinson in one paragraph, however, making little reference to their content beyond adulation; the reader is directed only to the incomplete list of Addresses and signers printed in James H. Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts... (1910) pp. 123-130, which among others omits the Middlesex Magistrates' Address. See p. 273 and n. 74.

² Hutchinson's reply was printed by Peter Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. 1, p. 365.

form of handbills, advertising Tory Addressers and inviting local mobs to "deal" with them. The Whig newspapers are a record of how, one by one, through the summer and fall of 1774 the Whig mobs wrung "confessions" and "recantations" from those who signed the Addresses to Hutchinson (and later Gen. Thomas Gage) by the threat or use of violence against them, their families, and their property. Nor was Col. Elisha Jones to escape this Whig vengeance upon political views: but a Whig mob did not succeed in beating a retraction of the Hutchinson Address from him until after the great Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774.¹

While on the one hand, meanwhile, the Whigs "published" the Addressers, Sam Adams and other Whig leaders were dismayed by the prominent and the rich who subscribed their names. To avoid giving the appearance - too well demonstrated by the Addresses - that the Whigs in Massachusetts were only after all a blustering minority faction not patronized by its inhabitants of substance, Sam Adams in his correspondence outside the Colony misrepresented the numbers of the Addressers, and lied about their social standing and wealth. Of the Boston Merchants' Address, he wrote, "I believe I could point out half a Score Gentlemen in Town able to purchase the whole of them." And he dismissed the lawyers who signed as obscure pettifoggers or young clerks who only recently had purchased their books.²

¹ One Whig broadside listed the occupations, places of business, and home towns of one group of Hutchinson's Addressers, "that every friend to his country may know who is assisting to carry the execrable Purposes of the British Administration into Execution." W.C. Ford, Broadsides, Ballads, &c Printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800. No. 1699. Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, LXXV, 1922. See also Nos. 1700 & 1701. For another Whig broadside Tory blacklist, see Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1st Ser., Vol. XI, p. 392.

For the mobbing of Col. Elisha Jones in Sept., 1774, see below.

² The Writings of Samuel Adams, (1908) Vol. III, pp. 171-172. See also John C. Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda, (1936) pp. 300-301. Clifford Shipton does not exaggerate in describing Adams' flights from truth in connection with the Boston Port Act and the departure of Hutchinson on the very day when it came into effect. Noting that Adams called it "the Murder Act," designed to protect troops from the consequences of murdering citizens, Shipton continues: "In his denunciations of the Crown and the Loyalists he took into consideration neither the truth nor the literal meaning of the words which he used; his exaggerations were so wild that ridicule was the only possible method of answer, and that, of course, was dangerous." Sibley's Harvard Graduates, X, p. 444.

Isaiah Thomas' radical Whig Massachusetts Spy and Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette, prompted no doubt by Sam Adams, lost no time in disparaging the Addressers. According to the Boston Gazette

"The numbers of Governor Hutchinson's Addressers, consisting of merchants, shopkeepers, pedlars, pettifoggers &c. amounted to 140; and it is said, great pains were taken throughout Boston, and many other towns, to procure that number, which must certainly appear very contemptible when 'tis considered, that there are full four-hundred thousand inhabitants in that Province." 1

On June 2nd the Massachusetts Spy carried this despatch relating to Hutchinson's fellow townsmen at Milton:

"We hear that an Address hath been industriously circulated among the honest Yeomen of Milton: but they are so thoroughly acquainted with Mr. Hutchinson, that the matter goes on slowly indeed. For after many days trial, only three could be deluded to sign it, viz. the worshipful Justices Murray and Miller, and Capt. Davenport." 2

For Colonel Elisha Jones and the other Massachusetts Bay Loyalists who signed the Addresses to Hutchinson, being traduced by the Whig press was only the first of the evils that were the Governor's colonial legacy, whatever his intentions. 3

1 Boston Gazette, June 3, 1774. 3/1.

2 Massachusetts Spy, June 2, 1774 3/3.

3 After the Powder Alarm in September, 1774, Col. Jones was forced by a Whig mob to disavow his Address to Governor Hutchinson. See below.

COL. JONES EXPOSES SAM ADAMS' CONSPIRACY
FOR A CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

"If the Dissolution will be productive of good or not remains to be known, but from all I cou'd learn or see, I cannot get a worse Council or a worse Assembly who with Exceptions, for there is in both some sensible and well affected Gentlemen, appeared little more than Echos to the Contrivers of all the Mischief in the Town of Boston..."

Gage to Dartmouth, June 26, 1774 ¹

On May 25, 1774, Col. Elisha Jones for the town of Weston was among the Representatives who, in accord with the Massachusetts Bay Colony Charter, were convened as the General Court at Boston. The first day, by long established practice, was given over to ceremonial and administrative functions. First came the oaths of office, and then the election of the two principal officers of the House, the Clerk, again Sam Adams, and the Speaker, Thomas Cushing². After the Speaker was formally presented to Governor Gage in the Council Chamber, for his approval, the Governor, the Council, and the House of Representatives "went in procession to the Old Brick Meeting House" for the annual election Sermon by the Rev. Gad Hitchcock

¹ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, June 26, 1774. PRO.C.0.5:92.

² Sam Adams was elected Clerk of the House (by two votes) in 1766, and was reelected annually for the next decade. See Miller, Sam Adams... (1936) p.105. Thomas Cushing, a moderate Whig, had also been elected Speaker in May, 1766, after Gov. Bernard had negatived the radical James Otis. See Shipton's sketch of Cushing, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XI, p.379. For the official account of the proceedings on May 25th, Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives..., (1774), pp.4,5. For a discussion of House Procedures: Robert Zemsky, Merchants, Farmers, and River Gods... (1971) pp.10-27.

on the text from "Proverbs" (Chapter XXIX, v. 2) "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn." Hitchcock, chosen as speaker by the Whig majority the previous session, delivered yet another Lockean discourse on the theory of government, with references to the natural right of the people to revolt against unjust rule, and threats to the liberties of the Province. After the service salutes were fired by the town batteries and the Governor and General Court, escorted by the Cadet Company, went in procession to Faneuil Hall where there was "an elegant entertainment" and "many loyal toasts were drank." After this, the members of the House balloted for the election of Councillors, a contest in which, as for several years past, Col. Jones and the handful of Tories would have been heavily outvoted.²

The second meeting, on May 26th, opened with the usual Governor's Address. In it Gage negatived thirteen Councillors chosen by the Whig majority the day before (following the precedent of Hutchinson and earlier Governors for excluding "awkward" men from the Council) and announced the removal of the General Court to Salem on June 1st in accord with the Boston Port Act. To stir as little Whig controversy as possible the Executive proposals for the session were carefully chosen to be routine. That day, however, saw the first major clash between Col. Elisha Jones and the Government supporters and the Whig majority, once again under the leadership of Sam Adams, and abetted by the venerable Speaker Cushing. Adams, as part of his campaign to marshal support for Boston outside Massachusetts Bay

¹ The Rev. Gad Hitchcock stood high in Whig circles, and at his instruction his only child, Dr. Gad Hitchcock, destroyed his manuscripts. For the Rev. Gad Hitchcock, see Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XI. Dr. Hitchcock, also a Whig, was in the same class as John Coffin Jones, 1768. Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 45-46.

² For a description of these ceremonies, the last to take place under a Royal Government in Massachusetts, see Draper's Massachusetts Gazette, May 26, 1774. 2/1, 2.

³ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, May 19, 1774, and May 30, 1774. PRO.C.O. 5:92.

secured the passage of a motion directing the House Committee of Correspondence to write to the Committees of the Assemblies in "all the British Colonies on this Continent" enclosing a copy of the Boston Port Act and the punitive regulations which it imposed, and to draw the Assemblies' attention to the Act as "designed to suppress the Spirit of Liberty in America."¹ The vote, with but 8 nays out of a membership present of 123, showed the overwhelming superiority of the Whigs.²

With this notable exception the proceedings of the House at the beginning of the session were deceptively a-political. No radical "Committee to Consider the State of the Province" - which in the past session had conducted the attack on Hutchinson's administration under Sam Adams' direction - was appointed, and the House got down to the ordinary business of the legislative session of May-June 1774 with such despatch if not dedication that Gage suspected a conspiracy to avoid complying with the Boston Port Act. He wrote to Dartmouth on May 30th: "The Assembly has shown no Disposition to begin upon it, but were hurrying the Business of Supplies through their House to throw it off themselves, and to avoid meeting at Salem, by Adjourning themselves when the Supplies had passed their House." Whatever the truth of Sam Adams' tactics at this time (he was already laying secret plans for Massachusetts Bay Colony to participate in a Whig Continental Congress), later events in the session suggest that Col. Jones was one at least of those in the small Tory faction of about a dozen members from whom Gage was "receiving Intelligence of their Designs." Upon which, Gage continued, he "Adjourned them (the General Court) on a sudden," on Saturday, May 28th, "to the 7th of June, and then to meet at Salem."³

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives..., (1774)p.9.

² The names were not given in the Journal.

³ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, May 30, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92.

If, thus far, the Whig-controlled House had taken no action "to comply" with the Port Act, he assured Dartmouth that "No Design has appeared of Opposing the Execution of the Act, Nor do I see any Possibility of doing it with Effect." As for those who supported the Government, he added, "many are Impatient for the arrival of the Troops. And I am told that People will then speak and act openly, which they now dare not do."¹

For the General Court session which opened on June 7th Col. Jones probably stayed with his daughter Mary and son-in-law the Rev. Asa Dunbar in the Manse of the First Church, although besides his preaching duties for the month Dunbar's "Diary" mentions only that "General Gage came to Town."² As the new seat of the government of Massachusetts Bay Colony Salem received Governor Gage with due ceremony and not a little pomp and celebration, in which activities Elisha Jones as Colonel of Militia and a Tory member of the House would have played his part.

Gage arrived at Salem on thursday, June 2nd, accompanied by numerous gentlemen from Boston in their carriages. According to the Salem Essex Gazette Many Gentlemen of Salem and Marblehead met him on the road, and with the civil and military officers made a grand procession. He was escorted to Col. William Browne's house on Essex Street,³ where he received the compliments of many Gentlemen on his succession to the Government, and afterward retired to the great mansion in the nearby town of Danvers rented from the merchant-magnate Robert ("King") Hooper of Marblehead, where he took up his residence. Two days later was the "King's Birthday," which was

¹ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, May 30, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92.

² Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," June, 1774. Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

³ Described as the finest house in Salem, "with seventeen large and handsome rooms and a garden and stables." One of the leading Loyalists of Massachusetts Bay and a principal owner of the Muscongus Patent in Maine, he was appointed to the Council by Gage. Later, 1781-1788, he was Governor of Bermuda. See his Loyalist MSS., PRO.A.O.12:10, ff. 217-219, 221-243; A.O.13:43, A.O.13:50. Browne was a member of the Harvard class of 1755. See Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIII.

"properly celebrated," on June 4th, and on Monday, June 6th, the gentlemen of Salem gave a "brilliant ball" at the Assembly Hall on Cambridge Street for 110 gentlemen and their ladies, attended by Gage and his aides. As one historian of Salem put it, "Things began to be gay in the town for the Tory element," but Salem being as much a town of political faction as any other in Massachusetts Bay, one finds no references to Col. Jones or Salem's Col. Benjamin Pickman among the leading Tories dining with such moderates as Dr. Augustus Holyoke.¹

The General Court convened on June 7th in the Salem Town House which stood in the centre of town near the junction of Main (Essex) and School (Washington) Streets, beside the Town Pump and in the morning shadow of the steeple of the "Great Meeting House" of the First Church,² then presided over by the venerable Rev. Thomas Barnard and Col. Jones' son-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar. It was fitting that even in the 1770's Salem was an awesome place, so close as it was to the buildings of the Massachusetts pioneers a century and a half before, and later so to feed the imagination of Nathaniel Hawthorne. For more than half a century the freeholders of Salem had held their Town meetings in the large hall on the ground floor of the Town House, around the walls of which still hung, shrivelled and dusty, the scalps that were the town's trophies of the early Indian wars, paid for by the blood of the settlers and bounties from the town treasury. It was on the floor above, however, that the House of Representatives met during the session of June, 1774, in the Essex County Court chamber where the bench of judges in the full colonial dignity of wig and robe sat along the north wall beneath the great carving of the Royal arms.³

1 James Duncan Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (1937) p. 323. For the ball and other festivities, see The Essex Gazette, June 7, 1774; and George Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries 1709-1856 (Salem, 1911) pp. 83, 88.

Col. Benjamin Pickman had been in the same Harvard class as Col. Jones' son, Judge Daniel Jones (1759) then Chief Justice of the Cheshire County (New Hants.) Court. Pickman, a staunch Tory, went to England in 1775. PRO.A.O. 12:105.f.80.

2 Gilbert L. Streeter, "Salem Before the Revolution," E.I.H.C., Vol. 32, 1896, pp. 77-78.

3 Address by A.C. Goodell Jr., to the Essex Institute, Oct. 5, 1874. E.I.H.C., Vol. 13, 1877, pp. 26-27. The scalps were finally buried in Oct., 1785, when the old Town House building was sold and moved.

The opening two days (June 7-9th) of the House session at Salem was largely occupied by consideration of Whig resolutions condemning as "unconstitutional" the removal of the General Court to Salem - in part the revival of traditional contentions when the Court had met outside Boston - and with the formal reply to Gage's "Governor's Speech" which marked the opening of all sessions. No official record was ever kept of General Court debates, but most probably Col. Jones, as a supporter of the Government, was heard as an opposition speaker. Sam Adams, who managed the work of the House as Clerk, saw to it in this session, as in the past, that Col. Jones and the dozen or so Tory members were carefully occupied with assignments to "non-political" committees removed from the Whig controversies with the government in London. Thus, when on June 9th the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole "to consider the State of the Province," (a procedure followed in the earlier sessions of 1773 and 1774) with particular reference to the Boston Port Act, Col. Jones again was not, as a known and outspoken Tory, selected as one of the Committee of Nine to consider the matter further and to make report - which, under the direction of Sam Adams it was finally to do on June 17th.¹

While ostensibly Sam Adams' Committee of Nine was considering ways and means of paying for the tea spilt by the "Mohawks" into Boston Harbour and other compliance with the Parliamentary conditions for lifting the punitive regulations imposed upon the town by the Port Act, the greater number of Representatives, Whig and Tory, dealt with the ordinary and routine work of a Massachusetts Bay legislative session. Col. Jones' committee assignments, like those

¹ Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives...(1774), pp.17-24. But Col. Jones and other Tories with similar views "independent" of the Royal Administration were appointed on June 10th to the committee to consider payment of the expenses of the former agent of the House of Representatives in London, Denny DeBerdt. See below.

of other Representatives and in accord with the custom of the House, to a large extent were matched to his professional and personal interests. In this as in his earlier terms as Representative for Weston much of Col. Jones' committee work was concerned with problems relating to the settlement and development of the New Towns in the western counties of the Bay Colony, Hampshire and Berkshire, where he was one of the largest land proprietors and so many of his family had settled, including his only sister Abigail (who had married Col. Ephriam Williams, Sr.), his brother Josiah (who in 1769 had married Sarah Stoddard Whittlesey), and four of his sons: Elisha the Younger, Israel, Elias, and Ephriam.¹

At the afternoon session of June 10th Col. Jones was named to a three-man committee (with Mr. Thomas Denny of Leicester and Capt. Jonathan Greenleaf of Newburyport) to consider a petition of his old friend and business associate Col. Oliver Partridge of Hatfield and others for a bridge to be built over the Chicopee River (a large tributary of the Connecticut) and to notify the town of Springfield.² On June 16th Col. Jones (with Col. Edward Bacon of Barnstable and Dr. Samuel Holten of Danvers) examined the petition of the inhabitants of West Springfield "praying that they may enjoy certain Meadow Lands in common with the town of Springfield, as before they were set off and made a town."³

Probably because Col. Jones was among the largest landed proprietors, and one of his sons, Israel Jones, and Israel's father-in-law, the Rev. Elisha Todd, were the principal petitioners for the incorporation of the Berkshire County district of East Hoosuck

¹ See the Loyalist papers of Elisha Jones the Younger (P.R.O., A.O. 13:50; A.O. 12:10, ff. 373-380, 410-411; and Ephriam Jones (P.R.O., A.O. 13:47 and A.O. 13:75; For the Elisha Jones' estate in Berkshire County, see "Probate Records," Oct., 1781, Berkshire County Courthouse, Stockbridge. See also Rev. David Dudley Field, ed., A History of the County of Berkshire... By Gentlemen in the County, Clergymen and Laymen (Pittsfield, 1829) one of whom was Israel Jones of East Hoosuc. For Col. Jones as one of the three Proprietors of East Hoosuc after 1762 (with his son Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay and Col. John Murray of Rutland), pp. 422-423.

² Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... (1774) p. 27.

³ Ibid., p. 40.

(later Adams) as a New Town, the Colonel was not named to this Committee. But family interests, however, were well represented by his nephew Thomas Williams of Stockbridge, Col. Dwight, and David Ingersoll of neighbouring Great Barrington, and when on June 15th this Committee reported favourably to the House on the East Hoosuck petition for the granting of township status, the House appointed Col. Elisha Jones a committee of one "to bring in a proper Resolve agreeable to said Report."¹

Col. Jones was among the members of the House which, while generally considered Tories and supporters of the Royal Administration, were independent to a degree, favouring notably measures which would tend to strengthen the authority of the Government in the Colony rather than its dependence upon the London establishment; hence Col. Jones' support of measures which would have raised the salaries of judges in Massachusetts Bay to make them independent of all political control, and the bill against bribery and corruption in the last session, to which Hutchinson refused his assent.² Thus it was, no doubt, that Col. Jones and two other leading Tories, Col. John Murray of Rutland (like Col. Partridge an associate in the proprietorships of western towns) and Col. Edward Bacon of Barnstable were appointed with Col. Benjamin Lincoln of Hingham and Nathaniel Gorham of Charlestown to consider the petition of Dennys DeBerdt, executor of the former London Agent of the House of Representatives, for claims against the Province for expenses incurred. The Committee returned a favourable report, and the House passed a resolve endorsing DeBerdt's claims for compensation, but Gage refused to sign it as he also did Bills for payment of his salary as Governor and for the

¹ See the "Memoir" of Israel Jones (who d. Sept. 11, 1829, aged 91) a Trustee of Williams College and later a member of the U.S. Commission to adjust the boundary with Canada in 1798, by the Rev. John W. Yeomans of Adams in Rev. David Field, ed., A History of the County of Berkshire (1829) pp. 441-442. Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... (1774) pp. 22, 37.

² The "Bribery and Corruption Bill" was again given a third reading, on June 16, 1774. Ibid., p. 43. For Col. Jones' stand on this Bill in the previous House session of Jan.-March, 1774, see above.

salaries of the serving agents in London of the House (Dr. Benjamin Franklin) and of the Council (William Bollan).¹

The reformist policies of Col. Jones and other like-minded "Tories by conviction," set forth in the Address of the Middlesex Magistrates to Hutchinson of May 30th, were again supported and put forward by them with but a handful of members in the House session of May-June, 1774. As with most forward-looking concepts based in moderation and common sense in times of extremism, it was doubtless inevitable that these Tory ideas and solutions should have continued to make little headway, pitted as they were against two regressive factions whose strength was the command of mob or military force and not of argument: a London Government bent upon Colonial subordination on the one hand, and the Sam Adams Whigs on the other, looking backward to a monolithic and Puritan state in Massachusetts Bay which even in the repressive and bigoted heyday of the Commonwealth never existed - and yet further back still to Republican models of the ancient Greek cities ruled, as educated Massachusetts men knew, by the caveat of small and self-perpetuating oligarchies, with most of the population enslaved. At the critical meeting of the House on June 17, 1774 - one of the great turning points in the history of North America and of Great Britain - it was Col. Jones and the dozen Tories who defended government by principle and the basic virtue and reformability of the English legal system and the Massachusetts Bay Charter.

¹ For Col. Jones and the Committee to consider the Petition of Denny DeBerdt, appointed June 10th and which reported June 16th recommending that the sum of £315/15/8 be paid to the Executors for the balance due from the Massachusetts Bay Treasury, see Journal of the Honorable House of Representatives... (1774) pp. 26, 41. To this, however, Gage, like Hutchinson in the previous session, also refused his assent, on instructions against allowing the Colony to pay the salaries of Crown officials which the London Government regarded as its prerogative. Gage wrote to Dartmouth on June 26th: "...several private Bills and a Tax Bill were passed, and they sent me up a Bill for my Salary as Governor, and also for the Salaries of the Assembly's Agent Doct. Franklin, and the Council's Agent Mr. (William) Bollan, with a Ballance of an Account due a former Agent, the late Mr. DeBerdt; to all which I refused my Consent. Some Articles in Mr. DeBerdt's Account appeared to me extraordinary, I therefore transcribed them and sent them to your Lordship." At Salem, June 26, 1774. P.R.O., C.O.5:92.

At the morning session of June 17th the second item of business was the report of the nine-man "Committee to Consider the state of the Province," but two of the most prominent of its members were absent: the radical Whig Robert Treat Paine and Daniel Leonard, both lawyers representing the town of Taunton, in Bristol County, and who, at Paine's suggestion, had gone to Taunton that day on business. Leonard, an outspoken radical before the Tea Party, had been tricked to get him out of the way when the Committee Report was brought before the House as earlier he had been excluded from the secret afternoon meetings in a garret which plotted resistance to the London government and drew plans for the participation of Massachusetts Bay delegates in a Whig Continental Congress, all while the official morning sessions of the Committee were carefully devoted by Sam Adams to measures of conciliation. As Paine himself put it, "It would be hard to describe the Smooth and placid Observations made by Mr. S. Adams...all tending to induce Mr. Leonard...to think that matters would terminate in Obedience to the Boston Port Bill."¹

By Sam Adams' direction the House went into secret session to consider the report of the Committee on the state of the Province - and to make certain of no interruption Adams had the door to the chamber locked. According to the Rev. William Gordon, one of the least partial contemporary writers, "the door-keeper was ordered to let no one whatsoever in, and no one was to go out: however, when the business opened, a ministerial member pleaded a call of nature, which is always regarded and was allowed to go out. He then ran to give information of what was doing, and a messenger was despatched to General Gage..."² The "Ministerial Member" who

¹ For Paine's letter of June, 1774, see the Robert Treat Paine MSS., in Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. III, p. 44. See the "Whig" account in Ralph Davol's Two Men of Taunton (1912) based upon the R.T. Paine and since missing MSS of Daniel Leonard, pp. 233-235. Davol says that the Tory escaped from the chamber through a window, a less likely explanation. See also the balanced account of Daniel Leonard in Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIV, pp. 642-643.

² William Gordon, The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States (1788) Vol. I, pp. 365-366.

left the chamber was by all accounts Col. Elisha Jones of
Weston.¹

It was Col. Jones whom the Whigs held responsible for bringing about the dissolution of the House by Gage's order later that day - although not until after the House, despite Tory opposition, had passed the five resolves drawn by Sam Adams' Committee: for participation in the proposed Continental Congress by Massachusetts delegates, for aid to Boston by the other towns in the Province while the port was closed, a boycott of tea and all other English goods by the people of Massachusetts, and a day of fasting and prayer to be declared by the towns if Gage refused to issue such a proclamation.² An account of the mobbing of Col. Jones by the Whigs after the Powder Alarm the following September and printed in the Salem paper, the Essex Gazette (September 13, 1774), includes this incident (with the signing of the Address to Hutchinson of May 30th) among the "charges" made against him: under duress Col. Jones denied that he had been the culprit:-

"They then accused him of giving Information to General Gage that the late House of Representatives was about to chuse Delegates for the Congress, and so occasioned their Dissolution. He replied that the first Notice he received of the Business then before the House, was from the (Province) Secretary (Thomas Flucker), who told him that the House was about Mischief and he wanted to come at them (to read Gage's proclamation of dissolution), but the doors were shut." 3

1 Essex Gazette, Sept. 13, 1774. 1/2. See the paper read Oct. 5, 1874 before the Essex Institute, "Centennial Anniversary of the Provincial Legislature," by A. C. Goodell Jr., E. I. H. C., Vol. 13, 1877. p. 15.

2 Five delegates were chosen to represent Massachusetts at the Continental Congress to meet at Philadelphia on Sept. 1st.: House Speaker Thomas Cushing, James Bowdoin, John and Sam Adams, and Robert Treat Paine of Taunton. Journal of the... House of Representatives... (1774) pp. 44-46.

3 Essex Gazette, Sept. 13, 1774. 1/2.

Whether Col. Jones managed to elude Sam Adams and leave the Chamber before the voting began on one or more of the five resolves is not known. It is significant, however, that, unlike most votes recorded in the House Journal by Clerk Sam Adams, those taken on June 17th give no numbers whatever - in the circumstances a probable indication that the majority voting in favour of his Continental Congress Resolves was smaller than Adams wished the public to know. The radical Salem Essex Gazette in its issue of June 28th compared the Massachusetts House unfavourably with the Virginia House of Burgesses, "in which, a gentleman lately from thence says, there was not so much as a lukewarm member, much less a dissentient from the cause of his country."¹ Even the twentieth-century "Whig" writer Frank Davol in his dual biography of Robert Treat Paine and Daniel Leonard based upon their manuscripts, admits that "the Tory members were in an uproar in their effort to defeat the measure" for representation at a Continental Congress.²

The press, Tory and Whig, were agreed that 129 members had been present in the House when the vote was taken on June 17th, and that there were "only 12 Dissentients."³ None of the papers, not even the Salem Essex Gazette that was on the spot, however, printed the names of the 12 Tories who voted against the Continental Congress in their first issues after the House was dissolved by Gage's proclamation of June 17th, again suggesting that although their number may have been small, their standing and influence in the public life of the Bay Colony was not and publicity of no advantage to Sam Adams' Whig strategy. But the

1 The Essex Gazette, June 28, 1774. 2/1.

2 Ralph Davol, Two Men of Taunton (Taunton, 1912), p. 234.

3 Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston News Letter, June 23, 1774, 1/1, 2; Essex Gazette, June 21, 1774, 1/2; the Boston Gazette, June 20, 1774, 2/1; and Boston Evening Post, June 20, 1774, 2/1, 2.

Essex Gazette, despite Samuel Hall's promotion of the Whig view generally, dug deeper for what after all was one of the best stories to happen in Salem during the Revolutionary period. In its next issue of June 28th the Essex Gazette reported: "The following is said to be a true list of the Names of Eleven of the Gentlemen who voted AGAINST a Congress; the remaining one is at present uncertain."¹

Col. Elisha Jones' name appeared third on the Essex Gazette's list of Representatives. For political and personal courage in opposing this crucial move of Sam Adams toward rebellion in the American colonies these men should be ranked in the history of Massachusetts Bay with the seventeen supporters of Government-including Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick)-who at Gov. Bernard's request on June 30, 1768 voted to rescind the House resolution passed by the Whig majority authorizing a Circular Letter to be sent to the other American Colonies protesting against the imposition by Parliament of duties on certain articles which they imported.² The members who voted against the Continental Congress although weighted in numbers with 4 from Barnstable County, represented towns right across the Bay Colony from Wellfleet on Cape Cod to Egremont in the Berkshire Hills in the west. They were:-

<u>MEMBER</u>	<u>TOWNSHIP</u>	<u>COUNTY</u>
Col. John Worthington	Springfield	Hampshire
Col. John Murray	Rutland, Oakham, Hubbardtown	Worcester
Col. Elisha Jones	Weston	Middlesex
Maj. David Ingersoll	Sheffield, Alford Great Barrington Egremont	Berkshire
David Thatcher, Esq.	Yarmouth	Barnstable

1 The Essex Gazette, June 28, 1774.2/1.

2 Sam Adams and the Whigs in reprisal mounted a savage campaign against the "17 rescinders" at the next Provincial election, and few were ever returned to the House, none being present to vote against a Continental Congress on June 17, 1774. See John C. Miller, Sam Adams, pp. 109-110, 129-133.

MEMBER	TOWNSHIP	COUNTY
Abijah White, Esq.	Marshfield	Plymouth
Col. Edward Bacon	Barnstable	Barnstable
Col. Benjamin Day	West Springfield	Hampshire
Capt. Matthew Hayward	Easton	Barnstable
Samuel Field, Esq.	Deerfield, Greenfield Shelburne, Conway	Hampshire
Barnabas Freeman, Esq.	Eastham, Wellfleet	Barnstable

The "twelfth representative" may have been the member "tricked"
away from the sitting of June 17th by Robert Treat Paine:

Lt.Col.Daniel Leonard	Taunton	Bristol
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1

In his account of the General Court Session to Dartmouth on June 26th, Gage made no reference by name to Col.Jones or the other Tory supporters of the Government."If the Dissolution will be productive of good or not remains to be known, but from all I cou'd learn or see, I cannot get a worse Council or a worse Assembly, who with Exceptions,for there is in both some sensible and well affected Gentlemen,appeared little more than Echos to the Contrivers of all the Mischief in the Town of Boston."²

Col.Jones may have been one of those who warned Gage at this time that the object of the Whig leaders was to bring Massachusetts Bay Colony to armed rebellion. Gage continued in his report:-

"These Demagogues,I am informed,are now spiriting up the People throughout the Province to Resistance,as well to the Port-Bill as to three other Acts daily expected 3

1 The Essex Gazette, June 28,1774.2/1.There were no Tories voting listed from Suffolk(Boston)and Essex Counties,the island counties of Nantucket or Duke's(Martha's Vineyard)or the district of Maine (York, Cumberland,and Lincoln.Most were commanders of Militia regiments.

2 Gage to Lord Dartmouth,June 26,1774.PRO.C.O.5:92.

3 These were; The Massachusetts Bay Regulating Act (which amended the Charter);the Impartial Administration of Justice Act (which reformed the Judicial system)and the Quartering Act.For a summary of this legislation,see Bernard Donoughue,British Politics and the American Revolution(1964)"The Massachusetts Legislation," pp.73-104.

rough Draughts of which were printed here about the 4th Inst., and the Speeches made upon them in the House of Commons published in the News-Papers. Sensible and well affected People have told me, they have no Doubt that their Intention is to try to raise the Province to Arms, but I hope they suspect and fear too much; and however prone their Inclination may be to so wicked a Project, I trust they want power to effect it."¹

If Col. Jones and the Massachusetts Tories, defeated in the House, had been unable to prevent the General Court from "legally" appointing representatives to a Congress of the American colonies convened not as the Whigs claimed to seek accommodation with the London Government, but to organize opposition to its edicts, they now carried their fight for the established Constitution back to the country and the town meeting. Here on a local level through the summer and fall of 1774 the Tories waged a vigorous, two-fold campaign, first of all to prevent adoption by town meetings of Sam Adams' vehicle for defiance of Parliament in the Colonies by individuals, the "Solemn League and Covenant," a boycott of all trade with Britain (all imports after August 31st) and of persons who carried on such trade - the Whig retaliation for the Boston Port and other Acts of 1774 which Whigs then, and later, were to call the "Coercive Acts."² And secondly the Tories better organized and intensified their fight against the machine devised by Sam Adams for channeling opposition to the established government and subversion of colonial political and legal institutions to the people not only through town meetings, but as in the case of the "Solemn League and Covenant", through the Committees of Correspondence directly to the people for their subscription, bypassing the Town Meetings altogether.³

1 Gage to Lord Dartmouth, June 26, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92.

2 The Solemn League was drafted by Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston and adopted by the Boston Committee of Correspondence for distribution to all Massachusetts towns on June 5, 1774. John Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) pp.139-142.

3 See John Miller, Sam Adams (1936) pp.263-265.

At Weston the Tories, led by Col. Elisha Jones, continued to hold the support of a majority of the inhabitants eligible to vote in Town Meeting, and they were able thus to prevent the appointment of any Town Committee of Correspondence, or indeed, the summoning of any Town Meeting even to discuss the matter, during that time. Even in such a "Tory Town" as Weston, however, there was a self-appointed and unofficial Committee of Correspondence, made up, as was usual, of the Whig Selectmen, and there can be little doubt that, encouraged by Whig zealot Samuel Phillips Savage, confidant of Sam Adams and the secret caucus the "Loyal Nine," and moderator of the notorious "Body of the People" (i.e. including non-voters) meetings in Boston which preseeded the Tea Party, efforts were made - although here as in many other places with only limited success - to gain adherents among the townspeople for the "Solemn League" and to enforce the Whig embargo on tea drinking and the supply of materials or workmen for the use of the regular troops now quartered in Boston.¹

At such towns as Worcester and Boston, where during Hutchinson's term as Governor the Tories had not been able to block the appointment of Committees of Correspondence, they now took the offensive against them. Gage did not overstate Tory activities of this kind when he wrote to Dartmouth on June 26th:

"several Gentlemen, who thro' fear of the Tyranny under which they have lived, dared not to act or speak, encouraged now by the late Resolutions of Government, have ventured to step forth, and are endeavouring to persuade the People to comply with the Acts of Parliament, as the only Means to save their Town from Ruin. Till they are pinched, and (the Whigs) find they are deceived in their Hopes of Support by Presents and Collections, the Affair will probably rest in this situation, but the Act must sooner or later work its way." ²

¹ After having "Passed in the Negative by a very great Majority" at the Town Meeting of Jan. 13, 1774 (of which Col. Jones was Moderator) a proposal for appointing a Town Committee of Correspondence was kept off the Agenda of the next Meeting for election of Town Officers &c. (March 7th) the Provincial Election Meeting which returned Col. Jones to the House (May 16th) and a further Meeting for Town business (Aug. 22, 1774). M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893), pp. 198-207.

² Gage to Dartmouth, June 26, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92; see also Richard Lechmere to Lane Son & Fraser in London, May 30, 1774. M.H.S. Proceedings, XVI, 286.

The day after Gage's despatch to Dartmouth, at the Boston Town Meeting of June 27th, John Amory, a leading Boston merchant and one of the most active in trying to organize payment for the tea and other damages and to obtain the essential concurrence of the Whig-controlled Town Meeting, moved that the Boston Committee of Correspondence be censured and abolished for exceeding the powers delegated to it by the Town in adopting and circulating the subversive "Solemn League and Covenant". The Tories, who usually stayed away from the Town Meetings manipulated as they were one way and another by Sam Adams to suit the policies of the Whig radicals, this time turned out in droves, and the Meeting had to be moved from Faneuil Hall to the Old South Church. In this, probably the most crucial Meeting of the Revolutionary period in Boston, Sam Adams was forced to give up the chair as Moderator to take part in the debate, and when by late afternoon it appeared that Adams by no means could get a Whig voting majority, the Meeting was adjourned until the following day. That Adams, meanwhile, had arranged more than usually to pack the Meeting with bought and illegal voters is attested by the overwhelming 4-to-1 margin of the Whig victory that now endorsed the Committee of Correspondence at Boston and its work. John Rowe the conservative Whig merchant, who was present, wrote in his Diary later and with a terrible prescience: "this affair will cause much evil one against the other. I wish for Peace in this Town I fear the Consequences".¹

1 Anne Rowe Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe, (1903) June 27, 1774. pp. 276-277. For other contemporary Whig accounts, see Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette, 1/2, 3 of July 7, 1774, and the "moderate" Boston Evening Post, July 4, 1774.

Speakers for the Tories in the debate were the Province Treasurer, Harrison Gray, and merchants Thomas Gray, Samuel Eliot, Samuel Barrett, Edward Payne, Francis Greene, Ezekiel Goldthwait, and John Amory.

John Cary in his careful biography of the man who wrote the "Solemn League," Joseph Warren (1961) calls the Boston Town Meeting of June 27, 1774 "the most serious challenge to the leadership of Warren and (Sam) Adams since the convention (of towns) of 1768." p. 144. On that occasion Sam Adams had tried to use a mythical French invasion of Massachusetts as a pretext for summoning the towns' militia to "aid" Boston in resisting the quartering there of troops asked for by Gov. Bernard to keep order. For a balanced discussion of this crisis, see John Miller, Sam Adams: Pioneer in Propaganda (1936) "The Massachusetts Convention of 1768," pp. 134-165.

The Boston Tories, having lost their case in Town Meeting, drew up a manifesto known as the "Boston Protest," which was circulated among the leading townsmen, and found 129 signers.¹

But there was² a second "Boston Protest," familiarly known as the "Little Pope," more damaging to the Whigs, subscribed to by moderate and conservative Whigs including Boston merchant John Andrews, which among other things registered disapproval of the dishonest tactics used by Sam Adams and the Radicals to gain acceptance of the "Solemn League and Covenant" both in Boston and in the country towns. John Andrews, who on June 12th had complained to his brother-in-law William Barrell at Philadelphia that the Boston Committee of Correspondence "not content with the calamities already come upon us, have issued out letters to every town in the province (without consulting ye town in regard to the expediency of such a measure) accompanied with a Solemn League and covenant, so stil'd, for every inhabitant in each town to sign..." in a further letter of July 22nd described the full extent of the fraud perpetrated by Sam Adams and the Radicals:

"I made some observations on the Solemn League and Covenant, which I had not then seen, as it was not known to be in being in this town (but by the few who promoted it) till near a month after it had been circulated through the country: in which time it went through whole towns with the greatest avidity, every adult of both sexes putting their names to it, saving a very few. (3) It was sent out in printed copies by the Clerk to the Committee W(illiam) Cooper (the Boston Town Clerk for many years) who accompanied it with a letter intimating that the measure was in general adopted here, whereas upon enquiry I can't find that a single person in the town has signed it - and the only excuse they now make for so absurd a piece of conduct is, that it originated altogether from the country, without any of their advice or interposition; thinking so palpable a falsehood will remove the just prejudices of the more rational and judicious people among us."

1 "A List of Addressers and Protesters, 1774." Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XI (1870) pp. 393-5. See also B. Labaree, The Boston Tea Party (1964) p. 226. Richard Brown's "Whig" Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774 (1970) does not even mention the Tory "Boston Protest."

2 Sam Adams traded upon the old fear of Bostonians for the French and Papists in calling the Tories "Popes".

3 Andrews was misinformed here - this was Adams' lie told to the Bostonians - actually by the time the Continental Congress met at the beginning of September only about 15 of the some 260 Massachusetts Bay towns and districts had signed the "Solemn League." See Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) p. 142. Brown's Revolutionary Politics gives no figures a serious and misleading omission.

4 John Andrews to William Barrell, July 22, 1774. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. VIII, 1865, p. 330.

Andrews continued:

"That you may judge for yourself of the propriety of my entering my protest against their conduct...have enclos'd you the Covenant, with many sensible remarks upon it, together with the two protests; ye latter of which (among ye number of ye respective signers, you'll observe, I have the honor to be one) is humourously call'd the Little Pope; the declaration following it, (wherein our reasons for a dissent are given in more explicit manner than in the protest) should be glad you'd attend to. We don't mean to oppose any general measure that may be adopted by the (Continental) Congress, but are well dispos'd in the cause of Freedom as any of our opponents, and would equally oppose and detest Tyranny exerciz'd either in England or America." 1

The differences between these views of conservative Whig John Andrews and Tory Lincoln County (Maine) magistrate Abraham Prebble of Bowdoinham expressed in a letter to Gage on August 3rd, apparently were not so great that some sort of political accomodation between the staunchly loyal but reformist Tories, including Col. Elisha Jones of Weston and conservative Whigs in Massachusetts Bay might not have been possible even as late as August, 1774. "May it please Your Excell.," wrote Prebble,

"I don mean to Intimate as if we were Careless or Indifferent About our preveledges; No Sir we Value Them as our Lives. But we would faine have them Continued to us By some more Reagular Stream than what We think these Covenants or any thing of that Nature is like to do." 2

Of the Tory Protests of 1774, best known-perhaps because not coming from Boston, whose "Protest" it predated, it offended Whigs less- was that of the 52 men of Worcester. Written by one of the foremost lawyers in the Colony, James Putnam, an old friend and business associate of Col. Jones appointed on August 28, 1775 the last Royal Attorney-General, and Dr. William Paine (a member of the same Harvard class - 1768-as Col. Jones' cousin Boston merchant John Coffin Jones) it set out the Whig "enormities," describing them as "violators of all law and civil liberty, the malevolent disturbers of the peace of society, subverters of the established constitution, and enemies of mankind." The Worcester Protest condemned earlier resolves of the Town Meeting for a boycott of British goods similar to that of the "Solemn League," and called for the abolition of the Committees of Correspondence whose tyranny led "directly to sedition, Civil War, and rebellion." 3

1 Ibid., p. 331.

2 Abraham Prebble to Gage, Aug. 3, 1774. Gage MSS., Clements Library.

3 For a true copy, see Putnam's Loyalist papers, PRO. A. O. 13:73. See also William L. Lincoln, History of Worcester (1837) pp. 76-88.

On June 29, 1774, Gage acted to support the Tory protest movement by issuing a proclamation which denounced the "Solemn League and Covenant" as a "traitorous combination," warning that it was made to destroy trade between Britain and the colonies to the ruin of colonial business, and he declared that all persons signing this covenant, or encouraging others to do so, would be liable to arrest. (Throughout the debates the Tories' most telling argument was the economic self-interest of the colonists.) A few days later, on July 5th Gage wrote with some (well justified) satisfaction to Dartmouth that because of "the measures taken by Administration" there was "now an open Opposition to the Faction, carried on with a Warmth and Spirit unknown before, which it is highly necessary and proper to cherish and support by every Means."¹

Ann Hulton, sister of Henry Hulton, Commissioner of Customs at Boston (1767-1776), an experienced observer, wrote to England on July 8th:-

"It (Boston) is now a very gloomy place, the Streets almost empty, many families have removed from it, & the Inhabitants are divided into several parties, at variance, & quarreling with each other, some appear desponding, others full of rage. The People of Property of best sense & Characters feel the Tyranny of the Leaders, & foresee the Consequences of their proceedings, would gladly extricate themselves from the difficulties, & distress they are involvd in by making their peace with G: Britain, & speedily submitting to the Conditions & penalties required.

"These who are well disposed towards Governmt (more from interest than principle it's to be feared, as there are few willg to acknowledge the Authority of Parliamt) are termed Tories. they daily increase, & have made some efforts to take the power out of the hands of the Patriots, but they are intimidated & overpowered by Numbers, & the Arts, & Machinations of the Leader, who Governs absolutely, the Minds & the Passions of the People -- by publishing numberless falshoods to impose on their credulity, & various artifices to influence or terrify. The Ministers from the Pulpit & the Committee of Correspondence by writing inflame the Minds of the ignorant Country People. Their endeavors to engage the Other Colonies to shut up their Ports, & the Merchts

¹ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, July 5, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92. Labaree in The Boston Tea Party wrongly calls Gage's proclamation "a grave tactical blunder," and he greatly exaggerates the ensuing popularity of the Solemn League. pp. 226-227. But see below.

here to joyn in a Nonimportation Agreement, proving without effect. The next plan is in opposition to the Merchts.& which if it spreads must be attended wth the ruin of most of 'em here 'tis a Solemn League & Covenant, not to use any British Manufactures, till the Port is opend, & the New Acts repeald. This is a deep & diabolical scheme, & some people are taken into the snare, but it's to be hoped the progres of it will be stopd, Genl Gage who conducts himself with great good sense & spirit, issues a Proclamation Against it to warn 'em of its Consequences, They are startled in general, however, the little Town of Marlborough (Middlesex County some miles from Col. Jones' town of Weston) has had the Audacity to burn the Genl in effigy wth the Proclamation." 1

Beyond that he "Declare" his (political) sentiments openly,"² we know little of the part taken by Col. Jones in furthering the campaign of "Tory Protest" in the towns of the Bay colony during the summer of 1774, although late in July the Whigs were to accuse him of heading a secret "combination" of "moneyed men" who were plotting to rig the next Provincial elections.³ However, the workings of the "Tory Protests" and the "River God" Jones-Williams-Ashley sponsorship of them in Hampshire County from Hatfield north along the Connecticut Valley towns to Deerfield and onward yet to neighbouring "Tory" Cheshire County, in the colony of New Hampshire, are described in the "Diary" of Elihu, son of the Rev. Jonathan Ashley the notorious Tory parson of Deerfield, then studying medicine there with Col. Jones' nephew, Dr. Thomas Williams.⁴

1 Letters of a Loyalist Lady, (1927) to Mrs. Lightbody, July 8, 1774. pp. 73-74. Conservative Whigs such as Boston merchant John Rowe deplored the riotous happenings at Marlborough: "July 8. I heard of the Bad Behaviour of the People of Marlborough. its said that the Speakmans were concerned, if it Proves so, they have not only behaved ill but contrary to my Sentiments & forfeited my regard in future for them." Cunningham, Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) pp. 277-8.

2 Josiah Jones' testimony before Loyalist Commissioner Pemberton, St. John (New Brunswick) Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A. O. 12:10.

3 Boston Gazette, July 25, 1774. Letter by Praedicus to Edes & Gill, thought to be Sam Adams.

4 Dr. Elihu Ashley's MSS "Diary" is now in the archives of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield. It runs from 1773-1775, and is one of the most valuable Tory diaries to survive in Massachusetts.

Elihu Ashley wrote on July 16th:

"This Morning after Breakfast I went to reading, read till half after two, Ye Doctr (Thomas Williams) then desiring I would copy a Paper which was a Protest against ye Proceedings of ye House of Representatives and ye Measures now adopted by ye Colonies and ye Plan ye People were acting upon Ye Several Colonies, which Protest was drafted by William Williams Esqr of Hatfield;¹ after I had copied of said Protest I walked over to Dick's² shop..."

"That evening "I went to Catlins (one of the Deerfield Tory taverns)³ shew ye above Protest.some approved others not..."

Less than a week later, on July 22nd, two of Col. Elisha Jones' three sons who had settled at Hinsdale, in Cheshire County New Hampshire, came down to Deerfield for consultation with the two Tory leaders, the Rev. Jonathan Ashley and their cousin Dr. Thomas Williams. These were Judge Daniel Jones, appointed by Gov. John Wentworth in 1771 first Chief Justice of the Cheshire County Court, and then serving as Selectman and Town Clerk of Hinsdale, and his younger brother Simeon Jones, also a lawyer, and Clerk of the County Court. Elihu Ashley wrote that, after his customary afternoon nap (through the worst heat of the Massachusetts summer day) "Then I took my book for studying but was prevented by ye coming of Danl Jones & Sim about five. I waited upon Sim up to my Dadas (the Rev. Jonathan Ashley's manse - only a short way along the main street) where we drank tea. soon after Tea we came away. called at Dicks (David Dickinson) drank a Bowl of Punch, then came to ye Doctor⁴ (Thomas Williams) where Jones tarried till ten then went away."

1 William Williams was a son of the "Monarch of Hampshire County," Col. Israel Williams of Hatfield.

2 For David Dickinson, see George Sheldon, A History of Deerfield, Vol. II (1st. edn. 1896), "Genealogies," p. 146.

3 For Seth Catlin, see Ibid., p. 106.

4 The third brother was Josiah Jones, who was then settled at Hinsdale in the practice of law. PRO. A. O. 13:47. Judge Daniel Jones had married in 1763 Lydia, dau. of Col. Elijah and Lydia (Dwight) Williams of Deerfield. Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIV, 1759, pp. 445-7.

Almost two months later, on September 8th, 1774, Elihu Ashley recorded the arrival at Deerfield of yet another Tory manifesto: "...spent the forenoon...in copying a Covenant to be signed by ye People in order to prevent Mobbs and which Covenant was read and voted by ye People of Deerfield.were assembled at half 6 Tues last and it was there agreed every Town should have a copy." 1

The Tory press in Massachusetts Bay, meanwhile, "spirited" by the arrival of General Gage - and the succession of Margaret Draper, an outspoken Tory and one of the pioneer New England women journalists, to the ownership of the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter as well as the posts of King's Printer to the Colonial government and printer to Harvard College after her husband's death on June 5, 1774- became notably bolder in its attacks upon the Whigs and their doctrines of sedition. Again with Gage's encouragement another Tory printer, Ezekiel Russell (who with Hutchinson's patronage had published The Censor as a Tory journal in Boston in 1771 and 1772) set up a Tory press at Salem - the new Provincial capital under the Port Act - in June, 1774, in competition with Sam and Ebenezer Hall's radical Whig Essex Gazette, the Salem Gazette and Newbury and Marblehead Advertiser.²

While no writings for publication by Col. Elisha Jones for this period have been identified (most of the unsigned and pseudonymous contributors to the Tory press are still unknown) the third issue of Ezekiel Russell's Salem Gazette on July 8, 1774 printed the Tory satire written for the annual Town Election meeting of Hinsdale (New Hampshire) in March, 1774, by his son

1 "Diary" of Dr. Elihu Ashley, MSS., P.V.M.A., Deerfield.

2 For Margaret Draper, later a refugee loyalist who died in England, see PRO.A.O.13:44, and Alfred Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, (1930) pp.121-122. For Ezekiel Russell, brother of the timid Joseph who printed the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, see Arthur Schlesinger, ... The Newspaper War on Britain 1764-1776 (1971 edn.) pp.143, 188-189.

Daniel Jones, Selectman, Town Clerk and Treasurer as well as
Chief Justice of the Cheshire County Court, the eight

"HINSDALE RESOLVES - FOR FASHION SAKE

"The Inhabitants of the Town of Hinsdale, in the Province of New Hampshire, met on the second Tuesday of March, 1774, the Day appointed by Charter, for holding their annual Meeting, and after finishing the necessary business of the Town, the day not being fully spent, the Town took into Consideration many patriotic Speeches, and pompous Declarations with which the Newspapers are continually interlarded; wherein the Rights and Liberties of the People of this Country are invaded, and the English Constitution thereby in danger of being wholly broken up: And also the Resolutions of many Towns in New England respecting the Rights and Liberties before-mentioned; and finding that it is become very fashionable for Towns to enter into Resolutions respecting their Rights and Privileges, and recollecting the old Proverb, that it would be as well to be out of the World as out of the Fashion, were induced to resolve as follows:

1st. Resolved as the Opinion of this Town that it is the indispensable Duty of every Member of Society having certain Knowledge what Rights and Privileges appertain to him, to exert himself to preserve those Rights and Privileges, whenever they are in danger of being wrested from him. But until he knows what Rights and Privileges belong to him, he ought not to interpose in political matters, but industriously pursue the common and ordinary Business of his Calling, and endeavour to cultivate Urbanity and social Harmony.

2. It is the Opinion of this Town that true personal Liberty (so much contended for) consists in the Right every Member of Society hath in going when and where he likes in pursuit of that which best pleaseth him without being tarred and feathered therefor, so long as he conforms to the Laws of Society: And whenever he shall be guilty of a Breach of those Laws, he is answerable to Society only for his Conduct, and in such a Manner only as the Laws direct.

3. It is the Opinion of this Town, that the Tumult which now prevails in this Country respecting the East India Company sending their Tea here for Sale, does not arise by reason of the Act of Parliament, which imposes a Duty on Tea for raising a Revenue; but because the intended Method of Sale in this Country by the East-India Company, probably would hurt the private Interest of many Persons who deal largely in Tea: For it appears to this Town, that there are other Acts of Parliament daily put in Execution which infringe the Rights and Liberties of the People of this Country as much or more than the Act first mentioned, and yet no Objection is made against them: namely, the Act lately made, establishing Custom-House Fees, and the Act imposing a Duty on Melasses, out of which all New England Rum is made.

4. Resolved that the Consequences attending the Use of New-England Rum are much more pernicious to Society than the Consequences attending the use of Tea, although Tea hath been represented to be the most destructive and poisonous thing in Use, and hath deprived Hundreds of the good People of this Country of their Lives, and Thousands more thereby are threatened with the Loss of their Liberties, Yet it is very evident that New-England Rum is much more destructive, and hath and ever will while used in such Abundance, destroy the Lives and Liberties of Thousands where Tea hath or never will one.

5. It is the Opinion of this Town, that if those Patriotic Persons and Towns who declaim so loudly against the Use of Tea, and in Defence of the Rights of their Country was ever infested, this Town will in return, endeavour to banish from them the Use of that Tea, which hath been impeached of being unhealthy and unconstitutional.

6. It is the Opinion of this Town, that if half the Time that is idly spent in hearing Lectures from patriotic Enthusiasts, was spent in promoting Peace, Harmony, and good Order, in cultivating the Land, and in encouraging Industry and Agriculture, it would add greatly to the true Interest of this Country.

7. It is the Opinion of this Town, that under the Disguise of Patriotism, that first-rate Virtue, Faction, Self-Interest, and private Ambition are frequently concealed, and that many persons who pretend to be Patriots and declaim loudly in Defence of their Country, are bound by no Ties, but those of partial Passion and private Interest. But yet so artfully conceal themselves under the Disguise of Patriotism, that it requires more than common Penetration to discover the Delusion.

8. It is the Opinion of this Town, that the true Dignity and Glory, the Stability and internal Tranquility of every State, were always proportionate to the Strength and Dissusiveness of public Spirit, and that noisy intemperate Froth of a political Enthusiasm is as far removed from a steady Principle of Patriotism as the Dignity of solid Understanding, from the Fumes of poetical Madness.

Passed Nem. Con. Thomas Taylor, Moderator
A True Copy from Hinsdale Town-Records
Examined by Daniel Jones, Town Clerk " 1

1 Text as printed in the Salem Gazette, July 8, 1774. 3/1. These Resolves were copied into the "Old Town Book," in the Hinsdale Town records on pages 70-73, where they remain (1977). All too often the writings of Tories in town records were obliterated by later Whig Selectmen and other officials.

Apart from the law and politics Judge Daniel Jones was interested in natural history, and among his other publications was an account of the extinct volcano of West River Mountain contributed to the famous first volume of Memoirs put out by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston in 1785, pp. 312-315.

Col. Jones' political activities during the summer of 1774 provoked another newspaper attack upon him in Edes and Gill's radical Boston Gazette toward the end of July. This time it took the form of a letter by Praedicus, the "forewarner," thought to have been one of the many pseudonyms used by Sam Adams, who, it must be noted, was not to leave Boston for the Continental Congress until August 9th. It was characteristic of Adams - if indeed it was Col. Jones' old adversary - not to let his part in opposing the Whig scheme for a Continental Congress and in bringing about the Dissolution of the House of Representatives by Gage in June go unpunished. Quick as ever to invent lies to defame any supporter of Government, Adams turned the Colonel's own arguments in favour of the bi-partisan Bribery and Corruption Bill in the past two House Sessions of 1774 to which Governors Hutchinson and Gage had withheld their assent, inside out against him, making the accusation that Col. Elisha Jones was himself to be the "Manager" of a "New Scheme of Corruption."

"Messrs Edes & Gill

It is confidently said that a number of Monied Men, such as I--c W--w (1) and among the rest the pious Dr. P--n (2) have combined together to furnish Monies to let on Interest to Persons in the Country on express Condition of their giving their Votes and Interest at Elections for such Persons as shall be recommended to them; and the famous Col. JNS of WSTN is to be the Manager of this new Scheme of Corruption. We have now stood a Nine Years Seige of Bullying and endeavouring to gain old Birds with the Chaff of Smiles and Commissions; but finding Men in all Ages and Countries pretty nearly alike, Philip has at last recurred to the potent Argument which has convinced nearly all Mankind, that Tyranny is the best kind of Civil Government. I sincerely hope,

¹ Isaac Winslow, the Boston merchant. He had joined the public protest against Adams' scheme for a "Solemn League and Covenant" and signed Addresses to Hutchinson and Gage. Referring to Praedicus' attack Winslow's biographer Clifford Shipton declared that the radicals "could hang nothing more" on him "than an alleged desire to buy votes." Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, p. 337. Winslow was appointed to the Massachusetts Council by Gage and sworn at Salem, August 8, 1774.

² Dr. William Paine of Worcester, with James Putnam author of the Tory "Worcester Protest" of June, 1774, which condemned the tyranny of the Committees of Correspondence as leading "directly to sedition, civil war, and rebellion." Ibid., Vol. XVII, pp. 67-75.

my dear Fellow-Countrymen, that there will be one People at least, found too wise and virtuous to be the Gudgeons of such an infernal Conspiracy of Traitors to the Constitution of this yet happy Country; and spurn their fatal Hook let them bait it in what manner they please. Is not this consonant with the advice received in Captain Loring, that Money was now concluded upon as the sole Means to be depended on to answer the Ends of Administration? And does not this account for the pious Hutchinson's Rejection of the Bill against Bribery and Corruption? Col. Jones, it is remembered, was as much concerned lest this Bill should produce Perjuries and other bad Consequences, as certain Gentlemen are that the Non-Consumption Agreement will have those dreadful Effects.

"What an obstinate, what a silly Cabal of State Sharpers are we plagued with! Eternally striving to impose Cheats on Men a Thousand Times more knowing than themselves. In Vain, says Solomon, is a Net spread in the Sight of any Bird. But these Wiseacres dig Pits in the Sight of all Men, and when they find they cannot draw People into one, they in like open manner dig, and strive to force them into another.

PRAEDICUS 1

In the next issue of the Boston Gazette, on August 1, 1774, "Praedicus" made further allegations against the supposed members of the Tory "Combination":-

To the P U B L I C

"Being informed by the Printers that I--c W--w, Esq; and Dr. P--n, have complained of their being unjustly treated in the Piece signed PRAEDICUS in the last Number of this Paper relative to the said Gentlemen's being Members of a certain Combination who 'tis said determine to let Monies to such Electors only as will vote for Courtiers. I thereupon applied to the Person who was next to the first reporter, and was informed by him that I--c W--w was only mentioned as a monied Man in that Interest, but was not affirmed to be in the Combination,---but he still affirms that such a Combination was declared to him by a Gentleman of good Credit, from whom he expects an authentic List of the Members of this pious Institution, who were declared to the said first Reporter without Reserve.

PRAEDICUS

"Dr. P--n's Friend who applied to the Printer denies his having any Hand in so villainous a Project as the above." 2

1 The Boston Gazette, monday, July 25, 1774. 3/1.

2 The Boston Gazette, monday, August 1, 1774. 2/1.

Col. Elisha Jones apparently ignored "Praedicus" attacks altogether. Nor was any list of members of his supposed Tory "Combination" ever printed by the Gazette. Eight days later, Sam Adams with the other radical delegates from the Bay Colony - John Adams, John Hancock, and the last Speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas Cushing, with Robert Treat Paine - set off for the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and Benjamin Edes and John Gill, printers of the Boston Gazette, did not pursue the matter. ¹

As one of the leading and most persistent advocates of Tory political and governmental reform in Massachusetts - one of that small but important group that stood between the Radicals and the London Government and its colonial clients - Col. Jones had fought in the General Court and outside it in 1774 for such enlightened measures as the Bill to eliminate political bribery and corruption and against the creation of an inter-colonial Whig machine for revolution, the Continental Congress. But nothing better illustrates the essential constructive nature of this man than when at the end of July, 1774, and in the best of the New England tradition of building for the future in troubled and difficult times, Col. Jones entered his promising youngest son Charles, then only fourteen, and his grandson Nahum (born August 6, 1757) eldest son of his eldest son, Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay, as Freshmen in the Harvard Class of 1778. Since Samuel Langdon, the successor to President Samuel Locke (who resigned Dec. 1, 1773) did not assume office until Oct. 14, 1774, it is probable that this year the Tutors examined the students for admission.² In any event Charles and Nahum Jones passed the examinations set on July 19th and July 20th, 1774, and advertised

1 Through the New England colonies at least the journey of the Massachusetts Delegates to Philadelphia was dramatized by the Whigs as a triumphal progress. See John Miller, Sam Adams (1936) pp. 313-315.

2 It was customary for the President of Harvard to ^{do the} examining of entering students at that time. For this and other material about the entrance of Charles and Nahum Jones I am indebted to Harley P. Holden, Curator of the Harvard Archives, including Holden to author, Aug. 12, 1971.

in the press by John Wadsworth, since July, 1770 Tutor in Logic and Metaphysics - noted as being among the best public defenders of the Tory political case in Massachusetts Bay as well as for his quite extraordinary popularity with the students. There can be little doubt that Tutor Wadsworth's views, political and otherwise - he was described as "a man of eminent talents, of clear conceptions, a perspicacious reasoner, fluent in speech, and, above all, mild in the exercise of authority"-were a factor in shaping the character of this preeminent "Tory Class" of 1778.¹

Two students of the same family were a great rarity in any Harvard class (which at this time numbered usually between fifty and sixty students) and three sons only hardly less so: Col. Jones had sent Daniel (1759), Stephen (1775) with a year yet to come, and Charles (1778), who with his nephew Nahum had been "fitted" by Col. Jones' son-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, Pastor of the First Church at Salem. At the Salem Manse Charles was all but a son to his older sister Mary Jones Dunbar (born June 11, 1748) and who was later to name one of her own children after him, the "Uncle Charles" of Thoreau's Journals.²

Even the beginning of the Harvard year in 1774, however, was clouded by politics: on July 20th there were none of the usual festivities at Cambridge which made the annual Commencement Day one of the great social events of the year. Corporation on May 31st, "considering the present dark aspect of our Public Affairs," and to avoid involving the College in political difficulties, voted to have "no public Commencement" and to confer degrees by "General Diploma".³

¹ See the notice signed by Wadsworth dated June 16, 1774 in Draper's Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter, 2/3: "All who desire Admission into Harvard College this Year, are hereby notified, that the Tutors have determined to attend the business of Examination on Tuesday and Wednesday, the 19th and 20th Days of July next." For John Wadsworth (born at Duxbury, his mother was Mary Alden Wadsworth) see Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XV, pp. 329-331.

² Col. Jones kept careful records of the expenses of his sons' education and of the dowry of his only daughter Mary, but there are no entries for Charles in the one volume (MSS) of accounts now at the Golden Ball Tavern (a museum) Weston, Massachusetts. For Charles and Nahum with the Dunbars, see the "Diary" of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, 1773-1775, Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

³ Harvard "College Book," Vol. VII, p. 273. Harvard College MSS.

COL. ELISHA JONES AND THE LOYAL MIDDLESEX MILITIA:
THE POWDER ALARM OF SEPTEMBER 1, 1774

11. That whereas our enemies have flattered themselves that they shall make an easy prey of this numerous, brave, and hardy people, from an apprehension that they are unacquainted with military discipline; we, therefore, for the honour, defence and security of this county and province, advise, as it has been recommended to take away all commissions from the officers of the militia, that those who now hold commissions, or such other persons, be elected in each town as officers in the militia, as shall be judged of sufficient capacity for that purpose, and who have evidenced themselves the inflexible friends to the rights of the people; and that the inhabitants of those towns and districts, who are qualified, do use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war as soon as possible, and do, for that purpose, appear under arms at least once every week..."

Resolves of the Suffolk County
Convention, September, 1774 1

It is a truism that the last bastion of a government is its ability to command the sanction of force, and that in the summer and fall of 1774 the Whig leaders in Massachusetts regarded control of the militia by "friends of the rights of the people" - as expressed in the resolves of the Suffolk County Convention drafted by Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston and adopted on September 12th - as the final political necessity after the closure of the courts and magistrates' courts to prevent the administration of justice and the operation of the "illegal" Parliamentary Act "for the better regulating the Government of the Massachusetts Bay in New England" which had come into effect

1 The 19 Suffolk County Resolves of the Convention which met at Milton on Sept. 9th were taken post haste to the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia by Paul Revere where they were adopted unanimously on Sept. 18, 1774. Gaillard Hunt, ed., Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, Vol. I, 1904, pp. 31-36, 39.

2 For Dr. Warren and the two sessions of the Suffolk Convention at Dedham (Sept. 6th) and Milton (Sept. 9th) see John Cary, Joseph Warren, 1961, pp. 152-158.

on July 1, 1774, and against which the resolves of the Suffolk and other County Conventions of Whig dissidents were directed.¹

The Whig plan for gaining control of the Massachusetts Bay militia in the summer and fall of 1774 was two-fold. First to ensure the Whig politics-and loyalty- of all officers, the Whigs called for their mass resignation, and new militia elections to be held not only for those of the rank of captain and below chosen by the men of their respective towns' companies, but also for the field officers, majors and above, who were appointed as well as commissioned by the Governor, and who, in turn, according to the Whig plan, were to be chosen by a meeting of the company officers in each regiment. Secondly, both to expand the strength of the militia and to destroy old loyalties bred from comradeship in arms in the French and Indian Wars (most of the older men and especially the officers had seen active service), the number of regiments was increased and the long-established "County" regiments broken apart (there were thirty when Gage took over as Governor in June, 1774) so that companies from traditionally "Tory" towns-such as Col. Elisha Jones' Weston- could be regimented in the minority with those of more radical neighbours.²

Even with this political reorganization of the regular militia, so little was it trusted that the Whig leadership felt the necessity to establish a second military force besides the traditional "alarm" companies, elite and highly mobile, to ensure that the most politically reliable from each town would be first in the field when any alarm was given. This was done by the revival - and adaptation to political purpose - of a form of organization used to advantage in the late French Wars: "Minute" companies and regiments, so-called because of their high degree of readiness and zeal. (Elisha Jones himself had been Lt.Col. in Col. Joseph Frye's "Minute Men" Regiment that had relieved Gen. John Winslow's Massachusetts forces at Fort William Henry from Oct. 19-Nov. 16, 1756). The rank-and-file of these Whig "Minute" companies was chosen, moreover, by the new Whig Militia officers of each town to the number of one-third of their available men.³

¹ For these resolves of the Whig conventions, see: Peter Force, American Archives, 4th Ser., Vol. I, pp. 750-752, 795-801.

² For the organization of the 30 Militia regiments in June-July, 1774, before the Whig "reorganization," see the Catalogue of Coat Rolls, (cont)

Officers who were political Whigs resigned readily enough; usually they were the leaders of this "take-over" movement in their townships. The major obstacle to Whig control of the militia, however, was Colonel Elisha Jones of Weston and the other officers who remained loyal to the government of their sworn oath, the majority in Massachusetts Bay before the "abortive" Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774 and probably until the "great alarm" of Lexington the following spring, contrived by Sam Adams and the Whigs to use bloodshed as much to snap military as political allegiance.

The Whigs employed the same weapons against the militia officers loyal to Government as they had used against the succession of political opponents since the time of the Stamp Act: revenue and customs officers and more recently the judges, magistrates and other judicial officials in order to force the closure of the courts. First came the warnings, economic boycotts, and blackmail, then for the recalcitrant that infamous quiver of harsh persuasions using physical violence and intimidation - all administered by what the Whigs invariably referred to as "the mob" but which outside Boston was as well disciplined as the cohorts of "General" Ebenezer Mackintosh and the Sons of Liberty at the Boston Tea Party of December 16, 1773 when only the objective - the tea - was manhandled. As the Whigs gained control of the militia companies in the Counties it was these with their veneer of civic authority that were preferred as the agents to enforce political

(Cont.) in Massachusetts Archives, and Muster Rolls. Field officers were "required" by the Whigs to publish their resignations in the press - and it is from these, and the Resolves of the County Conventions, that Whig policy can be pieced together: there is no monographic study of this important facet of the Whig-Tory power struggle. For the election of Artemas Ward as Colonel of a "new" Shrewsbury (Worcester Co.) Regiment, and other officers, and the joining to it of the militia of the Middlesex town of Marlborough, see the Massachusetts Spy, Oct. 20, 1774.

3 For Lt. Col. Elisha Jones and Col. Joseph Frye's "Minute Men" Regiment see Muster Rolls, No. 57, Massachusetts Archives. Service in 1756.

It is a measure of Whig historical propaganda that the idea for a corps of "Minute Men" originated in the motion of Sept. 21, 1774 at the Worcester Whig County Convention of Col. William Henshaw. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. 15, p. 69.

conformity - whenever possible marched to what the Whig press and others (if at all) referred to as "the neighbouring towns" to eliminate the opposition of family and local loyalties.

By the end of August, 1774, the Whig campaign to control the Massachusetts Militia had been well begun. On August 24th, when Gage sent troops to close the illegal town meeting held at Salem, "The Marblehead people sent them word that they were ready to come in at a minute's warning sufficiently provided to lend assistance."¹ In the west, too, the Whigs had "early" success, most notably in Worcester County where, acting under the resolves of the Whig Convention of Committees of Correspondence in the county that met at Worcester on August 21st which called for the reorganization of the militia, the colonels of the county regiments were made to resign: John Chandler (County Sheriff) and John Murray (a Mandamus Councillor) who fled for their lives to Boston, and Caleb Wilder.²

1 John Andrews wrote of the affair to William Barrell (his brother-in-law) at Philadelphia on August 26th. The affair at Salem is the only topic of speculation this day (at Boston). The latest accounts we have had from there was at ten o'clock P.M., when there was upwards of three thousand men assembled there from the adjacent towns, with full determination to rescue the (Whig) committee if they should be sent to prison, even if they were oblig'd to repel force by force, being sufficiently provided for such a purpose; as indeed they are all through the country -- every male above the age of 16 possessing a firelock with double the quantity of powder and ball enjoined by law. The Marblehead people sent them word that they were ready to come in at a minute's warning sufficiently provided to lend assistance." Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 8 (1865) p. 347.

2 For Chandler's account of his flight to Boston in November, 1774, "to save himself from a very ignominious death" at the hands of the Worcester Whig mob, see his Loyalist Memorial, PRO.A.O.13:73. For the experiences of John Murray, of Rutland, a business associate of Col. Elisha Jones in the development of Western Massachusetts Townships, see his Loyalist papers, PRO.A.O.13:75.

Col. Elisha Jones of Weston in Middlesex County, meanwhile, not being among those militia colonels - including Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick and Col. Abijah Willard of Lancaster (Worcester) who in August of 1774 having accepted Gage's appointment as Councillors by the Governor's Writ of Mandamus, had been forced by the worst fury of the country-Whig mobs into Boston - ¹ was still at his post when the month ended, and in active command of his own militia regiment, the third Middlesex.²

There were at this time four regiments in the county of Middlesex, as follows:

FIRST REGIMENT

Colonel: William Brattle, of Cambridge, also Major General and ranking officer of the Massachusetts Militia

Lieut. Col: Thomas Oliver of Charlestown, sworn as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, Aug. 8, 1774

First Major: Abraham Fuller, a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex County

Second Major: Thomas Brattle, son of Colonel Brattle.

THIRD REGIMENT

Colonel: Elisha Jones of Weston, a Justice of the Peace and of the Middlesex Quorum

Lieut. Col.: Charles Prescott of Concord, Justice of the Peace

Major: Joseph Curtis of Sudbury, in 1771 appointed Captain of the First Company of the Sudbury Troop of Horse

THIRD REGIMENT, SOUTH PART

Colonel: John Noyes of Sudbury

Lieut. Col.: John Jones of Hopkinton

Major: John Farrar of Framingham, a Deputy Sheriff

¹ For the mobbing of Ruggles, see: PRO. A. O. 13:75; and Willard, PRO. A. O. 13:49.

² Statement of Capt. Jonas Minot, commanding the Concord Company in Col. Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment, to Gen. William Brattle at Cambridge. Brattle to Gage, Aug. 29, 1774. See below.

SIXTH REGIMENT

Colonel: James Prescott of Groton, Representative to the General Court and leader of the radical Whigs of Middlesex County

Lieut.Col.: Jonathan Wood

Major: Dr. Oliver Prescott of Groton, brother of Col. James, Groton Selectman and clerk of the Groton Committee of Correspondence. ¹

Of these four Middlesex Regiments, the officers of the Sixth (drawn from towns in the north west of the county) were the most solidly Whig, headed by Col. James Prescott, long a political opponent of Col. Elisha Jones in the General Court and outside it, one of the most active leaders of the radicals in Middlesex. On August 30, 1774 James Prescott was elected Chairman, with Ebenezer Bridge of Billerica as Secretary, of the Middlesex Convention of Committees of Correspondence with more than 150 delegates that met at Concord - on the same day as the Worcester Convention. His brother, Major (Dr.) Oliver Prescott, also of Groton and another zealous Whig was a member of the arch-Whig Committee of Nine (which also included Capt. Thomas Gardner of Cambridge of Col. Brattle's First Regiment) which drew up the famous nineteen "Middlesex Resolves" that exhorted non-compliance with allegedly non-constitutional acts of Parliament and called for the meeting of a Provincial Congress at Concord on the second tuesday in October. ²

¹ Samuel Adams Drake, History of Middlesex County, 1880, Vol. 1, p. 107.

² Col. James and Dr. Oliver Prescott were brothers of Col. William Prescott who commanded the rebel redoubt at Bunker Hill. See below. For the Prescotts and Groton in the struggle between Whig and Tory in 1774-1775, see: Caleb Butler, History of the Town of Groton, including Pepperell and Shirley... Boston, 1848, 117-125.
For the "Middlesex Resolves," see above.

Just as through the late summer and autumn of 1774 Col. Elisha Jones of Weston led the political opposition in Middlesex County to the Prescott faction and the radical Whigs and their campaign to supplant popular government in the Town Meetings by local Committees of Correspondence and the prorogued General Court by county and finally provincial conventions of delegates from the Town Committees of Correspondence - Col. Jones acted at the same time as one of the leaders in the bitter fight to keep the Whigs from taking over direction of the regular militia regiments (which under the Charter Government could only be called out by order of the Colonel) and creating the Whig Minute-Man cadres, the military counterpart of the Committees of Correspondence in political direction.

Very much more has come to light of the workings of the Whig Committees of Correspondence than of the secret network of Tories and their agents outside Boston, already, it appears, well enough organized by the summer of 1774 in Col. Jones' county of Middlesex, on the very doorstep of Boston and strategic for commanding the post roads to the west, one of the most important of which ran through the Jones town of Weston. There Col. Elisha Jones (and his cousin Isaac Jones who kept the Golden Ball Tavern) acted as collectors and coordinators of information about Whig activities sent by Tory agents in the Middlesex towns. One of the Tory agents who is known and who was particularly active was Dr. Joseph Adams, the surgeon and apothecary of Townshend in the very most north-west part of Middlesex County near the New Hampshire boundary. Dr. Adams, as he later declared, had in 1774 communicated the private resolves of Committees of Correspondence and their method of secreting magazines of gunpowder and other

¹ See the account of a spying expedition to Worcester from Boston by John Howe in April, 1775, stopping at the Golden Ball Tavern at Weston. Journal of John Howe, printed by Luther Roby, Concord, New Hampshire, 1827; and the account by Ens. deBerniere of the 10th Regiment and Capt. Brown of the 52nd. in February, 1775 also with references to Isaac Jones. See General Gage's Instructions... to Captain Brown and Ensign D'Berniere... whom he ordered to take a sketch of the roads, passes, heights, &c. from Boston to Worcester... Boston, J. Gill, 1779; Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2 Ser., Vol. IV (1816) pp. 204-208.

warlike stores for rebellious purposes, and also made known the proceedings of town meetings "which had for their object the subversion of the British government" not only to "Colonel Jones of Weston" but to other Loyalist leaders, Col. Abijah Willard at Lancaster (Worcester County), his attorney Daniel Bliss of Concord, to Jonathan Sewall of Cambridge the Attorney General, and "to Colonel Brattle" of Cambridge.¹

It was a request for advice made to Col. Brattle by one of the Captains in Col. Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment, Captain Jonas Minot of Concord, which tells us that to the end of August 1774 Col. Jones was successful in preventing any reorganization of his regiment by the Whigs or the enlistment of Minute Companies. Minot's request was one of those small events that have great consequences: Minot, a Tory, was soon to be cashiered to military oblivion by the Whigs, and he would later be known to history largely through the Journal of his step-grandson Henry David Thoreau as the farmer who loved roast apples and always had a jug of milk at night by his bed.² But Minot's information given to Col. Brattle, however, helped to bring about the political crisis

1 Memorial of Dr. Joseph Adams of Townshend, surgeon and apothecary. PRO. A.O. 13:43.

2 After the death of her first husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, in 1787, Col. Jones' only daughter, Mary, married Jonas Minot, a Concord farmer. There were no children, but Thoreau was friendly with the Concord Minots, notably with George, many of whose stories he included in his Journal. For Jonas Minot, see Bradford Torrey and Francis Allen, eds., The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, entry for March 13, 1861. Vol. II, p. 1746.

of September 1, 1774, known in Massachusetts as the "Powder Alarm."

It began with a letter written by Col. Brattle to Gage on August 29th:

"Mr. Brattle presents his duty to his Excellency Governor Gage; he apprehends it is his duty to acquaint his Ex-cy from time to time with every thing he hears and knows to be true and is of importance in these troublesome times, which is the apology Mr. Brattle makes for troubling the General with this Letter.—Capt. (Jonas) Linot of Concord a very worthy man this minute inform'd Mr. Brattle that there had been repeatedly made pressing applications to him to warn his company to meet at one minute's warning equipt with arms and ammunition according to law he had constantly denied them. Adding, if he did not gratify them he should be constrained to quit his farms and town. Mr. Brattle told him he had better do that than lose his life and be hang'd for a rebel. He observed that many Captains had done it, though not in the Regiment to which he belonged, (Third Middlesex) which was and is under Colonel Elisha Jones, but in a neighbouring Regiment.

"Mr. Brattle begs leave humbly to quere whether it would not be best that there should not be one Commission Officer of the Militia in the Province. This morning the Selectmen of Medford came and received their Town stock of powder which was in the Arsenal, on quarry Hill. So there is now therein the King's powder only which shall remain there, as a sacred depositum, till ordered out by the Capt. General." 1

¹ Printed in the Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 8, 1774. 1/3, 4; and see the Boston Gazette, Sept. 5, 1774, 2/1.

Brattle, as Major General of the Massachusetts Bay Militia and custodian of the provincial military stores kept at Cambridge, sent periodic reports to the governor of stocks of powder and other items on hand, and it was with one of these¹ that Brattle had enclosed his letter to Gage of August 29th. Gage, who knew about if he had only limited means to prevent the large scale military preparations then being made by the Whigs out of reach of the small force of garrison troops in Boston - the militia campaign to enlist Militia Companies and regiments and to force the resignation of Tory officers, and the secret stockpiling of gunpowder, firelocks and other weapons and military stores - now acted to remove the Province powder and cannon from Cambridge to the safety of Castle William in Boston Harbour.

On the night of August 31st David Phips, High Sheriff of Middlesex County and Captain of the Middlesex Horse Troop, went to the home of Gen. Brattle in Cambridge with an order from Gage for the delivery to him of the Province store of powder kept at the Province Powder Magazine at Medford and the two brass field-guns belonging to the Middlesex Regiment at Cambridge in the charge of Thaddeus Mason, Clerk of the Middlesex Court of

1 Gage's request to Brattle as published in his statement which appeared in Thomas' Massachusetts Spy on Sept. 8, 1774 and other Whig newspapers is as follows:

"Sir: As I am informed there are several military stores in your charge, at Cambridge, I beg the favour of you to send me a return of them, as soon as convenient, specifying the different sorts of each. T. Gage.—To Maj. Gen. Brattle."

Common Pleas and, with Col. Elisha Jones, a Justice of the Quorum for Middlesex County. Brattle wrote a letter to Mason authorizing delivery of the guns, and gave the keys of the Powder House to Sheriff Phips, who then returned to Boston.¹

Early the next morning, before daylight, a detachment of troops (estimated at 260-280) under the command of Col. Mattison marched through Boston to the Long Wharf where they embarked in thirteen boats from men-of-war and transports in the harbour and rowed up the Mystic River. They landed at Temple's Farm, and set out overland to the Province Powder House, an old windmill at Quarry Hill on the town boundary between Charlestown and Medford. With them were High Sheriff Phips, Judge Thomas Oliver of Cambridge, Lt. Col. of William Brattle's First Middlesex Regiment and newly sworn (August 8, 1774) as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Joseph Goldthwait, the Barracks-Master at Boston. Goldthwait was a particular friend of Col. Elisha Jones and a neighbour who for some years had rented the house and farm in Weston owned by his eldest son Col. Nathan Jones, settled in Maine at Frenchman's Bay (his harbour is still known as Jones' Cove). Without incident the troops removed the 250 half barrels of powder belonging to the Province — all that remained in the Powderhouse — to Temple's barn, from whence it was ferried safely to Boston and Castle William.²

1 See Edes' and Gill's radical Boston Gazette, which condemned this alleged misuse of government authority, Sept. 12, 1774. For Thaddeus Mason, Harvard class of 1728, see Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, p. 451. Mason made his "peace" with the rebels, and they reappointed him a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex by Sept., 1775. Ibid., p. 453.

2 For Sheriff David Phips, see (Harvard class of 1741) Ibid., Vol. XI, pp. 54-55. His is the best first-hand account of the Powder Alarm: see his Loyalist MSS.: PRO. A. O. 13:48, and his testimony, with that of his brother-in-law, Richard Lechmere, before the Loyalist Commissioners, Oct. 14, 1784, printed in Hugh Edward Egerton, The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists (1915) p. 230.

For the Goldthwait family at Weston, see the accounts of their tenancy of Col. Jones' eldest son, Lieut. Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay's Weston farm — in the papers of his cousin, Boston merchant — and Whig — John Coffin Jones, now at the Harvard Business School Library.

At Cambridge, however, collection of the two field-pieces by the troops did not proceed smoothly. The mob gathered quickly, and leaders of the Whig radicals tried to persuade local militia officers to turn out their men to "defend" the guns. One of these was the Cambridge builder and lumber dealer John Nutting, "Acting Lieutenant" of the Cambridge Company of Captain Samuel Thatcher, who had served in the last French War, beginning at the age of 17 (1757) when he had marched to the west with Col. Brattle's First Middlesex "on the alarm for the relief of Fort William Henry." "The Mob," as Nutting later wrote, "desired & insisted that as an officer of militia he should prevent the Ordnance from being removed." Nutting refused, and instead "readily assisted" Sheriff Phips.¹ There were other Tories, as well, who helped the authorities. Probably these included the young Cambridge lawyer Ebenezer Bradish, who had signed the Middlesex Lawyers' addresses to Governor Thomas Hutchinson of May and July, 1774. Bradish's horses, and some from the stables of his father, Eben Sr., landlord of the renowned Blue Anchor Tavern (one of the best known and most prosperous in Massachusetts at that time) were taken by Sheriff Phips to draw the two field-guns to Boston.²

¹ Nutting may also have "turned out" at the powder house earlier in the day. Testimony given at Halifax, N.S. on Dec. 29, 1785 says: "Receiving an Intimation from Colonel Phipps (sic) of General Gage's intention to remove the Magazine of Powder deposited at that place to Boston; and soliciting the assistance of your Memorialist, he readily assisted; notwithstanding he had been previously importuned by a Mob to head them and prevent the Removal of it." PRO. A.O. 13:51. See also: A.O. 13:75, and A.O. 12:10, ff. 65-74. One of the best sketches of any Mass. Loyalist is Samuel Francis Batchelder's The Life and Surprising Adventures of John Nutting Cambridge Loyalist, Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings, Oct., 1910, pp. 55-103.

² Bradish had already been in trouble with the Whigs like other "Addressers" of Hutchinson, and the Boston Gazette, Aug. 15, 1774, (4/2) had warned him to recant or "forthwith remove out of the said Precinct for Fear the Infection should spread any further."

Ebenezer Bradish typifies many well-to-do, moderate Tories at this time who saw their interest best served by pocketing their pride and "going over" to the Whigs. The intimidation of mob violence in Cambridge in the next few days caused Bradish to get from Sheriff Phips a published statement that "he had not the assistance of Mr. Ebenezer Bradish in removing the powder from Quarry Hill in any manner whatever." (Boston Gazette, Sept. 12, 1774. 3/2; Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 15, 1774, 2/4) Cont.

According to tradition on Sept. 1, 1774 Col. Elisha Jones of Weston raised his regiment, the Third Middlesex, to support Sheriff Phips. In any case, he was among the few senior militia officers at that time outside Boston who continued to carry out their orders - and as such added yet again to his notoriety as the standfast Tory leader who at the June, 1774 session of the General Court had opposed the sending of Massachusetts delegates to a Continental Congress at Philadelphia and carried warning of Sam Adams' secret session to Governor Gage.¹

Popular opinion of Col. Jones' stand at the time of the Powder Alarm is reflected in a curiously garbled account of the letter sent by Col. Brattle to Gage on August 29th as reported on September 1st in a letter from Boston merchant John Andrews to William Barrell at Philadelphia. "Yesterday in the afternoon," he wrote, "two hundred and eighty men were draughted from the severall regiments in the common, furnish'd with a day's provision each, to be in readiness to march early in the morning. Various were the conjectures respecting their destination, but this morning the mystery is unravell'd..." the expedition to the Powder House. But there was more to the incident than this, as Andrews went on to relate:

"The cause of this mineuvour was brought to light yesterday by mere accident. The Governor walking up the main street to dine with Brigadier Pigot of the 43rd who

Cont. n.2: and below this Bradish himself disavowed letting horses for the purpose of transporting the guns to Boston:

"Whereas it has been reported to my disadvantage, that my horses were assisting in removing the two borrowed cannon, from Cambridge to Boston, from whence they came; it is true one of them was, but when I let the horses I let them go in chaise, and did not think it was for the purpose of removing the cannon, if I had, they should not have gone about any such business, which has proved so disagreeable to my countrymen - And what Col. Phips has certified as above, with this my Declaration, I hope will be satisfactory to the public. Ebenezer Bradish"
Loc. Cit.

¹ For Col. Jones and the June, 1774 session of the General Court, see above.

improves a house just above Liberty tree, by chance or design, in pulling out his handkerchief, dropt a letter from Brigadier Brattle of Cambridge (am apt to think the latter, with a view to exculpate himself from being thought to take such a measure of his own head): the purport of which, as near as I can recollect is as follows, vizt.; —

'that being acquainted by one Captain Minot th(at) he the said Jones had been apply'd to, and urgently press'd to conduct about fifteen hundred men towards Cambridge, that he dissuaded the said Minot from complying, and told him if he did, he would be hang'd and shott for a REBELL: that he was apprehensive the PROVINCE POWDER was in danger, all other, either belonging to particular towns, or individuals, had been withdrawn. It being private property, he could not do otherwise than deliver it, and as a friend to good government he should do his utmost endeavour to preserve THAT as a sacred depositum'." ¹

¹ John Andrews in Boston to William Barrell at Philadelphia, September 1, 1774. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 8 (1865) pp. 350-351.

News of Sheriff Phips' expedition to Cambridge spread like wildfire through the countryside -- and not primarily by the volition of an alarming tale. Since the time of the Stamp Act the Whigs had missed no opportunity for setting the people against the government, conjuring grievances and political tyrannies and feeding them upon suspicion. Sam Adams was away from Boston at the Continental Congress, but in charge of the Whig leadership in Massachusetts was his disciple, the brilliant but unstable Dr. Joseph Warren, Chairman of the all-powerful Boston Committee of Correspondence. Warren lost no time in turning the situation to the advantage of the radicals, who gained strength with the recurrence of political crises. He sent the Committee of Correspondence express riders in every direction, sounding the alarm through Massachusetts to New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York and the Continental Congress at Philadelphia that British troops had taken the Province powder and field-guns and were on the move from Boston. As always, moreover, the Whigs tailoured their accounts to fit their politics, and no chance was taken for moderate counsel to prevent action: the word was that British troops had shed blood. Gage reported to London that, "Upon a Rumor propagated with uncommon Dispatch thro' the country, that the Soldiers had killed six People, and that the Ships and Troops were firing upon Boston, the whole Country was in Arms, and in motion, and numerous Bodies of the Conecticut People had made some marches before the Report was contradict'd."²

¹ Warren's own account of the Powder Alarm is in his report to Sam Adams, dated September 4, 1774. Sam Adams MSS., New York Public Library. See John Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) pp. 159-161.

² Gage to Lord Dartmouth, September 12, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92.

One of the Committee of Correspondence express riders is thought to have been Paul Revere, Boston silversmith, called by the Tories "an ambassador" from Massachusetts to the Continental Congress from his many comings and goings. In a letter to John Lamb at New York, the wine merchant and engraver with whom he "put up" on his journeys, Revere referred to the Powder Alarm:

Boston Sept 4 1774

" Dear Sr, I embrace this opportunity to inform you, that we are in Spirits, tho' in a Garrison; the Spirit of Liberty never was higher than at present; the troops have the horrors amazingly by reason of some late¹ movements of our friends in the country the week past..."

Wherever the alarm was carried Whig-controlled militia mustered with their military equipment and marched for Cambridge, collecting as they went zealots, hangers-on spoiling for a fight, and the rag-tag-and-bobtail of the countryside. "If any Thing the Women surpassed the men for Eagerness & Spirit in the Defense of Liberty by Arms," the Rev. Jonathan Judd wrote in his Diary on Sept. 5, 1774, "they scarcely left half a dozen Men in a Town, unless old & decrepid & in one To. the Landlord told him that himself² was the only man left."

¹ Paul Revere to John Lamb, Boston, September 4, 1774. Forbes, Paul Revere, p. 225.

² Diary of the Rev. Jonathan Judd, Sept. 5, 1774. Judd MSS. Forbes Library, Northampton (Mass.)

THE MOBBING OF COLONEL JONES

"The Mob at Concord, about 20 Miles from Boston, abused a Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex, & compelled him, on Pain of Death, not to execute the Precepts for a new Assembly; they making him pass through a Lane of them, sometimes walking backwards, & sometimes forward, Cap in Hand, & they beating him."

Peter Oliver, Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion ¹

By nightfall on September 1, 1774, the roads leading to Middlesex County were thronged with marchers, many of them armed, and bound as the Alarm said, for Cambridge. They came in such numbers that a sizeable army would have been needed to control them. Gage, however, taking no risk and fearing to exacerbate the discontented, held the garrison troops in Boston, confining his effort to reinforcing the guard and placing cannon by the Town Gates on Boston Neck, which commanded the landward approach along the peninsula to Roxbury. ²

The only loyal force between the advancing hordes of countrymen and the town of Cambridge - whose militia regiment, the First Middlesex, was in disarray because its commander, Col. William Brattle, had fled to Boston earlier in the day after a warning that his letter dropped in the street by Gage had been found and given to the Whig leaders ³ - was the Third Middlesex Regiment of Col. Jones.

¹ Adair and Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion, 1961, pp. 153-4. The Deputy Sheriff was Daniel Heald.

² Gage to Dartmouth, September 2, 1774. PRO. C.O. 5:92; Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe, 1903, p. 284.

³ As Brattle reached the Brighton Bridge shots were fired at him. Brattle was blamed by the Whigs for Gage's seizure of the powder and guns, and their "proof" - his letter to Gage of Aug. 29 - was published far and wide, even in Tory papers. After reaching Boston Brattle still feared for his life, and he took sanctuary at Castle William where (Cont.)

Col. Jones' force was too few to have stemmed the tide, or made an effective stand, even if all the companies - drawn as they were from the strategic half-circle of towns from Concord and Lexington on the north to the Colonel's town of Weston on the Charles River - could have been gathered in time.

Perhaps Col. Jones did raise the still loyal Weston Company to divert some of the people making their way from the west along the Post Road that ran then - as now - through the heart of the town. The confusion of happenings in the Middlesex Lanes, villages and towns on the night of September 1, 1774, and the days following, is as dark as any time involving Whig violence in all the years of the Revolution. Diaries known to have been kept in Weston at this period are blank or have been suppressed - a certain indication in Massachusetts of events shocking to Victorian - and later - descendants.

It is known, however, that through the night of September 1st the "Country Mob" foregathered at certain places outside Cambridge, apparently designated by the Committees of Correspondence and Safety. These were under the general leadership of Dr. Joseph Warren, Chairman of the Boston Committee, and in the absence at the Philadelphia

(Cont) he wrote a defense of his actions for the press: "It is assumed, I advised the Governor to remove the powder; this I positively deny, because it is absolutely false.... As I would not have delivered the Provincial powder to any one but to his Excellency, or order, so the towns stocks I would have delivered to none but the selectmen... My... grief is much lessened by the pleasure arising in my mind, from a consciousness that I am a friend to my country; and... that I really acted according to my best judgement for its true interest. I am extremely sorry for what has taken place; I hope I may be forgiven, and desire it of all that are offended, since I acted in an honest, friendly principle, though it might be a mistaken one." printed in the Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 8, 1774. Brattle, however, although when the tumult of the Powder Alarm died down felt it safe to return to Boston never saw his home at Cambridge again.

Continental Congress of the leading Massachusetts Whigs - Sam and John Adams and John Hancock - directing Whig policy and organizing this mass demonstration of popular political strength to be staged at Cambridge - whence the troops had taken ¹ the Province' guns and powder - the following day, September 2nd.

Of these gathering places one of the most important was the green at the village of Lexington, strategically located about five miles along the Boston road from the Middlesex County town of Concord, and where the Concord, Bedford, and Boston roads met. From Lexington Green it was only a short march to Cambridge, less than ten miles away by the shortest road, which lay through ² country except for the hamlet of Menotomy, about half way between.

Concord was noted for its diversity of religious and political views and a substantial Tory population that outlasted the Lexington Alarm and, indeed, the War. Lexington, on the other hand, half its size, was firmly and uniformly radical and Whig, and orthodox in religion, having but one Meeting and this presided over by a formidable political parson, the Rev. Jonas Clarke. Known for the length of his sermons in that time when they were measured by the hour-glass, and a booming voice that could be heard across the green when he preached, Clarke, prudently enough had married a grand-daughter of old "Bishop" (the Rev. John) Hancock

¹ Joseph Warren to Sam Adams, Boston, Sept. 12, 1774; Sam Adams at Philadelphia to Joseph Warren, Sept. 24, 1774, and Sept. 25, 1774, Sam Adams MSS., printed in Richard Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, (1865) pp. 375-6, 377, 378-9.

² For a description of Lexington Green at this time, see Arthur B. Tourtellot, Lexington and Concord (1963) pp. 127-129.

of Lexington, a cousin of the Boston magnate and Whig leader, who had presented Parson Clarke with a large Bible, and shown him other favours. Noted as a Whig polemicist, Clark was a trusted member of the inner circle of Whig leaders, and his friends included, besides Hancock, Sam Adams, Dr. Joseph Warren, and the Rev. Samuel Cooper. With the "Country Mob" of Middlesex County and beyond collecting at Lexington on the doorstep of his Meeting House and Manse, the Rev. Jonas Clarke was as much at the centre of events on the night of September 1-2, 1774 as he was to be seven months later at the "great" Lexington Alarm (April 18-19, 1775) when Sam Adams and John Hancock had been his house guests since the dissolution of the Second Massachusetts Provincial Congress on April 15th.¹

What news of the collecting of the Whig "country" mobs in Middlesex County reached Col. Elisha Jones at Weston from his loyal officers of the Third Middlesex, including Lt. Col. Charles Prescott of Concord, and his loyalist militia Captain Jonas Minott, also of Concord; from the "Concord Loyalists" such as the distinguished lawyer Daniel Bliss, whose house was at a great vantage point near

¹ For the Rev. Jonas Clarke, see the sketch by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIII, pp. 209-215.

the Meeting House; or from more remote informants like Dr. Joseph Adams at Townshend in north Middlesex - we do not know.

At least one Tory messenger, however, did get through the gathering knots of Whigs along the highroads to warn the Loyalists at Cambridge that a mob invasion of the town was planned for the next morning. He was Dr. Joseph Lee of Concord.¹ From the summer of 1774 at least the Tories when they could use doctors as couriers, for, having business to be out after dark they were less likely to be watched, challenged, and stopped by Whig militiamen and others "on guard" against Tory comings and goings. It may have been that Dr. Lee hid his destination by travelling to Cambridge the indirect and longer route through Col. Jones' town of Weston and Watertown. In any case, Dr. Lee kept clear of the Cambridge mob, out in force on the night of September 1st, making threatening and destructive visits to the homes of such prominent Tories as Col. William Brattle of the First Middlesex Regiment (who earlier that day had fled to Boston and Castle William) and the Provincial Attorney General, Jonathan Sewall, absent in Boston attending court. At the Sewall house the mob smashed the windows and threatened his wife and family, only agreeing to leave after Mrs. Sewall bribed them with most of the contents of the wine cellar.²

¹ For Dr. Joseph Lee of Concord, see Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, pp. 592-597.

² Ward Chipman, then studying law with Judge Sewall at Cambridge, helped to defend the house from the Whig mob. See his account of this incident in his Loyalist papers, PRO.A.O.13:50, and A.O.13:53. See also the Loyalist Memorial of Jonathan Sewall, PRO.A.O.13:48.

Dr. Joseph Lee made his way safely to the Cambridge house in Brattle Street of his cousin, Judge Joseph Lee, a prominent Middlesex Tory, who for a number of years had served with Col. Elisha Jones on the County Bench, and at Salem on August 8, 1774, had been sworn a Mandamus Councillor. Taken up by the mob on September 19th, however, Dr. Lee was forced to publish this account of his activities:

"Whereas I, Joseph Lee of Concord, physician, on the evening of the first ultimo, did rashly and without consideration make a private and precipitate journey from Concord to Cambridge, to inform Judge Lee, that the country was assembling to come down, (and on no other business,) that he and others concerned might prepare themselves for the event, and with an avowed intention to deceive the people; by which the parties assembling might have been exposed to the brutal rage of the soldiery, who had timely notice to have waylaid the roads, and fired on them while unarmed and defenseless in the dark; by which imprudent conduct I might have prevented the salutary designs of my countrymen, whose innocent intentions were only to request certain gentlemen... to resign their offices.... When I coolly reflect on my own imprudence, it fills my mind with the deepest anxiety...."

JOSEPH LEE

1

The "certain gentlemen" were the three Cambridge Mandamus Councillors, besides Judge Lee, Lt. Gov. Thomas Oliver (the President), and Judge Samuel Danforth, the most important targets of the Middlesex Mob, whose object - like that of the other Whig County Mobs in Massachusetts in the late summer

1 Printed by Lemuel Shattuck, History of the Town of Concord (1835) pp. 89-90.

and fall of 1774 - was to force the resignations not only of Mandamus Councillors, but Judges and every other holder of public office in the colony under the punitive (and allegedly unconstitutional) Parliamentary Acts.

Judge Lee did not wait to meet the mob the next day, but wrote a letter to Gage resigning his commission:

"When I qualified as a Counsellour, I did it under an apprehension that I might be serviceable to my King and Country, and that the fixing a Civil Council, agreeable to Act of Parliament, would have contributed in some measure to quiet the disturbed state of the Province and been preventive of any extraordinary exertion of power; but on the contrary I find the establishing such a Council has so universally inflamed the minds of the People of the Province, and excited such tumult and disorders in various parts of it, as threatens a catastrophe greatly to be dreaded, and exposes the Members of the Council to such continual injurys and insults as I am^{un}able to sustain. I am therefore obliged to submit to the rage of the times, and must beg Your Excellency to accept a Resignation." ¹

These views were shared by several members of the Council living outside the protection of the troops in Boston, among them the elderly Samuel Danforth, who earlier in the day (Sept.1st) frightened by the Powder Alarm and the gathering mob, had gone in to Boston and tendered his resignation to Gage. Judge Danforth

¹ Judge Lee's letter of resignation is in "Letters and Doings of the Council," p.40. Massachusetts Archives.

was back at Cambridge by the next morning (Sept.2nd.)however, when he, Judge Lee, and Sheriff David Phips were called out of the courthouse to face the Middlesex Whig mob, already several thousand strong, which had begun very early to assemble on the Common. Armed or not, the menace of numbers had its calculated effect, and Phips (who only the day before had precipitated the Powder Alarm by removing the Province stores and the two field pieces to Boston) thought, as he later testified under oath, that the Mob "meant to have destroyed him".¹

This mob of "country people" was described by the Boston Whig merchant John Andrews as "vastly more vigilant and spirited than the town" and brought to Cambridge "under their regular leaders". On the morning of September 2nd.,however, they were under the personal direction of the radical head of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, the physician Dr.Joseph Warren, and his trusted colleague Dr.Thomas Young, who had come over from Boston according to plan, and for the time being at least kept a semblance of order.²

The two judges were required to make public statements to the crowd from the courthouse steps affirming that they had submitted their resignations as Mandamus Councillors to Gage

1 For the resignation of Samuel Danforth, see John Andrews to William Barrell, September 1, 1774. Mass Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 8 (1865) p. 351. Sheriff David Phips' testimony before the Loyalist Commissioners years later, Oct. 14, 1784, still is marked by terror. Hugh Edward Egerton, The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists (1915). p. 230

2 For the events of September 2, see the account in the Essex Gazette, Sept. 6, 1774, 3/1.

and had no intent to give further service. As for Phips, a "committee" sent to talk with him reported to the mob that his part in removing the Province store of powder and guns - which had precipitated the Alarm of September 1st - "was excuseable as he had acted in conformity to his order from the commander in chief," and that he had given a written undertaking never again to perform the duties of High Sheriff of Middlesex under the "new Establishment."¹

Events at Cambridge now moved rapidly toward their designed climax of confusion, menace, and violence under the manipulation of Dr. Joseph Warren and the leaders of the Boston Committee of Correspondence. Word was spread through the crowds at Cambridge that Gen. Gage was sending out the troops - with the result that those who had left their arms outside the town went and fetched them. Meanwhile, a deputation of mob leaders went to "Elmwood," the home of Lt. Gov. Thomas Oliver, and asked him to intercede with Gage to prevent a confrontation. Oliver, as he later said, "from principles of humanity" agreed, and sent this note to Gage:

"The Town is full of People from all Quarters. I have given them assurances of no Troops coming out, and I hope no Consideration will induce you to send any such, as it will be attended with the most fatal Consequences, and particularly to your Excellency's Most Obedient Servant,

Thomas Oliver " 2

1 The statements forced from Sheriff Phips and the other officials by the mob at Cambridge, including Thaddeus Mason, Clerk of the Middlesex County Court, were printed by Edes and Gill in the Boston Gazette, on the following monday, September 5, 1774, on pages two and three.

Although the mob "excused" Phips on grounds of acting under orders in the matter of the removal of the powder, they made him publish the following statement regarding his duties as High Sheriff of Middlesex County:

"That I will not execute any Precept that shall be sent me under the New Acts of Parliament for the altering of the Constitution of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, and that I will recall all the Venires that I have sent out under the new Establishment.

Cambridge, Sept. 2nd 1774

David Phips

² Thomas Oliver to Governor Thomas Gage, Sept. 2, 1774. Gage MSS., Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Oliver himself went in to Boston, however, and returned to the mob on Cambridge Common with Gage's assurances that no troops would be sent against them. Oliver, having thus earned the approbation of the assembled people, was allowed to leave without being made to resign as a Mandamus Councillor. But it was not the plan of the Whig leaders that any holders of Mandamus Commissions should escape, and the mob engine was set going again. A new rumour that Gage's troops had after all marched out of Boston and had fired "upon the people" killing several was enough to move the mob, now several thousand strong, to Lt. Gov. Oliver's house.¹ "In the afternoon," he wrote,

"I observed large companies pouring in from different parts: I then began to apprehend they would become unmanageable; and that it was expedient, to go out of their way. I was just going into my carriage, when a great crowd advanced; and in a short time, my house was surrounded by three or four thousand people, and one quarter part in arms.

Not apprehending any abuse designed to me, I waited in my hall, when 5 persons entered, with a decent appearance, who informed me they were a Committee from the body of the People to demand my Resignation as Councillor. I reproved them with ingratitude and false dealings, and refused to hear them.... I absolutely refused to sign any paper. They desired me to consider the consequences of refusing the demands of an enraged People. I told them they might put me to death, but I would never submit. The Populace growing impatient began to press up to my windows, calling for vengeance against the Foes of their Liberty.... I could hear them from a distance, swearing they would have my blood. At this time the distresses of my Wife and Children, which I heard in the next room, called up feelings... and ... suggested to my mind the calamities which would ensue if I did not comply. I cast about to find some means of preserving my reputation. I proposed that the People should take me by force; but they urged the danger of such an expedient. I told them I

¹ A later account in the Boston Evening Post reported that Oliver himself had said the troops were coming out from Boston, and proposing to return to Boston to intercede with Gage. Oct. 3, 1774. 2/1.

Gage's report to Dartmouth of Sept. 12th suggests the use of Whig despatch riders such as Paul Revere to spread false rumours that the British troops had fired upon the citizens &c. PRO.C.O.5:92. E. Forbes, in her excellent biography Paul Revere, does not mention and "ridings" by Revere at the time of the Powder Alarm - but her omissions are always significant when "nasty" anti-Tory operations are known.

would take the risque; but they would not consent.
 Reduced to this extremity I took up the paper, and
 casting my eyes over it with a hurry of mind and conflict
 of passion which rendered me unable to remark the contents
 I wrote underneath the following words;— "My house being
 Surrounded with four thousand People, in compliance with
 their commands I sign my name

Tho. Oliver

1

Whig accounts of the Middlesex County mob at Cambridge on
 September 2nd give the impression that after the forced resignation
 of Lt.Gov. Oliver from the Council they went peaceably back to their
 homes. According to the Essex Journal of Sept.7,1774, "The
 gentlemen from Boston,Charlestown and Cambridge having provided
 some refreshment for their greatly fatigued brethren, they
 cheerfully accepted it, took leave and departed, in high good
 humor and well satisfied." In fact, however, the Middlesex mob
 split into several smaller contingents and, still under the direction
 of the Whig leaders,turned their attention to Col.Elisha Jones at
 Weston and other military and judicial officials in the county
 who thus far had refused all Whig demands that they resign their
 commissions.

If Col.Jones had warning of the mob's impending visitation,
 he neither fled to the protection of Gage's troops in Boston - as
 had many others among the Tory leaders in Massachusetts under

¹ In "Letters and Doings of the Council," 1774. Massachusetts Archives.

² Conclusion of an account in the Essex Journal,Sept.7,1774.3/2.
 On September 3, John Rowe, the Boston merchant. wrote in his Diary:
 "The People at Cambridge mostly dispersed & gone home The General(Gage)
 sent four field pieces to Boston Neck." Anne Rowe Cunningham,ed.,
The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, (1903)p.284.

similar threat by the first week in September, 1774 - nor did the Colonel call out the loyal Middlesex Militia against them. The mobbing of Elisha Jones, widely noticed by the Whigs in the press and elsewhere, took place on September third, when a mob said to have numbered more than three hundred men surrounded his mansion at Weston.

In Boston the Whig merchant John Andrews wrote in his "Diary" on September 6th:

"The famous Colonel Jones of Westown was held in durance about three hours, one day last week, and catechised by about three hundred from the contiguous towns." ¹

The practice was already well-established in Massachusetts for Whig mobs to present their chosen Tory victims with a list to answer of their alleged transgressions against the rights of the people. Even by the surviving Whig accounts Col. Jones made a good defense before the mob of his activities since returning to the General Court and Provincial politics in the spring election of 1773. According to the Essex Gazette of September 13th, published at Salem by the radical Whigs Sam and Ebenezer Hall, which carried the fullest account of the mobbing, two charges were made against Col. Jones: that he had signed an Address to Governor Thomas Hutchinson on the occasion of his departure for England; ² and that Col. Jones had been responsible for warning Gage that the House of Representatives was secretly planning to elect representatives for the proposed (First) Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and thus bringing about Gage's proclamation of dissolution.

¹ John Andrews to William Barrell, September 6, 1774. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 8 (1865) p. 356.

² For Col. Elisha Jones as a signatory of the Middlesex Magistrates' Address to Thomas Hutchinson, see above.

The Hall account is as follows:

"We are informed that some of the People lately assembled at Cambridge, on their Return the 3rd Instant, called at Col. Jones's at Weston, and complained of his having signed an Address to Governor Hutchinson. He told them the Substance or main Design of that Address was to request Mr. Hutchinson to use his Endeavours to obtain a Repeal of the Boston Port Bill, and to prevent the passing of the other Bills then depending. They then accused him of giving Information to General Gage that the late House of Representatives was about to chuse Delegates for the Congress, and so occasioned their Dissolution. He replied - - - that the first Notice he received of the Business then before the House, was from the Secretary, (Thomas Flucker) who told him that the House was about Mischief and he wanted to come at them, but the Doors were shut. The People then desired that he would take no Commission under the new Establishment, nor do any Thing to carry the late Acts of Parliament respecting this Province into Execution. He declared to them he would not. They then went off. "1

For the editor - and readers - of the Essex Gazette the particulars of this confrontation by the Middlesex mob of Col. Jones, regarded by the Whigs as the arch-traitor of the brief and stormy last session of the General Court which by Gage's order had been held (June, 1774) in their town, was of greatest interest. For Col. Jones' longer-standing journalist enemies, however, Edes and Gill of the Boston Gazette and Isaiah Thomas of the Massachusetts Spy (Boston), it was the "humbling" of this outspoken Tory leader that was the aspect of the story to be savoured. Both papers printed the following short report:

"A Correspondent informs us, that on Saturday last about three hundred men waited upon Elisha Jones, at Weston, and made his mightiness walk

1 Essex Gazette, Sept. 13, 1774. 3/3.

through their ranks with his hat off,
and express his sorrow for past offenses,
and promise not to be guilty of the like
for the future." 1

This was the first public acknowledgement by the Whigs that a Whig mob had used violence against Col. Jones: the customary punishment for recalcitrant Tories at this time was to be beaten through the "ranks" of men armed with sticks and clubbed guns while, hat-in-hand, reciting a confession of "crimes" drawn up or presented by the mob leaders. The account printed by the Boston Gazette and Massachusetts Spy, however, omitted reference to what everyone at that time knew took place on these occasions - the beating - as was the usual Whig practice in reporting such incidents, a sop to the still important moderate faction in the party who preferred the semblance at least of "legality" and were opposed to the use of force-and particularly naked force-in public for political ends.

A fellow Justice of the Peace, who lived at Middleborough in Plymouth County and who like Col. Jones witnessed at first hand Whig violence during the anarchic summer and autumn of 1774, had no political motive for suppressing any part of the truth of Tory mobbings in his later account of these brutal times. Peter Oliver,

1 Massachusetts Spy, September 8, 1774.3/3; Boston Gazette, September 12, 1774.

2 Josiah Jones later described the mobbing of his Father at Weston before Loyalist Claims Commissioner Pemberton at St. John, New Brunswick, October 21, 1786. PRO. A.O.12:10.

who married Governor Thomas Hutchinson's daughter Sally,¹ thus described the mobbing of Daniel Heald which took place soon after that of Col. Jones at Weston:

"The Mob at Concord, about 20 Miles from Boston, abused a Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex, & compelled him, on Pain of Death, not to execute the Precepts for a new Assembly; they making him pass through a Lane of them, sometimes walking backwards, & sometimes forward, Cap in Hand, & they beating him." 2

The "confession" extorted by force from Col. Jones by the Whig mob at Weston on Sept. 3, 1774, was widely published in the Whig press:

Weston, September 3, 1774

"I, Elisha Jones, Esq. do declare and say, I never have taken any Commission under the new Mode of Government set up by the late Acts of Parliament; and I promise that I never will take any Commission, nor act under the late Acts of Parliament. I also agree that the above may be put into the public News-Papers.

"In Witness whereof I have set my Hand ELISHA JONES

"I also declare that I did not recommend Governor Hutchinson. Elisha Jones" 3

1 It was Sally, Hutchinson's eldest daughter, who refused to leave her father when their house in Boston was being broken into by the drunken mob at the time of the Stamp Act Riots, on Aug. 26, 1765. See the sketch of Dr. Peter Oliver, Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XV, p. 83. The most factual accounts of the mobbing of Hutchinson are in Shipton's biography, Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 174-5, and Rev. William Gordon, History of the Independence of the United States of America, 1788, Vol. I, p. 180.

2 Adair and Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion 1961, pp. 153-154. At the time of the Powder Alarm Oliver wrote to Gov. Hutchinson: "I wish I was safe with my family out of reach of threats and insults. I never knew what mobbing was before. I am sick enough of confusion and uproar. I long for an asylum - some blessed place of refuge..." On Sept. 14, a few days later, a mob of 500 at Middleborough forced Oliver to sign a repudiation of his support of a protest against violence. Thomas Hutchinson, Diary and Letters, Boston, 1881, Vol. I, p. 247.

3 Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 8, 1774, 3/3; Boston Gazette, Sept. 12, 1774, 2/2; Essex Gazette, Sept. 13, 1774.

For the Massachusetts Tories in 1774, hunted and manhandled by Whig mobs which destroyed their property with impunity, statements like that signed by Col. Jones, made under duress, were regarded as did the English Common Law (as applied in Massachusetts Bay) all such undertakings as neither binding in law nor conscience. As a judge and magistrate, and man of conservative views, it is probable that Col. Jones included Sir William Blackstone's Commentaries on the Laws of England (first published in 1765) in his "library of Books". Certainly, whatever reservations the Colonel might have had in giving his word to the mob on September 3rd, they did not prevent him from continuing his active support of the established Government, or taking appointive office later under the Crown.¹

If Elisha Jones has been remembered by his family, friends, and enemies as a man of principle, his eldest son, Lt. Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay was the Tory from conviction — but the pragmatist for preservation of family and property. Nathan's letter to Governor Gage at Boston dated the month following the mobbing of his father at Weston, October 27, 1774, describes in detail the prevailing Tory attitude in Massachusetts toward

¹ No inventory of these books in Col. Jones' library is known to survive. But his "Library of Books" appears in the inventory of Col. Jones' "Personal Estate — Plundered and destroyed by the Rebel Army" submitted to the Loyalist Claims Commissioners in London in 1786 by one of his youngest sons, Lt. Jonas Jones of the 20th Regiment of Foot. PRO.A.O. 13:47.

Col. Elisha Jones was appointed Forage Commissioner by Gage, see below.

For conscientious Tories, it was important to have mental reservations when being forced to sign statements by the Whig mobs. See the sketch of Thomas Oliver (who succeeded Gage as acting Governor in 1775) Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XIII, p. 340.

the signing of statements under the threat of violence by a
Whig mob:

Frenchman's Bay
October 27, 1774

May it please your Excellency,

I have for some time past employed two Coasting vessels in Carrying Lumber to Boston for the Use of his Majesties Troops now stationed there, and in consequence of advice received from the Barrack Master (Joseph Goldthwait, an old family friend), was employ'd in loading a Sloop with timbers for the same purpose - which gave Offence to some Individuals who lived in the Neighbouring Towns, who with the Assistance of the Masters of several coasting Vessels belonging to Salem, Newbury, Portsmouth & etc. (turned) the minds of the People who lived within Forty miles of this Place against my proceedings. So that on the 25th and 26th Instant upwards of three hundred men with a Sloop and Several Fishing Schooners, came and took possession of my Sloop, threw part of leading overboard and stripped her of sails and rigging, then sent a Committee of Eleven Men to me with a paper who asked if I would sign the paper. I answered I would sign any paper they desired without reading the content. When asked if I would hear it read before it was signed to which I replied that they might have their pleasure well knowing it was not in my power at that time to resist. Then the paper was read and afterward sign^d by me. The content of the paper was that I should promise not to ship any more lumber for his Majesties use - by which means it is out of my power to be of any further Service in supplying his Majesty with any sort of lumber till their is some way found out to secure me from the outrages of the People as I have suffered in property already and am confident that my life would be in danger if I should send any more

I am very respectfully
Your Excellencys
Most Obedient
Humble Servt.

NATHAN JONES

1

¹ Nathan Jones to Governor Thomas Gage, Frenchman's Bay, October 27, 1774. Gage MSS., Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Prudent in the face of this sea-going Downeast Whig mob, Col. Nathan Jones resumed his customary trading with the British in Boston and in Ireland the following spring when the new season began.¹

¹ On August 30, 1775 a group of people from Deer Island "with force and violence" took Col. Nathan Jones' sloop Sally (named for his wife, Sarah Seaverns Jones) from his wharf at Jones' Cove on Frenchman's Bay as she was being loaded with a cargo of lumber for the "Enemy of the American States," together with her gundalow and hull. Nathan Jones later explained that he had chartered the sloop early in the season for a voyage to Ireland and thence to return by way of Virginia with a cargo of corn and other provisions much needed in the district. See Petition of Jonathan Tracy Jr. and 28 others to the House of Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, dated at Gouldsborough, Oct. 2, 1778 on behalf of Col. Nathan Jones. Documentary History of the State of Maine, Maine Hist. Soc. Collections, 2 Series. XIX, pp. 88-92.

Nathan Jones appears to have traded with both sides throughout the War.

THE LAST POLITICAL DEFEAT: COL. JONES AND THE
ABORTIVE PROVINCIAL ELECTION OF SEPTEMBER, 1774

"Will you be instrumental in bringing the most abject slavery on yourselves? Will you choose such Committees? Will you submit to them, should they be chosen by the weak, foolish, turbulent part of the country people?— Do as you please: but, by HIM that made me, I will not.-- No, if I must be enslaved, let it be by a King at least, and not by a parcel of upstart, lawless Committee-men. If I must be devoured by the Jaws of a lion, and not gnawed to death by rats and vermin."

The Rev. Samuel Seabury, Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress... 1774 1

On September 1, 1774, before the rioting and violence of the Powder Alarm began, Gage as Governor of Massachusetts had issued a proclamation for the towns, according to the Charter, to elect representatives to a General Court to meet as had the 2 last session of June, 1774 at the Salem Town House, on October 5th. No call for an election would appear to have been worse timed, coming as it did after a summer of growing civil unrest: of the meetings in July and August of successively more radical conventions of the Whig Committees of Correspondence each with its set of seditious resolves; of the beginning of the concerted Whig campaign to use the country mobs with their weapons of intimidation and violence to prevent the reopening, one by one, of the County Courts and to force the resignation - or flight to the safety of Gage's Boston - of Judges, Sheriffs and other provincial government officials; and of the many illegal Town Meetings held after August 1st in defiance of the Massachusetts Government Act even in such Tory

1 The Rev. Samuel Seabury, Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia September 5, 1774: wherein their Errors are Exhibited... and the only Means Pointed out for Preserving and Securing our Present Happy Constitution... By a Farmer New York, 1774, p. 18.

2 Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Sept. 2, 1774. PRO. C.O.5:92.

strongholds as Col. Elisha Jones' Weston (on August 22nd.).¹

The great difficulties and weaknesses of Gage's government at the end of the summer of 1774, moreover, were no more fully exposed to public view than in the Governor's own mishandled confrontation with the Salem Whigs on August 24th, barely a week before he was to issue the proclamation for a Provincial election. On this occasion Gage, who had spent most of the summer in his country residence at Danvers (near Salem), even with the support of the 59th Regiment encamped by the fort on Winter Island and marched with arms into the very heart of Salem, had failed to stop an illegal Town Meeting from choosing delegates to the Whig Ipswich County Convention, summoned by the Salem and other Committees of Correspondence "to consider of and determine on such measures as the late Acts of Parliament and our other grievances render necessary." Within sight and sound of the government troops the Salem Whigs quickly held their meeting at the appointed time in the Town House (next door to the First Church of Col. Jones' son-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar), and chose six delegates to the Ipswich County Convention, while Gage, who meanwhile had sent for the Salem Committee of Correspondence, was informed that they had no power to disperse the meeting. Gage's answer, as recorded by the Secretary of the Salem Committee of Correspondence, Timothy Pickering Jr., says much of the Governor's futile determination to preserve his authority - and of his lack of political flexibility:

"He told us he should not enter into a discourse about the matter, he came here to execute the laws, not dispute about them, & he determined to execute them. For the law he referred us to the Attorney General (Jonathan Sewall) & Col. (William) Browne (who still commanded the Essex County Regiment) 2 who

1 For the Weston Town Meeting of August 22, 1774, see above.

2 Col. William Browne (Harvard, 1755) a judge of the Superior Court and one of the richest men in Massachusetts with a share in the Muscongus Patent (Maine) for many years had represented Salem in the General Court. He had lost his seat voting for the Government to "rescind" the notorious "Circular Letter" protesting against the Townshend Duties sent by the House to the other Colonies in 1768. Browne was forced to flee to Boston after the Town Meeting affair of August 24th, 1774, and Timothy Pickering Jr. was soon afterward "elected" by the Whigs as Colonel of his Essex Regiment. At the Evacuation of Boston he sailed for England with Howe's despatches; later (1781) Governor of Bermuda. PRO. A.O. 13:43, A.O. 13:50.

were present. He concluded by telling us if the people did not disperse, the Sheriff (of Essex County, Col. Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill)¹ would go first, & if he was disregarded and needed support, that he would support him. This he uttered with much vehemence." 2

As it happened, however, the Whigs at Salem Town House had made short work of their business of electing delegates to the Ipswich Convention,³ and the troops were ordered quietly to retire from Salem. Gage's authority was further seen to be eroded the next day when on the Governor's order Col. Peter Frye of the Essex Militia arrested the Salem Committee of Correspondence for "unlawfully and seditiously causing people to assemble without leave from the Governor..." - and all but two of the Committee refused to give bond as a surety for future behaviour despite threats that they would be sent to England for trial.⁴

If Col. Jones had no part in the Town House Meeting Affair of August 24-25 1774, several members of his family are known to have been in Salem at that time. The Rev. Asa and Mary (Polly) Dunbar, whose First Church adjoined the Town House and whose Manse was nearby, were probably witnesses to much of the "goings-on," as were most able-bodied inhabitants of any Massachusetts town when anything extraordinary was happening. Dunbar had returned to Salem only two days before from a visit (by sea) lasting several weeks to his brother-in-law Col. Nathan Jones at Jones' Cove on Frenchman's Bay in Maine.⁵ Probably Dunbar did not attend the

1 A veteran of the French Wars (in 1759 Lt. Col. under Brig. Ruggles at Ticonderoga and Crown Point) he was to serve under Ruggles during the Siege of Boston commanding a company of Loyalists. Saltonstall remained at Haverhill "until Sept. 1774," as he later wrote, "when such were the outrages and lawless violence of the populace, under the influence of committees of correspondence, and other unconstitutional bodys, that he found himself under the mortifying necessity of repairing to Genl. Gage at Boston." PRO. A. O. 13:49. The fullest sketch is in Robert E. Moody, ed., The Saltonstall Papers, 1607-1815 (1972), pp. 61-98.

2 Timothy Pickering to Boston Committee of Correspondence, Aug. 25, 1774. Pickering MSS, Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. V.

3 Timothy and John Pickering, Richard Derby, Jonathan Ropes, Jonathan Gardner, and Richard Manning. Gilbert Streeter, "Salem Before the Revolution," E. I. H. C. Vol. 32, 1896, p. 82.

4 Timothy Pickering was one of the two Committeemen who "gave their recognizance" to avoid "tumult and carnage." Pickering's account, see Pickering MSS, Mass. Hist. Soc., Vol. V, p. 12.

5 Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," Am. Antiq. Soc., August, 1774.

controversial Town Meeting of August 24th: his wife Mary Jones Dunbar was a thoroughgoing Tory¹ (to the end of her days), and Dunbar himself was among the minority of Congregational ministers in latter-day Colonial Massachusetts who tried to remain neutral in politics. This, moreover, despite the continuing blandishments of the Salem Whigs, notable among whom was an old friend, the leader of the Radical faction and Secretary of the Committee of Correspondence - Timothy Pickering Jr. (Pickering, it must be said, had preceeded Dunbar at Harvard and been instrumental - with his Tory father - in making Dunbar the "call" to his pastorate at the socially prominent and historic First Church.²)

One of Col. Jones' older sons, who was not often at Salem, was in town at the end of August, Daniel, a Harvard lawyer who had settled at Hinsdale on the Connecticut River and since 1771 had served as Chief Justice of the Cheshire County Court of Common Pleas. A leading New Hampshire Tory and polemicist³ and supporter of Governor John Wentworth, Judge Daniel Jones very possibly made the long trip to Salem in part at least - as did other influential Tories from all over New England - to make a first-hand political report to Gage: through the Revolution he was to act as a secret Government agent, organizing Tory activities along the Connecticut Valley and passing on information.⁴

1 In his sketch of Asa Dunbar, Harvard Class of 1767, Clifford Shipton thought it doubtful that Mary contributed to the £114 raised by the First Church of Salem to help the poor and those put out of work by the operation of the Boston Port Bill. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVI, p. 461.

2 There are a number of references to Pickering in Dunbar's MSS. "Diary" and Commonplace Book. (Am. Antiquarian Soc., Worcester); and see the Timothy Pickering MSS, vols 17 and 18, Mass. Historical Society.

3 There is no full-length biography of Judge Daniel Jones; the fair and scholarly sketch by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIV, pp. 445-7, makes no use of English or Canadian sources, nor his Tory writings, such as the satire on the spate of Whig resolves, "The Hinsdale Resolves for Fashion's Sake," drafted in his capacity as Town Clerk and published in Ezekiel Russell's new (June 24, 1774) Tory paper the Salem Gazette on July 8, 1774. 3/1.

4 There are references to these in the Loyalist papers of his brothers notably Josiah, Ephriam, Jonas, and Stephen Jones: PRO. A. O. 13:47, 50, 74.

The very weakness of Gage's administration, even at Salem, the temporary seat of Government since June, 1774 and the closing of the port of Boston, protected as it was by detachments of regular troops, was the argument for speed in implementing fully the Charter reforms designed to strengthen the authority of government and reestablish the rule of law as set forth by Parliament in the "Act for the better regulating the Government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England."¹ This was not to deny, however, that there were a number of politically influential men among the Tories in Massachusetts - including Col. Elisha Jones of Weston - who had reservations about the provisions of the "Massachusetts Government Act," while sharing the fundamental Tory belief of achieving reform in the way of the English Constitution using the law rather than violence, and revolution. Among these were Tories (as at the time of the Stamp Act) who worked actively² to achieve repeal, by persuasion on both sides of the Atlantic, and by removing the causes of Parliamentary punishment, such as Boston merchant George Erving who had been a leader in the Tory effort to form a consortium to indemnify the East India Company for the tea spilled into Boston harbour on the night of December 16, 1773, and who, with Erving, supported the established government of Massachusetts as it was by accepting Royal appointment as Mandamus Councillors. Col. Jones, who was intimate with Gage, the fellow soldier of the French Wars, as he never had been with Thomas Hutchinson, the Massachusetts politician, however, never became a member of the "New" Council (as it was called by Gage and the Tories), preferring the principled role of private adviser, while actively continuing as a leader in the fight against the Whig revolutionaries in town and provincial politics.³

¹ 14 Geo. III, Cap. 45.

² In a letter to John Pownall, Dec. 23, 1768, Sir Francis Bernard made several suggestions for constitutional reforms in Massachusetts, including Crown appointment of the Council (to break the political control there of the Whig majority in the House, which under the Charter chose its members). Francis Bernard Papers, Harvard, Vol. VII, pp. 249-40. As a friend political supporter and business colleague of Bernard, Col. Jones may have been well acquainted with Bernard's many ideas for governmental reform in Massachusetts Bay. He was a signer of the Address of the Middlesex County Justices to Hutchinson on his departure in which the Governor was urged to support repeal. See above.

³ For Erving, see John Andrews to William Barrell, May 18, 1774. M.H. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. VIII, (1864-5) pp. 327-30. Col. Jones as an adviser to Gage, Josiah Jones to Loyalist Commissioners, Annapolis Royal, N.S., Oct. 21, 1786, PRO. A.O. 13:47.

At the critical time of September 1, 1774, Councillor Richard Lechmere,¹ the influential merchant and Boston distiller, described the anarchic situation in Massachusetts Bay and the savage Whig campaign then in progress to force the resignations of Tories appointed to the Council by Gage in a letter to his London agents Lane, Son, and Fraser:

"I am really much concern'd for you gentlemen who have large sums of money due to you from this country; for the present there appears to be an entire stop put to our Courts of Justice. One of the Judges have been pull'd from his seat in the County of Berkshire, and the Court which meets at Worcester this day week is threatned with the same treatment. You can have no idea of the unhappy scituation of this country, and the danger the friends of government and good order are expos'd to from the licentious infatuation that has universally spread itself through this Province in particular, and generally throughout the continent. 1500 men, mostly under arms, attacked M^r Payne of Worcester, (2) one of the new Council, and extorted a promise from him to resign his seat at the Board; from him they went to Rutland to Collo Murray, (3) but he being from home (at Boston) I dont find they did anything there. Brigdr (Timothy) Ruggles has been hunted, (4) and oblig'd to take asylum here also; and several others have been oblig'd to do the same. Collo Leonard of Taunton (5) had six balls and some shot fir'd into his house. Sunday night was a week, there was a vast number surrounded his house, but by having a few hours notice he had time to come to town."

1 Richard Lechmere married a sister of the High Sheriff of Middlesex, David Phips (his mother was Ann Winthrop), and remained in Boston until the Evacuation (March 17, 1776) when he sailed to Halifax and thence to England where he died in 1813, aged 87. See Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, pp. 413-4; and his Loyalist papers, PRO.A.O.13:47 and A.O.13:74.

2 Timothy Paine remained at Worcester where he died, July 17, 1793. Sabine, Loyalists in the American Revolution, (1864) Vol. II, p. 143.

3 Col. John Murray, a Tory refugee in Boston, served in the Loyal Associators in the same patrol as Sir William Pepperell. Settled in New Brunswick after the War, first sheriff of York County. Died at St. John, Aug. 30, 1794. Col. Murray was a friend of Col. Elisha Jones, and their sons who were contemporaries at Harvard served together through the war in Governor Wentworth's Volunteers and Benjamin Thompson's King's American Dragoons. PRO.A.O.13:75. Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, (1930), 217.

4 For Ruggles' mobbing at Hardwick, Plymouth County, and Freetown, see Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. IX, (1732) pp. 213-215.

5 Daniel Leonard of Taunton is best known as the author of the Tory "Massachusetts" articles. (See below) He served on the Council in Boston through the Siege, and with the Associators. PRO.A.O.13:47; 13:74.

Lechmere went on to deplore the weakness of the Government in Massachusetts, and the loose drafting and absence of sanctions in the Massachusetts Government Act:

"They (the Whigs) have compell'd several others to resign, and we fear this matter, together with their continually calling town meetings through the Province, without paying any regard to the Act of Parliament, will finally produce some fatal consequences. I am truly sorry that the Act is so very imperfect, it is very easily evaded in several parts of it, but one capital mistake, or rather neglect, they have not annexed any penalty for the breach of any part of it, so that upon the whole our Govr is exceedingly embarrass'd and knows not how to conduct in the matter, and withal, we have not half sufficient troops to carry into execution any great plan. Where these things will finally end God knows, but it is the fears of every good man that much blood will be spilt before this country will be reduc'd to a proper sense of subordination, and restor'd to its former state of good order. This is a sad alternative, but it appears to me nothing short of it will ever reduce my deluded countrymen to their senses. If government do not pursue what they have undertaken, they must give over all thoughts of any authority over the colonies, and leave¹ them to do as they think proper for the time to come..."

It is probable that these views of Richard Lechmere were shared at least by a majority of the New Council that the day before (August 31st) had met with Gage to consider plans² for holding a Provincial election. The effectiveness of the Whig campaign of intimidation and mob violence to force the resignation of members of the New Council - as described by Lechmere - was demonstrated in the small number of men who had

¹ Richard Lechmere to Lane, Son, and Fraser in London. September 1, 1774. Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings, 2nd. Ser., Vol. XVI, pp. 287-288.

² The matter of holding a Provincial election had been considered at the meeting of the Council on August 16th. Gage reported to Lord Dartmouth on August 27, 1774: "It was the unanimous opinion of the Council that an Assembly should be called as early as possible, and Writs will be issued for their Meeting by the latter End of October." PRO.C.O. 5:92.

not resigned their commissions and had been able to attend - fourteen - apart from the President, Lieut. Gov. Thomas Oliver, and Gage.¹

It was on the recommendation of the New Council that Gage the following day (September 1st) issued his proclamation calling for a Provincial election held according to the Massachusetts Charter (through the election of representatives by the Town Meetings) for a General Court to meet at Salem on October 5th. It is important to note that Gage's report of the Council meeting to Lord Dartmouth, dated September 2nd., was written as the Whig mass demonstrations and rioting at Cambridge during the great "Powder Alarm" were reaching their climax and the political situation in the colony was seen to have taken yet another (and this time decisive) turn downward toward complete anarchy. How much this despatch of Gage was darkened by later events we do not know, but he warned that in the circumstances there was little chance that the Massachusetts Government Act could be made to work. It was, he said, "uncertain whether the People will chuse representatives, but we may be assured if chosen, that they will not act with the New Council, and its supposed the Project (Whig) has been to annihilate said Council before Meeting, to throw the refusal upon the Governor to act with the Old Council elected last Sessions," that is in May, 1774.²

¹ Only one of the New Council who had not been able to attend would be successful in withstanding Whig pressure to resign, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, the "fighting squire" of Marshfield, who organized Tory resistance to Whig mobs in Plymouth County and kept the rule of Government there until April, 1775. See below, "The Tories take arms..." Thomas' Loyalist papers are in PRO. A.O.12:10ff.56-63; A.O.12:61,f.10; A.O.13:51, A.O.13:74. See Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 2, 1774. PRO.C.O.5:92.

² Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 2, 1774. PRO. C.O. 5:92. In a second despatch of September 2nd Gage nominated three more men to the Council as replacements for members forced by the Whig mobs to resign: John Vassall of Cambridge (with large plantations in the West Indies; m. to Elizabeth, sister of Lieut. Gov. Thomas Oliver); Eliakim Hutchinson (Harvard 1730, m. a daughter of former Gov. William Shirley; he d. in Boston during the Siege in the terrible winter of 1775); and Nathaniel Hatch (of Dorchester, Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for Suffolk County, and a colonel of militia).

Whig strategy, however, despite the boycott of the Massachusetts Government Act, was to allow Gage's Provincial election of Town Representatives to take place, and the House also to meet as the Governor appointed at Salem on October 5th.¹ The Whig objective - which became apparent as Whig-controlled Town Meetings held their elections and instructed their representatives to the Salem meeting of the House on October 5th - was not only to force an open political conflict between the Old and New Councils, (as foreseen by Gage),² but to juxtapose a rival Whig "legislative body" to the House also made up of elected town delegates and appointed to meet a week later, at Concord on October 11th. This was the much-heralded Massachusetts Provincial Congress called for by the succession of resolves adopted by the Whig town and county congresses (of the committees of correspondence) modeled upon those of the Suffolk Convention that had met at Faneuil Hall on August 26, 1774 to coordinate Whig policy throughout the colony.³

1 From the First Continental Congress Sam Adams wrote to Dr. Joseph Warren, Chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and directing Whig policy in his absence: "If the only Constitutional Council, chosen last May, have honesty and courage enough to meet with the representatives chosen by the people by virtue of the last writ, and jointly proceed to the public business, would it not bring the Governor to such an explicit conduct as either to restore the general assembly, or give the two Houses a fair occasion to declare the (governor's) chair vacant?" Richard Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren (1865). p. 377. See directions for the election sent to town and county committees of Correspondence by the Boston Committee: to Berkshire County Committee, Sept. 24, 1774: "We forward you a copy of the Proceedings of this & the Neighbouring Countys wherein we are universally of Opinion that 'tis best to send as many Representatives as the Charter & Province Laws allow & them to instruct not to dissolve themselves but to form a provincially Congress there to consult & execute Measures that concern the internal Government of ye Province..." Boston Committee of Correspondence MSS, George Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library.

2 By Sept. 25th, Gage was looking for a way to postpone the election, as he wrote to Dartmouth: "Many members are chosen for the General Court that was appointed to meet at Salem on the 5th of next Month, and I have Information that the Old Council has been summoned to attend there. The New Council appointed by the King who have taken refuge in this Town, dare not attend at Salem, unless escorted there, and back again by a large Force, which as affairs are circumstanced will answer no End, the Assembly will not act with them, and I cannot act with the old Council, so that Nothing but Confusion can arise from a Meeting of the General Court; on which Account I mean to fall on Measures to postpone the Sessions, PRO.C.O.5:92.

It was the ultimate design of Sam Adams, directing Whig policy from the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, and other Massachusetts Bay Whig leaders, notably Dr. Joseph Warren who as chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence coordinated the activities of the Whig town and county committees through the autumn of 1774, that the Provincial Congress should usurp the functions of the House of Representatives (and where possible absorb its members) as the first great step in forming a Whig revolutionary government in Massachusetts Bay.¹

3. Cont. The Suffolk Convention that had met at Faneuil Hall on August 26, 1774 was called at the suggestion of the Worcester County Convention of Whig delegates for the purpose of working out and coordinating the policy and activities of the Whig County Conventions, and included representatives from Suffolk (Boston), Worcester, Essex, and Middlesex Counties. Under the chairmanship of Dr. Joseph Warren - chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence - the Suffolk Convention adopted a set of resolves that were used as a pattern for those of the Whig town and county congresses that followed in August and September, 1774. See John Cary, Joseph Warren (1961), pp. 150-151.

1 There was much discussion among Whig leaders about the form the "new government" in Massachusetts should take, and especially whether to have a modified form of the "Old Charter" (i.e. of 1629) whereby the Governor had been elected by the Assistants (Council), or to find some entirely new system. Dr. Joseph Warren, who had been elected Chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, reported to Sam Adams on Sept. 12th: "Many among us, and almost all in the western counties, are for taking up the old form of government, according to the first charter. It is exceedingly disagreeable to them to think of being obliged to contend with their rulers, and quarrel for their rights every year or two. They think this must always be the case in a government of so heterogeneous a kind as that under which they have lived. They say, too, that no security can be given them that they shall enjoy their estates without molestation, even if the late charter should be again restored in all its parts, since the possession of their lands may be rendered precarious by any alterations in the charter which the Parliament shall think fit to make.

"Other persons, more especially in the eastern counties, think that it will be trifling to resume the old charter. They say that the connection between the king and the people is dissolved by his breaking the compact made between them; and they have now a right to form what government they please, and make such proposals of a certain limited subjection to the king, as they shall judge convenient, which he may accept or reject as he pleases." Dr. Joseph Warren to Sam Adams, Sept. 12, 1774. Frothingham, Life and Times of Joseph Warren, (1865), pp. 375-376.

Because for the time being unity of the colonies - and a majority at the Continental Congress - depended upon Whig Mass. being seen to be acting defensively, Sam Adams advised using a modified version of the New (1692) Charter (which was done by First Provincial Congress in Oct., 1774) S. Adams to Jos. Warren, Sept. 24, 1774. Warren-Adams Letters, MHS Collections, III, 1925, pp. 156-7.

The choice for Tories in the autumn and winter of 1774-1775 was not just between safety from Whig mobs by resignation of commissions and withdrawal from public life,¹ or flight to Boston to keep Crown offices, trusting to Gage's troops to put down the rebellion in the spring.² There was a third but more dangerous and trying than the others: that of remaining at home, giving undertakings to "resign" office when faced by Whig violence, in the meanwhile openly (when there was opportunity) and secretly (when there was not) organizing Tory resistance and support for Government, political and in the Town Meetings at the time of the election of September, 1774, but later also military as the violence of the Whig "country" mobs increased and to reinforce them the Whigs, who by forcing the resignation of Tory officers seized control of the militia regiments - and turned them as well against the Tories.³

It was to the third group that Col. Elisha Jones of Weston and most of his wide-spreading Tory clan of Joneses and Williamses belonged, settled as they then were in Middlesex, the western

¹ These included several in Col. Elisha Jones' family: his cousin Judge John Jones of Dedham, Lt. Col. of the Third Middlesex Regiment (South Part) - geographically adjoining Col. Elisha Jones' regiment, the Third Middlesex, in towns to the north. See Stephen Badger to James Bowdoin, Natick, Aug. 30, 1776. Peter Force, American Archives, Series 5, Vol. I, p. 1232.

² Brig. Timothy Ruggles, who had himself accepted appointment to the Mandamus Council, and was forced to leave his home at Hardwick by a Whig mob in August, 1774, spoke scathingly of men who refused the Royal Commission to save their property - he warned the Government not to appoint smugglers in their places, who, he said, had been the cause of most of the trouble with England. Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Sketch of Ruggles, class of 1732, Vol. IX, p. 214.

³ Among this group, with their father, Col. Elisha Jones, were Elisha the younger, an older son, Captain of militia at Pittsfield, a Tory leader in the Housatonic Valley, who later, for refusing to call out his men for the planned rebel attack on Ft. Ticonderoga at the beginning of May, 1775, was imprisoned at the Berkshire County jail at Great Barrington; the eldest son, Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay, a Lt. Col. of militia in Lincoln County, also remained on his lands and worked actively against the rebels. See the Diary of Dr. Elihu Ashley of Deerfield, now at the P.V.M.A. Library, Deerfield; Jones Loyalist papers, in PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:74.

Massachusetts counties of Hampshire and Berkshire, the upper Connecticut River Valley in New Hampshire, and along the Maine coast in "downeast" Lincoln County. Family groupings such as these - of the greatest significance in the political as well as social and economic life of Colonial Massachusetts - were to be the mainstay of Tory organization and intelligence throughout the conflict. (Although most well-established and prosperous families like these had "defectors" among the cousins, political and otherwise, Tory or Whig they were most often comparatively few.)¹

In the political campaign of September, 1774, the Whig press gave most attention to stirring public support for the election of Town delegates to the Whig Provincial Congress to meet at Concord on October 11th. With Sam Adams at the Continental Congress, safely "out of sight of the steeples of Boston," moreover, the Whigs were without their great propagandist.² After July 25th and during his absence in Philadelphia, Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette printed no more political attacks upon Col. Elisha Jones. In the July article PRAEDICUS had accused the Colonel of being the "Manager of (a) new Scheme of Corruption... to buy the Votes and Interest

1 The Joneses, too, had their Whigs, the most notable being the son of Col. Elisha Jones' Tory cousin, Capt. Ichabod Jones (bapt. at Weston, May 26, 1717) the Boston merchant and shipowner (who nevertheless after the Stamp Act repeal had been one of the Boston merchants who had subscribed for the silver gallon punchbowl made for the Sons of Liberty to commemorate the refusal of the "glorious 92" to rescind the Circular letter sent to the other colonies by the Massachusetts House in 1768 in defiance of the Governor's order - his name is one of the 15 engraved just below the rim) John Coffin Jones. J.C. Jones (Harvard, 1768) moved his business to Newburyport when the Boston Port was closed in the summer of 1774, and through the war engaged in fitting out privateers and vessels for the ill-fated sea attack on the Loyalist and British base at Penobscot in July, 1779 - where Col. Elisha Jones' son, Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay was one of the Loyalist defenders. J.C. Jones after the War was elected to the Society of the Cincinnati, and had a distinguished public career. The best biography is Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVII, pp. 49-54.

2 Sam Adams left Boston for Philadelphia on August 9th.

at Elections of "Persons in the Country..." ¹

How much fact there was in this allegation of Sam Adams' probably will never be known. ² In the autumn and winter of 1774-1775 the Country Tories, for fear of the Whig mobs (and later the Whig-controlled Militia) were increasingly careful about revealing anything of their political organization. With their own local "committees of correspondence" (whose membership, again, appears largely to have been kept secret, particularly with the sharply increasing risks after the Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774) the Tories had a web of informants and couriers, at the least, to rival that of the Whigs. ³

It is probable that Col. Elisha Jones (who in November raised a Loyalist Militia Company) was one of the promoters of the Tory Covenants for the suppression of "Mobs and Riots" by joint action of signers who were law-abiding inhabitants of the same town or district that the Tory "Committees" circulated in rural Massachusetts Bay during the autumn of 1774. These Covenants, for a time at least, were to some degree effective in preventing Whig mobs and renegade Militia companies from "forming" or "invading" Tory strongholds such as Deerfield, where Col. Jones' nephew Dr. Thomas Williams, leader of the Deerfield Tories, was still Town Clerk in 1774. At a meeting called the beginning of September after a mob led by Joseph

1 Boston Gazette, July 25, 1774. 3/1. See above.

2 For Sam Adams' slippery way with fact, see Clifford Shipton, sketch of Adams in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1740, Vol. X, and notably p. 444: "In his denunciations of the Crown and the Loyalists he took into consideration neither the truth nor the literal meaning of the words which he used; his exaggerations were so wild that ridicule was the only possible method of answer, and that, of course, was dangerous."

3 The best evidence of these activities is in the "Diaries" (not letters for these with such information, being dangerous, were destroyed) kept away from censors through generations in the attics of Tory families such as that of Col. Jones' relation, Dr. Elihu Ashley (1750-1817) of Deerfield, an active participant, now at the library of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield. For the protection of informants Gage seldom mentions them in his official correspondence. "...it might be dangerous to many, who have transmitted me any Intelligence," he wrote to Lord Dartmouth on Sept. 12, 1774, "if their Names are made known; and they are surrounded and watched, so that few dare do it." PRO.C.O.5:92

Stebbins had seized storekeeper Phineas Munn and forced him to "make his confession" of being a Tory, a Tory Covenant to prevent "Mobs and Riots" was voted to be adopted and was signed by many of the inhabitants of Deerfield. Copies of this Covenant, written out by Elihu Ashley, son of the Tory parson, the Rev. Jonathan Ashley, and studying medicine with his cousin Dr. Thomas Williams, were sent to Tories in Amherst, Hatfield, and other Hampshire County towns.¹

Through the autumn and winter of 1774-1775 Tories and Whigs were about evenly divided at Deerfield, and consequently (as usually happened in such cases) no Representative (of either faction) was voted by Town Meeting to attend the General Court called by Governor Gage at Salem on October 5th. Meanwhile the Rev. Jonathan Ashley continued to fan the hostility of the Whigs (who were not strong enough to carry a vote in Meeting to dismiss him) by preaching that anarchy was a sin, and that the mobs continually being raised by the Whig Committees of Correspondence were reducing the colony of Massachusetts Bay to a state of chaos. It may have been the Deerfield parson who wrote at this time:

"Oh, Tempora, all Nature seems to be in Confusion;
every person in fear of what his Neighbour will do²
to him. Such times were never seen in New England."

1 "Diary" of Dr. Elihu Ashley, Sept. 8, 1774. MSS at P.V.M.A. Library, Deerfield. For the Whig Joseph Stebbins, see the sketch by his descendant George Sheldon, the noted historian of Deerfield: "Joseph Stebbins: A Pioneer in the Outbreak of the Revolution," Massachusetts Magazine, IX, no. 2 (April, 1916) pp. 59-72.

2 On Jan. 27, 1775, Samuel Williams wrote to Dr. Elihu Ashley (then at Worthington, Mass.):

"If you know how affairs go on at Deerfield, all that I can tell you is, that Whig and Tory about equally divide the Town, they had a meeting there this week, voted not to give your Father (Tory parson the Rev. Jonathan Ashley) any Sallary for this years preaching."

P.V.M.A. Library, Deerfield. George Sheldon did not "name" the "Tory" - presumably, as the practice then was, out of courtesy to descendants still living in Deerfield. A History of Deerfield, Vol. II, 1896 (2nd edn. 1972) p. 683.

Wherever the Whigs succeeded in gaining the upper hand in a town (that is "legally" by raising a majority of votes in Town Meeting) the Tory Covenants for opposing "Mobs and Riots" were repudiated, expunged from Town records if entered there, and the luckless signers forced to make public retraction. And often worse, as, for example, in Plymouth County:

"All the Plimouth Protesters against Riots, as also all the military Officers, were compelled by a Mob of 2000 Men collected from that County & the County of Barnstable to recant & resign their military Commissions. Although the Justices of the Peace were then sitting in the Town of Plimouth, yet the Mob ransack'd the House of a Mr. Foster, a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, a Man of 70 Years of Age, which obliged him to fly into the Woods to secrete himself, where he was lost for some Time and was very near to the loosing of his Life. Afterwards, they deprived him of his Business, & would not suffer him to take the Acknowledgement of a Deed." 1

In Col. Jones' county of Middlesex, the September election of 1774 was held everywhere under the threat or actuality of Whig violence, the Tory Covenants against "Mobs and Riots" apparently counting for little, as at the nearby town of Concord:

"The Mob at Concord, about 20 Miles from Boston, abused a Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex, & compelled him, on Pain of Death, not to execute the Precepts for a new Assembly; they making him pass through a Lane of them, sometimes walking backwards, & sometimes forward, Cap in Hand, & they beating him." 2

1 Adair and Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion (1961) p.154. Boston paper quoted, Draper's Massachusetts Gazette, Feb. 23, 1775.

2 Loc. Cit. This beating of a Tory, the Whigs using "staves" or willow switches, was typical of the period. Compare with the report in the radical Whig Massachusetts Spy of Isaiah Thomas, Sept. 8, 1774, of the beating of Col. Jones - with the violence left out as was the Whig practice to exculpate themselves.

It is significant that Col. Elisha Jones' town of Weston did not hold an election Town Meeting until September 29th, a full week after Boston had chosen its representatives for the Salem Assembly — and one day after Governor Gage had taken the extraordinary step of cancelling the Writs of Election. In his Proclamation, dated September 28, 1774, Gage referred to "the many tumults and disorders which have since (his call for an election on September 1st) taken place, the extraordinary resolves which have passed in many of the counties, the instructions given by the Town of Boston, and some other Towns, to their Representatives, and the present disordered and unhappy state of the Province..." 1

As later events in such Tory towns as Col. Jones' Weston, and Deerfield, were to show, Gage's intervention in the election — which the Whigs were quick to portray as an arbitrary and unlawful exercise of government powers — apparently raised fears in the minds of the electorate, and with the result that the political balance in some, if not all, Tory and narrowly-divided towns was further shifted in favour of the Whigs. Weston was among those conservative towns in which, nevertheless, there had been enough concern to preserve the hallowed Charter principle of local control of Town Meetings — the summoning of which and other powers had been arrogated to the

1 Gage's proclamation of Sept. 28, 1774, was printed by the Whigs in William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835) pp. 3-4. See Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Oct. 3, 1774, transmitting a copy. PRO.C.O.5:92. On Sept. 12th Gage, after the worst rioting of the Powder Alarm, had warned Dartmouth "they talk of fixing a Plan of Government of their Own, and as far as it can be seen, nothing less than the conquest of almost all the New England Provinces will procure Obedience to the Late Acts of Parliament for regulating the Government of the Massachusetts Bay." Ibid.

Governor under the Massachusetts Government Act - for the Whigs to have been successful in calling an unauthorized (i.e.illegal) Town Meeting on August 22nd. The Town Records show,however, that beyond this public assertion of constitutional principle only routine matters of town government were dealt with, and that the Whigs were not strong enough even to place the matter of appointing a Town Committee of Correspondence on the agenda.¹ Similarly, the calling of a Town Meeting at Weston on the afternoon of the day following the Governor's proclamation of nullity and only six days before the General Court had been appointed to meet at Salem would seem to indicate the failure of Col.Jones and the Weston Tories to carry through the policy customarily adopted in narrowly-divided towns for preventing a politically hostile town representative from being chosen by such expedients as carrying a vote against sending a representative to a session of the General Court, or a successful public campaign to oppose the "Lawful Warning" of an election Town Meeting.²

As the leading Weston Tory, and town representative in the General Court for the preceeding sessions of 1774, and 1773,³ Col.Elisha Jones ordinarily would have been expected to be a

1 At the previous Weston Town Meeting of January 13,1774, a Whig proposal for the town to appoint a Committee of Correspondence had been "Passed in the Negative by a very great Majority."Mary Peirce,ed., Town of Weston Records...p.198.For the Town Meeting of Aug.22,1774, see Ibid., pp.205-207.

2 Ibid.,p.207. It was the established practice for the General Court to fine towns that did not send representatives to a session.In the main when there was no involvement of nearly-balanced political conflict,these towns were mainly poor frontier settlements such as Hardwick(in western Worcester County) which in 1753 the Tory leader Brig.Timothy Ruggles defended on this ground in a notable petition to the General Court.See James L. Ruggles, The Offering,Hardwick,1848,p.27.Later,when the Whigs mounted a campaign to unseat Ruggles(who had served for 15 terms)Hardwick sent no representative in 1771 and 1772 - but a Whig,his brother-in-law, Capt. Paul Mandell, in 1773.Lucius Paige,History of Hardwick (1883)69-70.

3 Col.Jones had already served 12 terms as Weston representative,his first in 1752.His father, Capt.Josiah Jones (d.1734)was Weston representative for 4 terms:1716,1721,1725,and 1726.See Dr.Henry Bond,Watertown (1860)pp.312,315,1067.

candidate for reelection, but there is no positive evidence that he did so. The Weston Tories did not boycott the Town Meeting of electors,¹ as appears by the voting on September 29th. The official account, by Whig Town Clerk Samuel Baldwin, is brief and follows the custom of recording only decisions taken in Town Meeting:

"At a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town of Weston Quallified according to the Royall Charter To vote in the Choice of a Representative Being assembled at the Publick Meeting House in Said Town on Thursday the Twenty ninth Day of Sept^r AD 1774 at one oClock in the afternoon The major Part of the Electers then Present Did in the Presence of the Selectmen Elect and Depute Capt Braddyll Smith to Serve for and Represent them in a great and General Court or assembly appointed to be Convened Held and Kecpt for His majestys Service at the Court House in Salem upon Wednesday the fifth Day of october Next " 2

Braddyll Smith, who had not served as Representative before, was an older brother of Whig Selectman Josiah Smith who kept a tavern (still standing) on the Boston Post Road nearly opposite the Meeting House. Already noted as a Whig zealot, Braddyll Smith was chosen by them to enlist a Minute Man Company in the Fall and Winter of 1774, and made a savage reputation in this part of Middlesex County as a harrier of Tories and political neutrals³ who refused to be forced into service with the "Whig rebel army".

¹ The Massachusetts Bay Charter limited the Provincial franchise to Forty Shilling Freeholders (the same as in England since the Statute of 1429 for voting in country constituencies for Knights of the Shire). In Weston, where generations of Selectmen were careful to prevent the settlement of "poor and landless persons," a majority of male heads of families would have qualified for the Provincial franchise. (For town elections the property qualification was less). See Clifford K. Shipton, "The Locus of Authority in Colonial Massachusetts," in George Billias, ed., Law and Authority in Colonial America (1965) pp. 136-145.

² Mary Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records, (1893) p. 207.

³ Dr. Henry Bond, Watertown, (1860) pp. 439-440. For Smith and the Minute Company, see the Loyalist papers of Henry Howe, a farmer in Weston, who was threatened by Smith with the "Whig alternative" of death or enlistment in the rebel forces: he escaped from his house and although pursued for a time by Smith's men made his way to New York. During the War he served aboard Loyalist privateers and armed vessels. PRO. A.O. 13:46 and A.O. 13:96.

At the Town election Meeting on September 29, 1774, it took the Whigs less than an hour by majority vote to oust Col. Elisha Jones as Representative - and thereby to accomplish the political revolution in the Tory town of Weston. The business of delivering de facto the powers of government in and over the town into Whig hands, however, was managed at a second illegal Town Meeting held afterward at 2 p.m. also at Weston Meeting House. This was a larger assembly as Town Meetings normally were, including besides the "forty-shilling freeholders" who were Provincial electors the smaller property owners who were entitled to vote in town elections "and other Inhabitants of the Town of Weston Duly Quallified and Lawfully Warned in Publick Town meeting assembled at the Public meeting House...in the afternoon then and there."

As at the first Provincial Election Meeting, Tories did attend (as the voting again indicates) although once more they were in a minority. After electing the Whig Selectman Josiah Smith, the tavern-keeper, as Moderator, Meeting then considered the two far-reaching Whig propositions on the agenda. The first of these was to send delegates elected for the first time "officially" by Town Meeting to an assembly of Whig delegates¹ - the (First) Massachusetts Bay Provincial Congress:

"1. To Know the minde of the town if they will Chuse a member or members to meet and act with Such other members as Shall be Chosen by other Towns to meet in a Provincel Congress to be Holden at Concord or Eles Whare on the Second Teusday of october next (i.e. October 11th)"²

¹ Weston had been represented at some of the earlier Whig Conventicles, such as the Middlesex County Congress (Sept. 6th): like other towns where Whigs could not command a majority in Town Meeting this was done quite unofficially by delegates chosen instead by the local - and also unofficial - Whig Committee of Correspondence which represented not the Town Meeting but the cabal of Town Whigs which were its creators. For Weston representation at Whig Meetings, see above.

² Mary Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records... (1893) p. 207.

By a vote of "Yeas and Nays" the Meeting "Passed in the affirmative" the proposal for representation at the Provincial Congress, and then chose two Weston delegates, the Moderator, Selectman Josiah Smith, and Col. Jones' greatest political enemy after Sam Adams, his eccentric henchman Samuel Phillips Savage, the radical Boston merchant who had bought a country home at Weston in 1765. There can be little doubt that Savage was the chief architect of the Whig political victory over Col. Jones and the Tories at Weston although he had never held a town office there; privy to the secrets of such inner Whig circles as the "Loyal Nine", Savage was a manipulator who preferred to work at politics behind the scenes. It says much that Savage's manuscript "Diary" is "missing" between the entry for March 23, 1774, which records Col. Elisha Jones' vote in the House of Representatives against the Whig proposal to impeach Chief Justice Peter Oliver, and January 1, 1780.²

¹ Only once before had Savage chosen to take a leading but overt part in Weston politics: this was in 1766, when Weston Town Meeting voted on May 12th to set up a committee of three - Col. Elisha Jones, Capt. John Brown, and Samuel Phillips Savage - to draw up instructions for Town Representative Abraham Bigelow in the forthcoming House debate on Provincial compensation for Bostonians whose property had been destroyed by the Stamp Act rioters. Proposition 5 (probably written by Col. Jones) read: "Sr. the town Directs you to Give your vote in the Gen^e Assembly to make full Compensation to the Late Sufferers in the town of Boston by the Roiters on the 27 of August 1765 to be Pd out of the Publick treashurey: and that you allso Do your Endeavor that the Same be Replased In the treashurey again if Posibel from the Perpetrators thereof or from any town or town that have a bette^d. the Same But if upon a full Debate in the hous it appears to you that Some other meashures may be more Salutory we Leave it to you that the Same be Done In that way." (The copyist of these instructions into the Town Records would have been the Town Clerk, in this year of Whig victories Braddyll Smith, chosen as it appears for his radical politics and not his literary ability - the same man who in the later Whig victory of Sept. 29, 1774 was elected to succeed Col. Jones as Representative to the General Court.) Only two of the committee of three signed the instructions that were voted by Town Meeting on Nov. 3, 1766, Col. Jones and Capt. Brown. S.P. Savage did not sign - as befitted the confidant of Sam Adams the organizer of the Stamp Act riots in Boston and opponent of compensation for Thos. Hutchinson and other victims unless paid for by the Province Treasury and not Boston alone. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 125, 127-8; Miller, Sam Adams, p. 109; Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, sketch of Sam Adams, class of 1740, Vol. X, 428.

² The "Diary" of Samuel Phillips Savage is now at the Massachusetts Historical Society Library, Boston.

Having chosen the two delegates to the Provincial Congress, the Whig-dominated Weston Town Meeting of September 29th considered the second and most far-reaching of the propositions before it: the appointment of a Town Committee of Correspondence - that extra legal and constitutional entity so long fought by Col. Jones and the other Tory supporters of Government in Weston, which once in being bound each town in turn to the direction of Sam Adams' Whig political machine that step by step through the fall and winter of 1774 was taking up the functions of government in the Massachusetts Bay Colony from an enfeebled Royal Administration.¹ The proposition "To Know the Minde of the Town if they will Chuse a Committee of Corrospondance and to Give them Instructions if the Town Shall think Proper," however, was still opposed by a determined Tory minority, and only "Passed in the affairmetive," that is by a majority vote. Tory influence also may be seen in the Meeting's decision "not to give Instructions." Three members were chosen to form the Committee, all Whigs and Selectmen with long experience in town government, in the order chosen Benjamin Peirce, Deacon Thomas Upham, and Samuel Baldwin.²

The last recorded act of this critical Weston Meeting was to vote "that Capt Braddyll Smith the Representative by Joyned to the Delegates to act at the Provencial Congress to be holden at Concord on the Second Tuesday of october Next".³ Weston thus like

¹ Concord, the Shire town of Middlesex County, was a "Tory Town" like Weston until the "Election" Town Meeting of only three days before that held at Weston, on September 26th. It was then that Concord Meeting finally "fell" to the Whigs, who elected the first "official" Committee of Correspondence and also delegates to the Provincial Congress. See Lemuel Shattuck, History of...Concord, (1835), pp.90-91.

² It is probable that all three had been acting as Weston's Committee of Correspondence for some time: it was the Whig practice to have the Whig town caucuses choose such committees where the Whigs could not raise a majority in the Town Meetings for this purpose. Where possible and to give respectability where there was no legality they chose Whig Deacons and Selectmen. Ibid., p.91.

³ Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) p.203.

other safely Whig towns, and especially in Middlesex County near the meeting place of Concord, enlarged the number of its delegation to the Whig Provincial Congress (to three) including the Representative elected to attend the General Court at Salem on October 5th.¹ It was Whig policy not only that both bodies should meet - despite the edicts of the Governor - but that at the Provincial Congress all delegates should be able to act together, thus achieving the object of merging the two elective bodies; with the inflated numbers sent to the Provincial Congress, chosen in conservative towns such as Weston by the broader "town-officer" franchise, and in radical places like Boston by Sam Adams' "Body of the People" which packed the Meeting with unqualified voters paid for their voices with liquor or money, a very large majority was assured to outvote the inevitably more conservative - though largely Whig - rump of a "House of Representatives" that would meet at Salem on October 5th, and later at Concord with the Provincial Congress.

¹ Multiple representation from Middlesex County towns which under the Charter Government chose 1 representative to the General Court included, besides those from Weston: Concord (3), Acton (3), Lincoln (3), Bedford (2), and Sudbury (3). See: Lemuel Shattuck, History of...Concord (1835) p.91; Alfred S. Hudson, The History of Sudbury (1889), p.362.

The Whigs published no list of delegates to the Provincial Congress (the First) doubtless to disguise its essentially unrepresentative character, notwithstanding the efforts of the Whigs to the contrary. Harry Cushing, whose careful and remarkably unbiased History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts (1896) has not been superseded, computed the number of delegates from Middlesex County at 75, the largest of any. After Middlesex came the two counties next to the westward, Worcester (56) and Hampshire (39). These three counties, with a total of 170 delegates, accounted for a large majority in the Congress. The remaining nine counties who sent representatives together had only 123: Suffolk (which included Boston with its delegation of 7 - the 4 representatives to which it was entitled under the Charter plus the 3 delegates elected to the Congress, Dr. Joseph Warren, Dr. Benjamin Church (who was a spy for Gage) and Nathaniel Appleton) (34), Essex (27), Plymouth (18), Bristol (16), Barnstable (8), Berkshire (7), from the District of Maine, York (6) and Cumberland (5), the two island counties Dukes (2) while neighbouring Nantucket, and the most easterly county in Maine, Lincoln, were not represented. Ibid., p.116.

L. Kinvin Wroth, ed., Province in Rebellion (1975) gives a higher figure for delegates elected, 290, and a lower total, 168, for the three counties of Middlesex, Worcester, and Hampshire; but no breakdown of the crucial factor - delegate numbers by Counties. pp.80-81.

If Col. Jones and the Weston Tories were thus unable to prevent the election of a town representative to the extra-legal meeting of the General Court at Salem on October 5th against the Governor's order cancelling the writs, what appears to have been a campaign of the Country Tories to prevent the meeting of enough representatives for a quorum in the "House" was more successful.¹ The Tories, in fact, may have achieved this object, for no list of delegates, and the towns they represented, was ever published. The Whigs themselves have always claimed the "round" figure of 90 present.² The number was politically of great importance, then and later, for without a quorum there could have been no question of legality for the business transacted, and the Whig (and neo-Whig) arguments about legal continuity between the so-called "General Court" that met at Salem on Oct. 5, 1774, and its alleged successor the Whig convention of delegates calling itself the Provincial Congress that convened as planned at Concord in Middlesex on October 11th, therefore, quite irrelevant.

1 The Tories followed a general policy of non-representation of towns where they held a majority in Meeting at the extra-legal Whig Congresses and Conventions. The direct ancestor of the Salem Assembly of Oct. 5, 1774, was the so-called Whig Massachusetts Convention of Towns at Faneuil Hall (Sept. 22, 1768) called by Sam Adams to protest the quartering of troops at Boston and other "grievances". In 1768 only two of the 17 Tory towns whose representatives had voted to rescind the "Circular Letter" - Ipswich and Haverhill - sent any delegate, and many other towns whose representative had voted with the majority (92) against the Government on this issue - including Col. Jones' town of Weston - also boycotted the Whig meeting, whose delegates were warned by Gov. Bernard that they were an illegal assembly whatever they called themselves, "and it is not the calling it a Committee of Convention that will alter the Nature of the Thing." Bernard to Lord Hillsborough, Oct. 3, 1768. PRO. C.O. 5:767. Richard D. Brown, "The Massachusetts Convention of Towns, 1768," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. XXVI, 1969, pp. 99-101) accepts the apparent correlation between Tory towns and non-attendance at the Whig Convention of 1768, but see Hiller Zobel, The Boston Massacre (1970) pp. 89-93 and 96-99. The best general account of the Convention of 1768 is still John C. Miller, Sam Adams (1936) Chapter Six.

2 William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress (1835) p. 4 merely cites William Gordon, The History of the Rise... of the Independence of the United States of America (1788) Vol. I, p. 280, and 4 Whig papers: the Boston Gazette, Massachusetts Spy, Boston Evening Post, and Essex Gazette (Salem). Cushing, Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts (1896) p. 82, and Wroth, Province in Rebellion (1975) p. 79 both accept the "official" Whig figure of 90 Representatives. It was Whig practice to inflate their numbers, and research will probably show that this one, too, was deliberately falsified.

It was not only the Tories, such as the family of Col. Elisha Jones who were to suffer attainder and loss of property under the notorious "Massachusetts Banishment Act" of September, 1778 and the long succession of penal legislation enacted against these political opponents by the various Whig legislative bodies in Massachusetts, who questioned their legal validity. The practical and persistent Yankee habit of people in Massachusetts (in particular) of referring to the successive Whig Provincial Congresses (even after the resolve of August 23, 1775 to call them the General Court) as "Conventions" nettled the old rebel leader John Adams almost forty years after the historic meeting of Whig delegates at Salem in October, 1774. On April 19, 1813 Adams wrote to Elbridge Gerry who had been Whig representative from Marblehead at the First Provincial Congress held at Concord on Oct. 11, 1774:

"Why was the authority of Massachusetts, which enacted the law in all the forms of the constitution by their charter, called a convention? It was the General Court, the regular legal constitutional legislature of the Province, the Crown governour having abdicated." ¹

¹ James T. Austin, The Life of Elbridge Gerry (1828) Vol. I, p. 515.

The third Whig Provincial Congress was dissolved on July 19, 1775 - after the Battle of Bunker Hill - and its successor as its first act of business on August 23, 1775 literally "resolved itself" into becoming "the General Court." The preamble, moreover, pointed out that "for many months past" of conducting "the public business... by congresses" many matters "resolved, done and transacted" had "not yet had their full effect", and that therefore there was the possibility that the legality of these transactions might be brought into question. Accordingly this act confirmed "all and every the resolves, doings, and transactions of the several provincial congresses of this colony" from Oct. 4, 1774 through July 20, 1775, proclaiming them "as lawful and valid, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, as fully and effectually as if the same resolves, doings and transactions had been done by any general court or assembly, of this colony." The Acts and Resolves, Public and Private of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, Act of August 23, 1775. Vol. V, p. 415.

The meeting of Whig delegates, who on October 5, 1774 convened at Salem Town House as at the last session of the General Court attended by Col. Jones in June, 1774, was short, lasting but three days. On October 7th it adopted a series of resolutions which condemned Gage's action in revoking the writs of election as "unconstitutional," and voted

"to resolve themselves into a Provincial Congress, to be joined by such other persons as have been or shall be chosen for that purpose, to take into consideration the dangerous and alarming Situation of public affairs in this Province, and to consult and determine on such Measures as they shall judge will tend to promote the true Interest of his Majesty, in the Peace, Welfare and Prosperity of the Province."

The newly-constituted Whig Provincial Congress then convened in a short session to elect John Hancock Chairman, and Benjamin Lincoln, Clerk, and then as previously arranged adjourned to meet at Concord on October 11th.¹

¹ For the official Whig account of the proceedings at Salem, see William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835), pp. 4-6. Elbridge Gerry reported to Sam Adams at Philadelphia on Oct. 15th: "ye Members convened at Salem, after having passed a Resolve or two for reprehending this Measure of ye ignorant General (Gage), adjourned to Concord for ye Convenience of meeting Members added to ye Provincial Congress as will appear by ye papers..." This is typical of the innocuous papers of Sam Adams that survive for this period: John Adams later remarked about Sam's systematic destruction of his correspondence while at the Continental Congress, and complained after his death that Sam's papers had "been so garbled that the truth could not be discovered." (They had, it is believed, been given a further political editing by Sam's executor John Avery - one of the Loyal Nine - after his death.) See John Adams to William Tudor, Quincy, June 5, 1817. Charles Francis Adams, The Works of John Adams (1856) Vol. X, pp. 263-264.

For the Massachusetts Tories there was little unexpected in the turn of political events at Salem, advertised for weeks past by the resolves of the Whig county congresses and the voting of instructions to delegates by Whig-dominated town meetings. And knowledge of dissent - not to say Tory - voices and voting during the course of the extra-legal proceedings at Salem Town House was largely curtailed by the Whig practice, to continue for later sessions of the Provincial Congresses and following - it was said - the example of the Continental Congress, of holding debates and proceedings in secret.¹

For Col. Elisha Jones and his family, however, news from Salem at the time of the Whig Congress would have brought the threat of immediate danger with alarming accounts of the great fire that swept through the town on the night of October 5th, the worst that Salem had ever known. Their daughter Mary and son-in-law the Rev. Asa Dunbar came near to losing their Manse and the Meeting House of Dunbar's First Church that were in the direct path of the flames.² The fire had begun in Col. Peter Frye's warehouse in

¹ For the secrecy of the Whig Congresses, see the letters of Boston Whig merchant John Andrews to his brother-in-law William Barrell of Philadelphia, Oct. 29 and Dec. 5, 1774. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. VIII, 1865, pp. 381, 389.

It is significant that Governor Thomas Hutchinson chose to end the final volume of his History of Massachusetts-Bay, completed on Oct. 22, 1778, and left for publication after his death, with the formation of the First Provincial Congress at Salem. He wrote:

"The people, by their own authority, formed a legislative body; and from that time all pacifick measures for restoring their former dependence upon the supreme authority of the British dominions, were in vain and to no purpose."

Lawrence Mayo, ed., The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts-Bay, Vol. III (1936), p. 330.

² In his "Diary" the Rev. Asa Dunbar recorded briefly for Oct. 6, 1774: "This Morning a great fire in ye centre of ye Town of Salem." MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

King Street and spread to the Frye mansion nearby whence the Colonel and his family barely escaped with their lives. Frye, a Tory magistrate, had good reason for his later assertion that the fire had been set by the Whigs,¹ who were then engaged in a vicious effort of "burning out" Tory properties in Salem.² This time, however, a terrible vengeance fell upon the incendiaries and the town, for, driven by the wind, the fire was soon out of control, racing down King Street. The Town House (where the Whig Congress had begun to meet) was scorched and smoking, the cornice already on fire, and the houses farther down King Street were being cleared of their furniture, when the arrival of several hundred Marbleheaders with engines finally stopped the fire. The Rev. Asa Dunbar's First Church meeting house, next door to the Town House, had narrowly escaped. Not so the Customs House, and, with a justice not often to be visited upon the Whigs in these years of rebellion, among the buildings destroyed were the printers shop of Sam and Ebenezer Hall's radical Salem Gazette, and the meeting house of the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker.³ Ardent "New Light," friend of George

1 See Peter Frye's Loyalist Papers, PRO.A.O.13:45. With the Whig delegates meeting in Salem it was an appropriate time to "punish" Frye for his action as one of the "seventeen rescinders": as Salem member in the House he had voted on June 30, 1768 to repeal the resolution taken earlier for a "Circular Letter" "inviting the other Provinces to elect members to meet in General Congress." A Judge of the Inferior Court, Register of Probate, and Colonel of Militia, Frye had further earned the enmity of the Whigs by his part in dispersing (by Gage's orders) the illegal Town Meeting called at Salem by the Whigs on Aug. 24, 1774, and for his arrest of the Salem Committee of Correspondence the next day. When Gage left Salem for Boston the end of August, the 69th Regiment remained at Salem to keep order, "ready to act upon the Requisition of the Civil Magistrates." For Gage's orders, see Gage to Peter Frye, August 27, 1774, Gage MSS, Clements Library.

2 Capt. William Pickman, who had signed Addresses to Governors Gage and Hutchinson, had his store and shop burned out the day before, on Oct. 4, 1774, "in what was believed to be a Whig effort to get rid of Tory property." Clifford Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, sketch of William Pickman, class of 1766, Vol. XVI, p. 404.

3 For accounts of the Salem fire, see Essex Gazette, Oct. 11, 1774, 3:2-3; James Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (1937) pp. 340-347; Gilbert Streeter, "Salem before the Revolution," E.I.H.C., Vol. 32, 1896, p. 95.

Whitefield, and desciple of that philosophical arch-enemy of the liberal-minded "Halfway Covenant" clan of Joneses and Williamses, the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, Whitaker was notorious even in Massachusetts for the violence of his sermons against the Tories, becoming known as "Dr. Meroz"¹ for cursing them from the pulpit from the text Judges 5, verse 23:

"Curse ye Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord;
curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof,
because they came not to the help of the Lord,
to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

The Charter Government was put down at Salem in October, 1774, not as Whig myth would have it by the votes of a handful of Whig delegates meeting at the Town House, but in the way of Whig violence. The flames of burning Tory houses at Salem threw the red shadow of Whig incendiarism across every town and settlement in Massachusetts for the duration of the conflict (to Shay's Rebellion and beyond); for the family of Col. Elisha Jones and the refugee Tories and inhabitants of Boston, as well as for Gage and the armed forces, all herded together on the Shawmut Peninsula during the Siege, it was a fear more dread than the fuel-short winters, the sickness and slow starvation of the Rebel blockade.

¹ For the Rev. Nathaniel Whitaker, Princeton, 1752, see James McLachlan, Princetonians 1748-1768 A Biographical Dictionary (1977) pp. 60-63.

It had been the revolt and defection of many prominent Salem families, including Pickerings and Sparhawks, from Whitaker's harsh Calvinism that was behind their support for Asa Dunbar's settlement as preacher at the First Church with the Arminian Rev. Thomas Barnard Sr.

William Pyncheon, the noted Salem lawyer (a Tory who did not leave, and a communicant of St. Peter's Anglican Church) described Whitaker and "one Alcock" (some of the family were to change the spelling to Alcott) as "the authors and promoters of more mischief than it is possible that any two others could or would effect or even attempt," and Judge Samuel Curwen referred to Whitaker in a letter from England as "a notorious character and not unknown here... He is usually called Dr. Meroz in America," and in another more pointedly still as "a mischievous incendiary, of a proud, restless, turbulent spirit."

Whitaker's activities were finally too much even for the Whigs of Salem: in 1784 he was dismissed in disgrace from his church, found guilty of "suspicious" moral character, overbearing and tyrannical deportment, and Presbyterian heresy. See: Gilbert L. Streeter, "Salem before the Revolution," *E.I.H.C.*, Vol. 32, 1896, pp. 93-97; Everett Emerson, "Salem Voices in Revolutionary Days," *Ibid.*, Vol. 112, 1976, pp. 297-8.

THE TORIES TAKE ARMS : COL. ELISHA JONES AND THE CIVIL WAR
IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY, OCTOBER, 1774 - APRIL, 1775

"We have Information often from the Country that the Towns in this Province become more divided, notwithstanding the Endeavours used to keep up their Enthousiasm; and the Tyranny and Oppressive Acts exercised against Persons deemed Friends of Government, has driven them in Several Places to combine together for their Mutual Defence. Where the Majority in a Township has been averse to their Measures, the Faction has employed their Adherents in Neighbouring Towns to join and form Bodys sufficient to force them by Numbers to sign Recantations, which has been attended generally with Violence and ill Usage..."

Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston,
January 27, 1775

Through the Fall of 1774 Col. Elisha Jones and his regiment, the Third Middlesex, which included militia companies in the strategic centre towns in the County of Acton, Concord (the Shire Town), Lexington, Lincoln, Sudbury, and Weston, stood at the very heart of the rising Whig storm in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

From Salem, appointed by Gage for the meeting of the General Court on October 5th but remote and as a seaport hostage to the guns of the Royal Navy, the Whigs moved their Provincial Congress inland to two towns in Col. Jones' county of Middlesex. These were convenient to Boston for such leaders as Drs. Joseph Warren and Benjamin Church (other Bostonians Sam Adams and John Hancock were mostly absent at the Continental Congress), but far enough away to allow time for delegates to leave safely should Governor Gage send troops from the capital to disperse the Assembly: Concord, for the meetings of October 11 to October 15th, and later Cambridge for the last two sessions of October 17-29th and Nov. 23 to Dec. 10th.³

¹ PRO. C.O.5:92.

² When Gage returned to Boston from Danvers at the end of August he left the 69th Regiment at Salem, but it was ordered to Boston after the Powder Alarm, and with the troops went Col. William Browne, commander of the First Essex Militia Regiment (a Mandamus Councillor), the Customs officials, and many other Tories. Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 12, 1774 PRO. C.O.5:92; Cunningham, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe (1903) p. 285.

³ William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775. (1835); Shattuck, History of the Town Concord (1835) p. 92.

Until the Powder Alarm (September 1-3, 1774) Col. Elisha Jones successfully withstood Whig pressure - which already had won a foothold in the other three embodied Middlesex County Regiments - to allow the mustering of the Town companies for the election of "Whig" officers and the formation of Minute-Man Companies in his Third Middlesex.¹ More important than the support of Col. Jones' field officers, Lt. Col. Charles Prescott of Concord, a fellow member of the Middlesex Magistrates Bench, and Maj. Joseph Curtis of Sudbury, since 1771 commander of the Sudbury Troop of Horse, was the loyalty to Government of the Captains of the Town Companies (always locally chosen)-upon which the entire structure of the Militia in the Massachusetts Bay Colony ultimately depended.²

In the Fall of 1774, however, after Boston, the Regiment of Col. Elisha Jones was the primary military target of the rebel Whigs in Massachusetts, its territorial jurisdiction comprising as it did the strategic centre of the rich, heartland County of Middlesex that commanded Boston to the west, and safe out of reach of the legendary naval guns remembered by so many of the veterans of Louisbourg. Through Col. Jones' militia district ran the great ways to the west: the upper reaches of Charles River, navigable for sea-going craft as far as Watertown, the "water-way" to Cambridge and Boston, and the major roads leading to Worcester County, rapidly approaching Middlesex in population and wealth, and the less-developed western counties of Hampshire in the Connecticut Valley and Berkshire in the Housatonic. If Col. Jones' district in central Middlesex could have been held for the Government by Loyal Tory Militia through the winter, until Gage's expected large reinforcements arrived from Britain, the Whig Civil War against the Tories might have been contained and Boston transformed thus into an effective staging-post for an army offensive in the spring of 1775.

¹ The Weston Company, at least, was "raised" at least for limited duty during the summer of 1774 - by Col. Jones' order a "Military Watch" was kept in the town "each night" after the "Weston Tea Party" mobbing of Capt. Isaac Jones' Tory Golden Ball Tavern on the Post Road March 28, 1774. Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774. 1/2.

² Prescott, with Col. Jones, had been two of the Middlesex Magistrates that supported the grant of a liquor licence to the Marlborough Tory merchant and importer, Henry Barnes, and see their Judgement upheld in the "notorious" case of Rex v. Maynard, and Maynard's "protest" in the Boston Gazette, April 26, 1773. 4/1. See above.

Col. Elisha Jones' defense of his authority as commander of the Third Middlesex brought him further notoriety as one of the leading Tory figures in the drama of the Powder Alarm. No orders for this period have been found, but the Colonel's firm stand against Whig attempts to gain political control of his regiment, however, may be seen in the challenge to orders by one of his captains, Jonas Minott of Concord, made direct to the ranking Massachusetts Militia officer, Maj. Gen. William Brattle, in Cambridge at the end of August, 1774. In a letter to Gage dated August 29th, Brattle wrote:

"Capt. (Jonas) Minot(t) of Concord a very worthy man this minute inform'd Mr. Brattle that there had been repeatedly made pressing applications to him to warn his Company to meet at one minute's warning equipt with arms and ammunition according to law he had constantly denied them. Adding, if he did not gratify them he should be constrained to quit his farms and town. Mr. Brattle told him he had better do that than lose his life and be hand'd for a rebel. He observed that many Captains had done it, though not in the Regiment to which he belonged, (the Third Middlesex) which was and is under Colonel Elisha Jones, but in a neighbouring Regiment..." 1

Jonas Minott's later denial of hostile intent toward the Whigs, printed on September 5th by Edes and Gill in the radical Boston Gazette (below the notorious letter from Gen. Brattle of August 29th, dropped in a Boston street by Gage on September 1st and which appeared to show a Tory (Brattle) as originator of the plan to seize the military stores at the Cambridge Powder House)² did not mention Col. Elisha Jones by name:

1 Boston Gazette, September 5, 1774, 2/1; Massachusetts Spy, Sept. 8, 1774, 1/3, 4.

2 For the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1-3, 1774, see above. The Boston Whig merchant John Andrews wrote to William Barrell at Philadelphia on Sept. 1st: "The Governor, walking up the main street to dine with Brigadier Pigot, ... by chance or design, in pulling out his handkerchief, dropt a letter from Brigadier(sic) Brattle of Cambridge (am apt to think the latter, with a view to exculpate himself from being thought to take such a measure out of his own head). Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. VIII (1865) pp. 350-351.

"Captain Minot then asked General Brattle whether he thought it advisable for him to call his Company together, General Brattle answered by no means. Captain Minot then told the General he had had several applications made to him to call his Company together equipt according to law. The General then asked, had any other Companies met in that manner? Captain Minot answered not in their Regiment, but he believed they had in others. Then General Brattle replied, he thought it by no means advisable, as it would be deemed rebellion.

"Captain Minot then told General Brattle that nineteen in twenty in the compass of his observation were of opinion that the late Acts intended to change the Constitution of this Hovernment, were made with design to enslave this People, and said that if any of the inhabitants were slain by the soldiery, the Country would come down, and that he must accompany them or be in danger of losing his life and farms and that he thought it the duty of every man to take and encourage every prudent and moderate measure that could be devised for the relief of his Country...." ¹

Published two days after his mobbing at Weston on September 3rd, the Brattle Letter with its association of Col. Jones with the proposal for removing the Province store of powder to Boston, and his opposition to the formation of Minute companies in Militia regiments, further elaborated in Capt. Jonas Minot's accompanying statement, can have done nothing to abate the rising hostility of the Middlesex County Whigs. ²

It was not until the following week (September 12) that the Whig press in its ongoing anti-Tory campaign printed the statement forced from Col. Jones by the mob at Weston on September 3rd denying that his signing of the Middlesex Justices' Address to Thomas Hutchinson (June, 1774) had been intended to "recommend" him, and

¹ Boston Gazette, September 5, 1774.2/1

² After the Powder Alarm a series of radical Whig mass meetings was held at Concord, as Shattuck the Town historian relates: "The people did not long remain quiet. Another large meeting took place on the Common the next week. A Committee was chosen, of which Robert Chafin of Acton was chairman, and William Burrows clerk, before whom every person suspected of being a tory was compelled to pass the ordeal of a trial. If found guilty, he was compelled to endure such punishment as an excited multitude might inflict, which they called 'humbling the tories! Several suffered in this manner. Dr. Joseph Lee was most scrupulously examined and severely treated..." History of Concord (1835) p. 89.

undertaking not "to take any commission under the new Mode of Government set up by the late Acts of Parliament." On the same page in Edes and Gill's Boston Gazette was another "mob produced" statement disavowing support for Hutchinson by a fellow-Addresser from the Middlesex County Bench - the second in command of Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment, Lt.Col. Charles Prescott of Concord.¹

How Long Col.Jones was able to hold a remnant of his Regiment together in the face of the Middlesex Mob, the violent "Tory humbling" forays mounted from the neighbouring County of Worcester and elsewhere, reinforced and led increasingly by detachments of rebel Whig militia, we do not know. Probably, however, as with the other "darker" aspects of the vicious Whig Civil War of 1774-1775 -not surprisingly the least documented period of the entire Revolution in Massachusetts - Col.Jones' Regiment survived, in part at least, for longer than the Whigs felt it served their cause to admit, in the Colonies or in England.

Of the four Middlesex County regiments then in being, one, the Sixth, which bordered Col. Jones' Third to the north, was from the beginning of the conflict under Whig leadership. It was commanded by Col.James Prescott of Groton, Town Representative to the General Court and one of the leading radical Whigs in Middlesex County. He and the regimental major, Dr. Oliver Prescott, also of Groton, were brothers of Col.William Prescott who was to command the rebel forces in the redoubt on Bunker Hill the following June, 1775.²

1 Boston Gazette, Sept.12,1774. 3/1,2. Lt.Col. Charles Prescott's daughter Elizabeth had married (Nov.2,1767) Col.Elisha Jones' cousin Aaron Jones as his second wife; she d. in childbed, April 27,1770, after the birth of her son Prescott Jones, who lived until 1828. Aaron Jones b. in Weston in 1723, inherited his Father's (Col.Elisha Jones' Uncle James) mansion in Weston and his large property in the new town of Templeton, where he moved in 1772. James Jones had been one of the surveyors and largest proprietors of Templeton, with grants by the General Court in 1728, 1732, and 1735, largely for service in King Philip's War against the Narragansetts (1675-6). Capt. Aaron Jones, like so many prosperous conservative Whigs paid a man to do his service with the Continental Army, and it was remembered in the family as the measure of war-currency depreciation that the sale of a good 140-acre farm was not enough to pay the hire of this soldier for 7 months. William B. Trask, Some of the Descendants of Lewis and Ann Jones of Roxbury, Mass. (Privately printed, 1878) Boston. pp.28-30.

2 Caleb Butler, History of the Town of Groton including Pepperell and Shirley (1848), pp.117-125.

Flanking Col. Jones' regiment to the east, down Charles River, was the First Middlesex, largely Tory, and fashionable, but after the first week in September no longer a military force. Within a few days of the Powder Alarm three of its four field officers had fled to Boston: Col. William Brattle of Cambridge (who, also commissioned Major General, was the ranking militia officer in Massachusetts); his son Thomas, Second Major; and the Lieutenant Colonel, Thomas Oliver of Charlestown, sworn in by Gage as Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony on August 8, 1774. Left in command was the First Major, Abraham Fuller, who served with Col. Jones as a Justice for Middlesex, but the Tory captains and other officers in the regiment - notably the ingenious and zealous Cambridge Master Builder, John Nutting - had gone to the aid of Middlesex High Sheriff David Phips during the Powder Alarm, and were driven to Boston by the Whig mob or quickly forced by them to resign their commissions. Among the captains remaining with the First Middlesex, moreover, was one of the leaders of sedition in the County: Thomas Gardner of Cambridge, one of the "Committee of Nine" chosen by the Whig Middlesex Convention of Committees of Correspondence (which had met at Concord on Aug. 30 and 31, 1774) to draft the "Middlesex Resolves" which were sent to the First Continental Congress.¹

¹ For the First Middlesex Regiment before Lexington, see Lucius Paige, History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877 (1877) chapter on "Military History", and for Harvard men in Col. Gardner's Regiment of Militia who marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, p. 409. Capt. Thomas Gardner was promoted Colonel by the Rebels by April, 1775. The pre-Lexington muster rolls of the Cambridge Company are missing.

After the Powder Alarm Gen. Brattle (a post-Tea Party Tory) took no active part in the direction of the Loyalist Militia, over which effective command was exercised by Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, one of the New (Mandamus) Councillors.

At Cambridge during the fall and winter of 1774-1775 there was, of course, an elite and Tory colonial military force - not part of the militia - at full strength 100 young men in the prime of fighting age. With handsome colours and a band of fifes and drums, they were well turned out in the green coats, white shirts, tan breeches, and black accoutrements made famous by Roger's Rangers in the French and Indian War (the corps was founded in 1757) - and which by the following summer of 1775 were to be adopted as the basic, and famous, "Tory Green" uniform of the Loyalist Regiments first raised by Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick for the defense of Boston. This was the military corps of the students of Harvard College, the "Harvard Fencibles," best known from the motto on their flag, "Tam Marti Quam Mercurio," as the "Marti-Mercurian Band."¹

Members in the fall and winter of 1774-1775 were both of Col. Elisha Jones' sons then at the College, Stephen (b. March 5, 1754) a senior and a member of the class of 1775; his youngest son, Charles, (b. Jan. 22, 1760); and a grandson, Nahum (b. August 6, 1757) eldest son of his eldest son, Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay, both of the class of 1778. It was young Harvard men such as these,

1 The green uniform was described by Daniel Leonard of Taunton (Massachusetts) Captain of the First Company of the Marti-Mercurian Band in 1760, recalling how he had paraded it through the streets of Cambridge. Ralph Davol, Two Men of Taunton, 1912, p. 102. The family correspondence of Leonard used by Davol has not since been found. For the uniform of Ruggles' Loyalist Regiment at Boston, see below, "The Loyal Legion of America."

2 The College records of Col. Jones' sons and grandson are in the Harvard College Archives, which, however, are sketchy with regard to the pre-Lexington Military Corps. According to family accounts all three belonged to the Corps before serving with Loyalist regiments. Henry David Thoreau in his remarks to John Langdon Sibley about his grandfather, the Rev. Asa Dunbar of Salem (class of 1767) did not say that he was a member of the Military Corps, but Dunbar was one of the leaders of the famous Harvard "Butter Rebellion" of 1766, and the student mutineers by their own account "formed ourselves into regular Ranks, & marched in a Body to his (the President's) House." Mary Emma Robertson Jones to author, March, 1947; J. L. Sibley, MSS., Harvard Archives, Vol. I, p. 109.

(mainly from the classes of 1770-1778) who first learned weaponry and military drill in the "Marti Mercurian Band" that later were to form the backbone of the Loyalist Officer Corps, particularly the New England regiments, including (Governor John) Wentworth's Volunteers, and Col. Benjamin Thompson's King's American Dragoons, in which Col. Jones' sons would hold commissions.¹

It is significant that Gage, whose policy in the late summer of 1774, and particularly from the time of the Powder Alarm, was to take in hand the military stores and weapons belonging to the Province of Massachusetts Bay to prevent their being used by rebels made no attempt to remove the guns from the College arsenal in the disused Hebrew School. The Marti Mercurian Band had not provided their own arms since 1771 when the General Court had voted 100 stand (enough to supply two average-sized Militia companies) "to be 2 deposited in Cambridge for the use of the students of Harvard College." In the fall of 1774, assuming that all these arms were in use, about half the students were active members of the Tory Harvard Military Corps. This was a fair reflection of the predominantly Tory-neutralist political views of students and Faculty at the

1 Wentworth's Volunteers: Macdonough Papers, PRO. A.O.13:52.
King's American Dragoons: PRO. H.O. 42:2 and 42:3.

2 Hebrew School(room):Colonial Society of Mass.,Transactions, Vol.XIV, pp.14-15;grant of arms by the Province:Massachusetts Archives,nos. 581,596. On the eve of the Revolution there were about 200 students in the four classes at Harvard.

College then and for most of the War.¹

Whig students who wanted to get military training - and Harvard historians have remarked how few these were - did not join the Marti Mercurian Band, but Whig-officered and rebel Militia companies belonging to Cambridge and other towns.² Among these was Samuel Chandler of Gloucester, a member of Stephen Jones' class of 1775, who volunteered for the company of Whig-leader Capt. Thomas Gardner of Cambridge. Samuel Chandler's "Diary" tells much about the military situation in the neighbourhood of Cambridge at this time:

"1774 September 18. At Noon News came from Boston Committee (of Correspondence) to this Town that the Soldiers had their Packs on their Backs & a Number of Boats on this side of the Common. it much alarmed the People who have kept watch all Night up the River (Charles) expecting they were a going to Watertown to git the Cannon but they never came from their Camp.

Sep. 20. this afternoon the (Cambridge) Company turned out here. they were very full. Capt. (Thomas Gardner examined all their Arms and made a long Speech on Liberty...

Sep. 21. I went to Boston & ...see the Soldiers fire in the Common. went over to the (Boston) Neck where they were working in the intrenchments.

October 7, Fryday. last Wednesday I joyn'd the (Militia) Company in order to larn the Exercises &c. 3

1 The usual public ceremonies for the installation of a Harvard President were dispensed with when the moderate Whig, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon, chosen by the Corporation on July 18, 1774 (in succession to Locke) took office after the upheaval of the Powder Alarm on Oct. 14, 1774 - thus avoiding the customary participation of the Governor, Gage, and the New (Mandamus) Councillors as members of the Board of Overseers, and a political confrontation with the Whigs which would have disrupted the work of the College. For President Langdon's later defense of the political independence of Harvard (despite his service as Chaplain to the rebel troops besieging Boston from April 28, 1775-April, 1776) see below, "Tory Joneses Return to Harvard." For a sketch of Langdon, Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Class of 1740, Vol. X, pp. 508-526.

2 The son of the Weston Minister, Samuel Woodward Jr., class of 1776, was a sergeant in Capt. Nathan Fuller's Company, and John Child of the same class Ensign in Capt. Abner Craft's Company - both in the regiment commanded by Thomas Gardner (promoted by the rebels from Captain to Colonel before Lexington. See Henry Blake, "Harvard Soldiers and Sailors in the American Revolution," Harvard Graduates Magazine, XXVIII (Dec. 1919) pp. 257-8.

3 Samuel Chandler, "Diary," Harvard Graduates Magazine, XIV, pp. 376-7.

Pivoting upon the "Shire Town" of Concord at the strategic centre of Middlesex was Col. Elisha Jones' Third Regiment, while to the south and west of it was the last of the County Regiments, called the Third Regiment South, under Col. John Noyes, Selectman and member of one of the most distinguished founding families of Sudbury.¹ The Lieutenant-Colonel was John Jones of Hopkinton, a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex and with a long career of service in town offices and the General Court, and the Major, John Farrar of Framingham, a County Deputy Sheriff.²

1 A veteran of the French and Indian War, Noyes was Captain of the Sudbury Troop of Horse in 1762, and a Colonel of Militia by 1771 when Sudbury Town voted to build its own powder house. Alfred Hudson, The History of Sudbury, Massachusetts, 1638-1889, (1889) pp. 344, 356. For an account of the settlement of the Noyes family of Ramridge Hall and Blissmore Hall in the parish of Weyhill, Hampshire, and nearby Cholderton, Wiltshire, where the Rev. William Noyes (d. 1622) was succeeded by his son Nathan as Rector, see Sumner Chilton Powell, Puritan Village, (2nd. edn., 1965) pp. 1-4.

2 Lt. Col. John Jones of Hopkinton (not of the Jones family of Weston) first appointed to the Middlesex County Bench in 1761, (Col. Elisha Jones' first Commission of the Peace was in 1756), was a contemporary of Col. Elisha Jones' first cousin, Col. John Jones (born in Weston in 1716 and died in 1801 at Dedham in the fourth precinct that became in 1784 the district of Dover and in 1836 the town of Dover) for many years a Justice of the Peace, and before the Whigs forced him to resign in the fall of 1774, a Colonel of Militia in Suffolk County. William Whitmore, The Massachusetts Civil List, for the Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630-1774, (1870), p. 138. The two Col. Johns were sometimes confused, as Col. John of Dedham's grandson Amos Perry pointed out in editing the Book of Minutes of Col. John Jones of Dedham, Massachusetts (1894) p. 37. See also Perry's "Col. John Jones of Dedham and his Paternal Ancestors in America," N.E.H.G.R., April, 1890, pp. 158-167.

Despite the efforts of Col. Elisha Jones and the other loyal officers of the Third Middlesex, together with the Tories who had remained in the country, however, by the end of September, 1774, Concord, designated by the Whig County Congresses as the place of meeting for the "Provincial Congress" on October 11th, had come under Whig political and military control. On Sept. 26th (three days before the Whigs gained political power in Weston) Meeting adopted all the trappings of a Whig-rebel town: a Committee of Correspondence was formally chosen (Whig selectmen had "acted" as a committee earlier) and decisions openly taken to organise military rebellion against the Government. These included voting to raise one or more companies to march at a minute's warning in case of alarm; agreeing to pay the "Minutemen" wages when called out of town; and permission for them to elect their own officers. Concord Meeting also at this time voted to buy 420 pounds of powder and 500 pounds of ball in addition to the town's stock of ammunition, and a chest of fire-arms, "that those who are unable to purchase them themselves may have the advantage of them if necessity calls for it." 1

On October 13th, two days after the Provincial Congress began its session at Concord (these lasted from Oct. 11th to Saturday, Oct. 15th) several cannon were brought to town, and on Oct. 24th the selectmen were directed by the town (which raised £120 for expenses) to mount them and to buy 100 pounds of 4-pound cannon ball, 200 pounds of grape-shot, and 392 pounds of powder. To celebrate these preparations for war the Concord Whigs set up a "Liberty Pole" on which, as the first town historian Lemuel Shattuck relates, "the people's flag was first hoisted here." 2

1 Lemuel Shattuck, History of the Town of Concord, (1835) pp. 90-91. At this meeting of Sept. 26, 1774, in addition, the "whole town resolved itself into a Committee of Safety to suppress all riots, tumults, and disorders in the town; and to aid all untainted magistrates, who had not been aiding and assisting in bringing on a new mode of government in this Province, in the execution of the laws against all offenders." In Concord as in other towns which adopted such resolves, words of good intent availed little against the forces of anarchy set in motion by the Whigs themselves. Such resolves have been useful, of course, to latter-day historians pleading the old myth of the law-abiding, non-violent revolt. See especially Pauline Maier, "The Beginnings of American Republicanism," The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality (1972) 110-13; Dirk Hoerder, Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts 1765-1780, (1977) pp. 383-389.

2 Probably a version of the "Pine Tree flag." The Bay Colony flag was red with a red cross in a white canton in the top left corner, sometimes with a pine tree - as at Bunker Hill. Shattuck, History of Concord, p. 92.

With the Whigs thus established militarily as well as politically at Concord, the Third Middlesex Regiment lost its strategic centre. Although as Colonel Elisha Jones still had the right to call out the regiment, the remaining "Tory Towns" including the Colonel's Weston which (officially by Meeting at least) that had not voted to raise Minute-Man companies nor to purchase military supplies were left to defend their boundaries from incursions of Whig mobs and detachments of rebel militia, and the King's Peace within them, as best they might.¹

Meanwhile, the Whig Provincial Congress, unmolested by Loyal Militia or regular troops - Gage, warned by the Powder Alarm, being careful to avoid any confrontation with the rebels until the arrival of reinforcements in the spring of 1775 - and grown bolder met at Cambridge (Oct. 17-Oct. 29, 1774), only a few miles up the Charles from Boston. Here it took the large step toward open rebellion of setting up the military organization that was to manage the rebel Whig forces in Massachusetts Bay Colony until after the Battle of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775). A nine-member Committee of Safety was appointed to direct military operations, with power to call out the militia "when ever they shall Judge it Necessary for the Safety and Defense of the Inhabitants of this Province, and their property."²

¹ For the Weston Town Meetings of Sept. 29, 1774, see Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 207-208.

² The Provincial Congress, concerned at the radicalism of the Bostonians, provided that there should be only three members of the Committee of Safety from that town, and "six gentlemen of the Country," a clear majority. They chose John Hancock Chairman, but as he seldom attended direction of the Committee fell to the radical Whig Boston Dr. Joseph Warren (who as Chairman of the Boston Committee of Correspondence had been left in charge of carrying out Whig policy by Sam Adams, away at the Continental Congress). The third Boston representative was Dr. Benjamin Church - probably already an informer, who until his exposure as a spy (Sept., 1775) sent Gage invaluable accounts of the innermost rebel Whig deliberations. See Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835), pp. 35, 48; for Church, see Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates (class of 1754) Vol. XIII, pp. 380-397; and the most detailed study, based on the Gage MSS., Allen French, General Gage's Informers (1932) pp. 5-6, and Chapter V, pp. 147-201. Church's sister Alice was married to the crusading Tory printer John Fleeming, editor of the Boston Chronicle.

For logistical support a Committee of supplies was set up, and the five members empowered to spend the large sum of £20,837 for the purchase of arms, military stores, and expenses including the payment of officers and men mustered, "such an Allowance from this Province, as shall be adequate to their services." Provision was made for the rebel Whig "Militia Army" and its equipment to be financed by diverting to the rebels the taxes paid by the towns to the Treasury of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and to collect this money the Provincial Congress appointed as Receiver-General Henry Gardner of Stow, who had been a Whig leader in the Middlesex County Conventions.¹ To safeguard what stores had already been collected, the Provincial Congress set up yet another committee, William Heath of Roxbury and Doctors Benjamin Church and Joseph Warren of Boston, to hide them in the country "with the greatest secrecy".²

The most immediate threat by the Provincial Congress to the position of Col. Elisha Jones of Weston and the remaining loyal militia regiments and town companies in Massachusetts Bay, however, was the (not long) secret appointment of three general officers for the rebel army, all veterans of the French and Indian Wars: Jedediah Preble of Falmouth (Maine), Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury,³ and Seth Pomeroy, the Northampton gunsmith, and the series of measures providing for the raising of the rebel army, which pushed

1 Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835) pp. 36-38. Two more General Officers were named by the Second Provincial Congress at Cambridge on Dec. 8, 1774, John Thomas of Marshfield (Plymouth County) and William Heath of Roxbury, and a fifth was chosen Feb. 15, 1775, John Whitcomb. After Lexington (April 19, 1775) and with the beginning of the rebel siege of Boston, Ward was placed in overall command at Cambridge, and Thomas, under him, at Roxbury.

2 Ibid., p. 48.

3 Seth Pomeroy, nearly 70, was never commissioned. Pomeroy is remembered by the family as Lt. Col. of Col. Elisha Jones' nephew Col. Ephriam Williams' regiment at the ill-fated Battle of Lake George (Sept. 8, 1755) where Williams was killed on the Bloody Morning Scout. Pomeroy fought at Bunker Hill with Stark's men at the fence, "with a gun of his own manufacture, which he had carried thirty years before at the siege of Louisburg." L. E. deForest, ed., Journals and Papers of Seth Pomeroy, (1926) pp. 164-165.

forward the preparedness measures already recommended to the towns by the Whig County Congresses. The rebel take-over of the militia was to proceed with all speed by the election of Whig officers and the reorganization of company and regimental units, one quarter of which, as "Minutemen," were to be ready "on the shortest notice from the...Committee of Safety, to March to the place of Rendezvous." Most far-reaching was the resolve of Oct. 21st, by which all persons holding Royal Commissions, Civil and Military, were given 10 days in which to make public acknowledgement of their "misconduct" and renounce their commissions or take the consequences of being "published" in the press as recalcitrants and treated thereafter as rebels—that is, "outlawed" and made the "legitimate" objects of "correction" by Whig mobs and the breakaway "Minute" companies and other rebel-controlled militia.¹

For reasons of political expediency the Provincial Congress (which had met largely in secret) allowed publication of the resolves about the reorganization and training of the Militia and the stopping of tax payments to Harrison Gray, Treasurer and Receiver-General of Massachusetts since 1753, to be reported in the press. But it suppressed all news of the creation of the offensive parts of the rebel war machine: the appointment of General Officers and the Committees of Safety and Supplies. Nevertheless, on October 30th, the day after the adjournment of the third session of the Provincial Congress, Gage was able to send Lord Dartmouth copies of its resolves and a not inaccurate account of its proceedings. "Our Provincial Congress," he wrote, has appeared to be a good deal puzzled to determine to what lengths they should go, and have had Something of Moment in Agitation, which by what has dropped from some of the Members, relates to the embodying about 15,000 men, and appointing 4 Persons to Command them, under the Direction of a Committee. Others deny it... Common talk gives out, that this Body is to be ready at a Moment's Warning, and to be supported by this, and the Neighbouring Provinces..."²

¹ William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835) p. 25.

² For Harrison Gray, see PRO. A.O. 13:45, A.O. 13:73. A broadside was printed by the Provincial Congress dated Oct. 26, 1774: "Whereas in consequence of the present unhappy dispute..." Boston Public Library. Gage to Dartmouth, Oct. 30, 1774. PRO. C.O. 5:92.

At Weston, Col. Elisha Jones continued to act as an intelligence centre, receiving information from the widening network of Tory agents (replacements were found for those who were found out and jailed by the rebels or forced by them to flee their homes) in Middlesex County and Worcester and other towns westward along the Post Road. Particular watch was kept of rebel Whig military preparations after the Powder Alarm, the stockpiling of arms and other supplies and the drilling of rebel troops. This, as ordered by the Provincial Congress resolve of October 29th, was to be conducted by "the Method ordered by His Majesty in the Year 1764 (known as the '64 Exercise) it being, in the opinion of this Congress, best calculated for appearance and defense." It was the use of the "'64 Exercise" which made deserters from Gage's regular troops in Boston so much in demand by the rebels, who employed them as drill-masters, and offered large bounties for absconders, whose whereabouts, at the same time, were noted by local Tories.¹

1 William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835) p.41.

"A Revolutionary soldier" of Sudbury, a neighbouring town to Weston, later wrote: "Trainings were as often as once a week the three fall months (of 1774), in the winter Not so often. The young Men In the winter months made a Practis of calling on their officers Evenings and going through the Manual Exercise In Barn Flours. I have exercised many a Night With my Mittens on. Such was the Patriotic sperit that Reigned in the Brest of Every True American Never to stain the Glory of our worthy Ancestors..." quoted in Alfred Sereno Hudson, The History of Sudbury, Massachusetts. 1638-1889. (1889) pp. 363-364.

Col. Jones' cousin Henry Barnes of Marlborough, a Middlesex County magistrate "at the risk of his life" gave orders in February, 1775, for the billeting of a sergeant and detachment of soldiers who were looking for deserters. PRO. A.O. 13:43.

Three at least of Col. Jones' Tory informants outside Weston are known to have been able to withstand the threats and abuse of Whig mobs to remain in their towns through the winter of 1774-1775: Dr. Joseph Adams of Townshend, leader of the north-west Middlesex Tories; Daniel Bliss of Concord, a fellow Justice of the Peace for the county and son-in-law of Col. John Murray of Rutland, for many years one of Col. Jones' business associates; and Col. Jones' cousin the prosperous Marlborough merchant, Henry Barnes. Adams, a surgeon and apothecary who was to risk much in caring for sick and wounded Loyalist prisoners of war, reported (as he later wrote) the private resolves of Committees of Correspondence and their method of secreting magazines of gunpowder and other warlike stores, and the proceedings of town meetings whose objective was the subversion of government. By October, 1774, however, only Col. Jones and Daniel Bliss, of his named correspondents, remained outside Boston.¹

It was because of his activities as a Tory informer that Daniel Bliss was forced to leave Concord in the spring of 1775. On March 20th he showed Captain William Brown and Ensign Henry de Berniere where the rebels had hidden the military stores at Concord, and under cover of darkness took them to Boston by the route which Gage's troops were to follow on April 19th, the day of the Lexington Alarm.²

¹ The others were Attorney-General Jonathan Sewall, and Colonels William Brattle of Cambridge, and Abijah Willard of Lancaster, over the border in Worcester County, with whose corps of Massachusetts Tories he was later to serve after fleeing to New York City in September, 1777. Adams had married a daughter of the Rev. William Lawrence of Lincoln, a Whig but whose eldest son William was also a Tory refugee. Dr. Joseph Adams' Loyalist papers give one of the best accounts of the activities of Tory agents in Middlesex County. PRO. A.O. 13:43.

² Bliss never returned to Concord - that morning hearing of the arrival of the British officers the Whigs had threatened his life - and he sent his brother Samuel Bliss of Greenfield (already a Tory refugee in Boston) to escort his wife and children to the capital. An account of this spying expedition, by Henry de Berniere, was printed in Boston in 1779 under the title General Gage's Instructions. See p. 16 for the events of March 20th. Although published by the radical Whig John Gill, himself a propagandist, Clifford Shipton accepted the work as authentic in his sketch of Bliss in the Harvard class of 1760. Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIV, p. 565. See PRO. A.O. 13:46.

At Marlborough, south-west of Weston along the Middlesex-Worcester county boundary, Henry Barnes¹ (one of the most active of the Tory magistrates) and the Tories were unable to prevent Town Meeting on September 29, 1774 from directing the Selectmen "to make an addition to the town's stock of ammunition - powder, bullets and flints." Nor could the Marlborough Tories stop the reorganization of the militia on October 3rd, when Marlborough "united with several of the neighbouring towns, Shrewsbury, Westborough, Northborough, Southborough, and Grafton" - all in the county of Worcester - "in the choice of field officers and in reorganizing the militia of said towns" under the newly-elected "Colonel," the notorious radical Whig Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury, who on October 27th was secretly chosen one of the first three rebel generals by the Whig Massachusetts Provincial Congress.²

1 Henry Barnes also was to give protection to the two British officers, Capt. Brown (52nd Regiment) and Ensign de Berniere (10th Regiment) on their mission to survey the roads between Boston, Worcester, and Concord in February and March, 1775. At Weston they put up at the Tory tavern kept by Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, Captain Isaac Jones, the Golden Ball Tavern on the Post Road. DeBerniere wrote:

"We stopped at a tavern at the sign of the golden-Ball, with an intention to get a drink and so proceed; but upon our going in the landlord pleased us so much, as he was not inquisitive, that we resolved to lye there that night; so we ordered some fire to be made in the room we were in, and a little after to get us some coffee; he told us we might have what we pleased, either tea or coffee; We immediately found out with whom we were, and were not a little pleased to find, on some conversation, that he was a friend to Government; he told us that he had been very ill-used by them some time before; but that since he had shewed them that he was not to be bullied, they had left him pretty quiet..."

"We then asked him for the inns that were on the road between his house and Worcester; he recommended us to two, one about nine miles from his house, a Mr. Buckminster's, and another at Worcester, a namesake of his own, a Mr. (Nathaniel) Jones (a cousin)..."

Printed in DeBerniere, General Gage's Instructions (Boston, 1779) pp. 16-17. For Henry Barnes and the Brown-DeBerniere Mission, see Ibid., and Henry Barnes' Loyalist papers, PRO. A.O. 13:43.

2 Charles Hudson, History of the Town of Marlborough (1862) p. 152. Ward had previously commanded this regiment (which for geographic reasons included Marlborough from Middlesex) until June 30, 1766, when he was dismissed by Gov. Francis Bernard for his opposition in the General Court to the Stamp Act and his violent condemnation of the Governor. See Charles Martyn, The Life of Artemas Ward (1921) pp. 33-36; 70-71; 75-76.

While in many Middlesex County towns the rebel Whigs were thus taking control of the Militia and creating their highly mobile regiments of Minute Men, at the end of October and into November, 1774 Col. Elisha Jones still held together loyal remnants of his Third Middlesex Regiment. A guard from the Weston Company was stationed around the Colonel's house on the large estate south of the Post Road as protection "from the mobs which (as his son Josiah Jones was later to testify) came often against him."¹ Weston during the last week of October was apparently quiet enough - although here as everywhere else in Massachusetts through the fall and winter of 1774-1775 there was fear of neighbours and strangers and mounting political tension if no open and armed fights between Whig and Tory. Col. Jones' son-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar of the First Church at Salem, who, for all that as a Senior Sophister he had led the famous "Butter Rebellion" at Harvard in 1766, having gained in prudence, now took a particular care in avoiding Whig mobbings and riots, and his travels as recorded in his "Diary" for 1774 and 1775 are a barometer of town violence. "Went to Weston," he wrote for the date October 25th. This was probably during one of his not infrequent journeys from Salem "exchanging pulpits," the old custom of Massachusetts parsons. As usual Dunbar's visit to Weston was short: three days later, before returning to Salem, he "Preached at Medford," where a new Minister was ordained, at the end of September. Another Middlesex town, on the far side of Concord by the Mystic River, the Militia was still loyal at the time of Dunbar's visit; it was not until a fortnight later, on Nov. 10th, that, "agreeable to the general Voice of the People," the Whigs forced the officers of the Medford Company to resign.²

¹ Josiah Jones to Loyalist Commissioners, St. John (New Brunswick) Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 366.

² Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," October, 1774. Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester; Medford Town Records, August 16, September 21, 1774; Medford Militia Officers to Gage, Nov. 10, 1774. Gage MSS, Clements Library.

COL. JONES' RANGERS: ONE OF THE FIRST TORY CORPS
RAISED IN THE WAR, NOVEMBER, 1774

"He was then Col. of Militia of the Co. of Midx. and raised the Militia in order to oppose the violent measures of the Insurgents. He was obliged to keep a guard of Militia round his own House for fear of being attacked..."

Josiah Jones before the Loyalist¹
Commissioners, St. John, Oct. 21, 1786.

Col. Elisha Jones' answer to the rebel Whigs of Middlesex when, some time at the beginning of November, 1774, they finally succeeded in destroying what remained of his Third Regiment, was to raise a new military corps of men loyal to the Government. Probably the work was done as was Whig practice by planned invasions of Weston and other still-loyal Third Middlesex towns - that is, those whose Meetings, although in some cases such as Weston Whig-controlled, had not voted to reorganize their Militia, to create Minute Companies, or to stockpile military supplies. These invasions (carried out at the request of local Whigs who could not command a majority in their towns for such work) were by Whig mobs - described by Col. Jones' son Josiah - often led by the newly-formed Minute-Man Companies. The latter, no heroes before Lexington, were thus first used against their own people, the tools of the rebel Committees of Correspondence in enforcing their arbitrary edicts against "obstinate" Tories who refused to resign their lawful Crown Commissions, as well as the Tory Associations, during the civil war that raged in Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775.²

1 PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 366.

2 At Middleborough (Plymouth) "a Mr. Silas Wood, who had signed a paper to disavow the riotous Proceedings of the Times, was dragged by a mob of 2 or 300 Men about a Mile to a River, in Order to drown him; but one of his Children hanging about him with Cries & Tears, he was induced to recant, though, even then, very reluctantly." Adair & Schutz, eds Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion (1961) p. 153.

The Whigs were as careful not to document - and to suppress - what evidence they could of their use of violence against the Loyal Militia in the country as in Boston as part of their effort to create the fiction of widespread popular support for their cause. Margaret Draper and her printer John Howe, however, did publish in the Massachusetts Gazette or Boston Weekly News Letter reports of these rebel activities from nameless correspondents who risked their lives and property to make the true facts known. Probably the heroism and devotion to duty of young Ensign Daniel Dunbar of Halifax (in Plymouth County) who endured two hours of torture before, to save his life, he was forced to give up his colours to the Rebels, was nowhere surpassed in these dark months of Whig anarchy. Draper's News Letter carried the story on February 23, 1775:

"In November 1774 Daniel Dunbar of Hallifax...being an Ensign in the Militia, a Mob headed by some of the Select Men of the Town, demand(ed) his Colours of him. He refused, saying that if his commanding Officer demanded them he should obey, otherwise he would not part with them:- upon which they broke into his House by Force & dragged him out. They had prepared a sharp Rail to set him upon; & in resisting them they seized him (by his private parts) & fixed him upon the Rail, & was held on it by his Legs & Arms, & tossed up with Violence & greatly bruised so that he did not recover for some Time. They beat him, & after abusing him about two Hours he was obliged, in Order to save his Life, to give up his Colours." 1

1 This account was also used by the last Chief Justice of Massachusetts Bay, Peter Oliver, in his Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion (1st. edn., ed. by Adair and Schutz, 1961, p. 155). Oliver, whose home was at Oliver Hall, Middleborough (not far from Dunbar's town of Halifax) had been a Justice for Plymouth County for many years. It is likely that he knew of this case at first hand; and, indeed, Oliver himself may have been Mrs. Draper's correspondent for the several accounts of rebel atrocities in Plymouth County that appeared in her notable edition of the News Letter on Feb. 23, 1775.

Forgetting that truth is stranger than fiction, Bernard Bailyn in The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (1974), p. 384, dismisses Oliver's Origin and Progress out-of-hand as a "wild polemic comparable in its unqualified heroics to Parson Weems's Life of Washington..." but Oliver did not need to pad his work, as did Weems, with sycophantic fables. Dunbar's stand is the more remarkable considering that although one of the Plymouth County Colonels, Nathaniel Ray Thomas and a force of Tories held out until after Lexington at Marshfield (see below) Col. George Watson and Lt. Col. Pelham Winslow had resigned at Plymouth Oct. 6th, and Maj. Thos. Bourn Oct. 29th. Bourn to Gage, Oct. 29, 1774. Gage MSS.

Whatever the circumstances of the forced resignations of the last officers of Col. Elisha Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment, at Weston "a Number of Persons" later "Signed a Covenanting Agreement dated November 14, 1774, to learn the Military Skill to defend his Majesty's Authority," fifty-five men whose names are known, a large Massachusetts militia company, and sometimes in number two. Enlisted by Col. Jones, this was one of the first Loyalist military corps to be raised in Massachusetts Bay or elsewhere in the American colonies during the long conflict.

Jones' Loyalists - all the volunteer contingents raised before the Battle of Lexington (April 19, 1775) were called Rangers - were unique, moreover, as being the only corps which was based inland and out of reach of supply and reinforcements by sea or a river able to take sizeable Loyalist or Royal Naval Vessels. The Charles was navigable only as far up stream as Watertown.

The situation of Jones' Rangers points to the great military disadvantage of the Loyalist corps raised during the period of the Civil War in Massachusetts from September, 1774 to April, 1775: their relative isolation. By December of 1774 Col. Jones' men were surrounded by miles of territory overawed - if not always controlled - by rebel Minute-Man and militia contingents. The nearest Government troops were Gage's Regulars, for the most part after the Powder Alarm "held" in Boston where they could touch off no further incidents, and in any case a long day's march from Weston.

Only two other Tory corps of any consequence were in being during this period, both also raised in the late Fall and early Winter of 1774 by Militia Colonels who, like Col. Jones, were veterans of the French Wars, and based along the coast or within access to it by water. These were the Rangers of Col. Thomas Gilbert (called "Gilbert's Banditti" by the rebels) at Freetown on the Taunton River in Bristol County, and, down on the South Shore, the Marshfield (Plymouth County) Tories of Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas.

1 See the Roster published by the Boston Gazette, April 17, 1775. 4/2 There is no mention of Col. Jones' Corps in Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats (1964) nor anything but a passing mention of other Tory corps raised before the Evacuation of Boston (March 17, 1776).

2 The best accounts of the corps of Gilbert and Thomas are to be found in their Loyalist Papers, for Gilbert: A.O. 13/50; A.O. 12:10, ff. 131-147; and Thomas: PRO. A.O. 12/10, ff. 56-63.

It was not Col. Elisha Jones, (whose career was to be cut short by his early death in February, 1776) Col. Thomas Gilbert (of Freetown), or Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas (of Marshfield), who were the most active and successful of the Tory leaders in raising corps of loyal militia during the fall and winter of 1774-1775, however, that were to direct the military organization of the Massachusetts Bay Tories. After the Powder Alarm, and through the long fighting years that followed of the war that continued to be a civil war after it became a revolution, the pre-eminent Tory political and military leader was a man who, after August, 1774, was one of the Tory refugees in Boston: the second-in-command of the Massachusetts Militia, Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick.¹

Sworn by Gage as a New (Mandamus) Councillor at Salem on August 16, 1774, Ruggles then set out into the country, braving the Whig mobs that earlier in the month had driven him from his great Worcester County estate, making a tour of military inspection in the counties to the south, south-east, and south-west of Boston. Among the Tory Militia Colonels that Ruggles is known to have visited at this time were Josiah Edson at Bridgewater in Plymouth County, and, leaving the "Old Colony" for Bristol, Col. Elisha Tobey at Dartmouth on an inlet of the sea not many miles from Newport. On the return northward Ruggles saw Col. Thomas Gilbert at Freetown. From thence it would not have added greatly to Ruggles' journey (he had returned to Boston in time to attend the meeting of the Council called by Gage at the end of August) to have travelled to Boston by way of the strategic Loyalist towns in Suffolk and finally Middlesex Counties. It is not known whether Ruggles had a meeting with Col. Elisha Jones at Weston at this time.²

1 The Major General Commandant of the Massachusetts Militia in 1774, William Brattle of Cambridge (Col. of the First Middlesex) a Tory refugee in Boston after the Powder Alarm, took no part in organizing Loyalist resistance to the rebels. Brattle, for all that he had written a set of "Rules for Drawing up a Regiment" used by the Militia, had always been more of a politician than a fighting officer. According to one source he remained in Boston, "wringing his hands and groaning, 'We shall lose the day. Good God! what will become of us?'" (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Ser. 1 Vol. VIII, 399) Evacuated to Halifax, he died there Oct. 25, 1776. His only son Thomas, Major of the First Middlesex, fled to Boston after the Powder Alarm and to escape from the troubles of the Siege, left Boston for Nantucket with Wm. Vassall and other prominent Loyalists May 10, 1775; from thence he went to London; regarded as a traitor by the Tories. Stark, Loyalists, 296-7.

2 These activities are summarized in Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Grad., Vol. IX, pp. 214-5.

For the country Tories it was a critical factor that in the mass Whig persecutions from August, 1774 onward, called the "Reign of Terror," and particularly those which accompanied the Powder Alarm and the campaign to force the resignation of the so-called "Mandamus Councillors," foremost Royal appointees under the punitive Parliamentary Acts, so many of the Tory Colonels and other military leaders had been driven to the sanctuary of Boston. Many townships had thus been left with few or no loyal officers around whom the loyal militiamen could rally. (All able-bodied men in the towns were enrolled in the Colonial Militia.)¹

Notable among these military refugees was Col. Richard Saltonstall of Haverhill, (March 5, 1731/2–October 6, 1785) High Sheriff of Essex County, who in 1765 had enlisted a volunteer militia company of sixty men to guard the shipment of stamps and stamped paper deposited by the government of Sir Francis Bernard at Castle William on the island in Boston Harbour, and later on January 23, 1766 further defied the Whig mobs by becoming one of the five pro-government members of the House of Representatives (Col. Elisha Jones was not a member in 1766) to vote against the resolution condemning the closure of the Courts for lack of stamps.²

¹ Tory military leaders who fled to Boston included: Colonels John Erving (Boston), George Leonard (Boston), Nathaniel Hatch (Dorchester) William Browne (Salem) William Brattle (Cambridge) Josiah Edson (Bridgewater), Abijah Willard (Lancaster), John Chandler (Worcester), and John Murray of Rutland. Notable of the more junior officers were Lt. Cols. Pelham Winslow of Plymouth and James Putnam of Worcester. See their Loyalist Claims Papers, PRO. A. O. 13 and A. O. 12., and the "List of Persons who removed from Boston to Halifax with his Majesty's Troops in the month of March, 1776..." Howe to Germain, May 7, 1776. PRO. CO5:93, 317ff.

² See Saltonstall's Loyalist papers, PRO, A. O. 12:105, f. 19, A. O. 13:49 and A. O. 13:83. The fullest sketch of Saltonstall in Robert E. Moody, ed., The Saltonstall Papers, 1607–1815 (1972) pp. 61–98. For Saltonstall's "mobbing" see George W. Chase, The History of Haverhill, Massachusetts, from its First Settlement, in 1640, to the Year 1860. (1861) pp. 376–7.

No copy of the "Covenanting Agreement" dated November 14, 1774 and signed by the men who enlisted in Col. Jones' Loyalist Corps at Weston has been found. It was probably, however, the famous six-point "Association" for mutual defense drawn up by Brigadier Timothy Ruggles and widely circulated in the Massachusetts towns by the Tory Committees of Correspondence after the Powder Alarm.

THE ASSOCIATION

We the subscribers being fully sensible of the blessings of good Government on the one hand, and convinced on the other hand of the evils and calamities attending on Tyranny in all shapes, whether exercised by one or many, and having of late seen with great grief and concern the distressing effects of a dissolution of all Government, whereby our Lives, Liberties, and Properties are rendered precarious, and no longer under the Protection of the Law; and apprehending it to be our indispensable duty, to use all Lawful means in our Power, for the defence of our Persons and Property, against all riotous, and lawless violence, and to recover, and secure the advantages which we are intitled to, from the good and wholesome laws of the Government; Do hereby associate and mutually covenant, and engage to and with each other as follows. Namely

1st. That we will, upon all occasions, with our Lives, and Fortunes, stand by and assist each other, in the defence of his Life, Liberty, and Property, whenever the same shall be attacked, or endangered by any Bodies of Men, riotously assembled, upon any pretence, or under any authority, not warranted by the Laws of the Land.

2dly. That we will, upon all occasions, mutually support each other in the free exercise, and enjoyment of our undoubted right to Liberty, in eating, drinking, buying, selling, communing, and acting, what, with whom, and as we please, consistent with, the Laws of God, and the King.

3dly. That we will not acknowledge, or submit, to the pretended authority, of any Congress, Committees of Correspondence, or other unconstitutional Assemblies of Men; but will at the risque of our Lives, if need be, oppose the forceable exercise of all such authority.

4thly. That we will to the utmost of our Power, promote, encourage, and when called to it, enforce obedience to the rightful Authority of our most Gracious Sovereign King George the Third, and of his Laws.

5thly. That when the Person or Property of any one of us shall be invaded or threatened by any Committees, Mobs, or unlawful Assemblies, the others of us will upon notice received forthwith repair, properly armed, to the Person on whom, or place where such invasion or threatening shall be, and will to the utmost of our Power, defend such Person and his Property, and if need be, will oppose and repel force with force.

6thly. That if any of us shall unjustly and unlawfully be injured in his Person or Property, by any such Assemblies as before mentioned, the others of us will unitedly demand, and if in our Power compel the Offenders, if known, to make full reparation and satisfaction for such Injury; and if all other Means of Security fail, we will have recourse to the natural Law of Retaliation.

In Witness of all which we hereto subscribe our Names
this day of¹

The names of the 55 men who signed Col. Jones' Tory Covenant at Weston on November 14, 1774, were:-

Nathan Hobbs	Joseph Seaverns
Isaac Hobbs	Elisha Stimson ²
Thadeus Spring	Abraham Jones ²
Daniel Livermore	Isaiah Bullard
Jonas Sanderson	Lemuel Jones ³
Isaac Stratton	Elisha Harrington ⁴
Oliver Barber	Thadeus Fuller
Roger Biglow	Joseph Mastick

1 From Margaret Draper's Tory The Massachusetts Gazette or Boston Weekly News Letter, December 23, 1774, where it was first printed. Boycotted by the Whig press, the "Association" was later carried in Hugh Gaine's Tory New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 9, 1775.

2 and 3. Abraham Jones and Lemuel Jones were cousins of Col. Elisha Jones. Abraham, born at Weston Feb. 13, 1724-5 was Selectman in 1769 and 1770, a brother of Lt. Col. John Jones of Dedham. Dr. Henry Bond, Genealogies of the... Early Settlers of Watertown 2 edn. 1860, pp. 313, 317.

4 Ibid., pp. 272-3. Elisha Harrington of Weston was a Deputy Sheriff of Middlesex County in 1774. He was mobbed at Weston on Aug. 31, 1774, as his published "confession" says, for helping to "operate" the "new system of Laws by distributing Venires to the Constables of the several towns requiring them to return the names of such persons as qualified to serve as Jurors..." Boston Gazette, Sept. 12, 1774. 1/2.

Hezekiah Wyman
 Samuel Underwood
 Isaac Mirick
 Phinehas Upham
 Ephriam Train
 Ebenezer Bracket
 Josiah Headley
 Samuel Stimson
 Joshua Pierce
 Benjamin Stimson
 Nathaniel Wheaton
 Samuel Livermore
 Samuel Train Jun.
 James Stimson
 James Stimson Jun.
 Asa Travis
 Thomas Corey
 Samuel Gray 18
 Lemuel Stimson 16
 Josiah Allen Jun.

Isaac Harrington, aged 19
 Daniel Livermore, Jun. 16
 Amos Harrington 20
 John Baldwin 17
 Amos Jones 15 1/
 Daniel Twitchell 18
 William Cary 19
 John Stimson 18
 Reuben Hobbs 18
 William Hobbs 15
 Lemuel Jones Jun. 15 2/
 Stephen Mirick 17
 Josiah Lawrence 14
 Jonas Jones 18 3/
 Peter Cary 18
 James Taylor 15
 Thomas Williams 18
 Silas Coolidge 19
 Daniel Upham 16

The names of Col. Jones' Weston Tery Corps are known only from the list ordered to be published by resolve of the highly secret Sudbury Convention of Whig representatives from towns in Middlesex and neighbouring counties of January 5, 1775 - and even then withheld from publication until Monday, April 17th, just two days before the Lexington Alarm when it was known in inner Whig circles that a foray by Gage's troops from Boston to impound the rebel military supplies lodged at Concord, only a few miles from Weston, was imminent. ⁴

1 and 2. Amos Jones and Lemuel Jones Junr. were cousins of Col. Elisha Jones of Weston. See Dr. Henry Bond, Genealogies of the...Early Settlers of Watertown (2nd. edn. 1860) pp. 317-318.

3 Jonas Jones, born August 16, 1756 at Weston, was Col. Elisha Jones' second youngest son, and the first thus to volunteer for military service. See below.

4 Boston Gazette, Monday, April 17, 1775. 4/2, 3.

So greatly did the Whigs fear the defensive character and reasoned respect for justice and the law embodied in Brig. Ruggles' Tory Association Covenant - and the weight of constitutional precedent which it bore - that despite the resolve of the Whig Provincial Congress meeting at Cambridge on December 10, 1774, the text of Ruggles' Association was never published in the Whig press. The Ruggles Association was modelled upon earlier Association covenants circulated in England - and Massachusetts Bay¹ - in times of great public danger, with provisions designed to safeguard the life and government of the sovereign, and for recruiting and supporting loyal militia. These included the Associations to protect the life and government of George II during the 1745 rebellion, the Association of 1696 for that of William III,² and the Association formed in 1585 for the protection of Elizabeth I.

1 For Col. Richard Saltonstall's raising of a militia company to guard the stamps and stamped paper at Castle William during the Stamp Act Crisis in 1765, see above, and Saltonstall's Loyalist papers, PRO. A.O.12:105, f.19; A.O. 13:49 and A.O.13:83.

2 For the operation of these Loyal Associations in one English County - Hertfordshire - see the discussion by the County Archivist William Le Hardy in his edition of the Hertfordshire County Records Calendar to the Sessions Books ...1700 to 1752, Vol. VII (1931), x-xi, and Appendix VII, "Rebellion Rolls. Box 2, Bundle 15," which prints the "Association for the preservation of the life and government of William IV; 1696" ordered to be signed by "every housekeeper and lodger throughout the county." The form of this Association was as follows:

"Whereas there has been a Horrid and Detestable Conspiracy formed and carried on by Papists, and other Wicked and Traiterous Persons, for Assassinating His Majesty's Royal Person, in order to incourage an Invasion from France, to subvert our Religion, Laws, and Liberty; We whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do heartily, sincerely, and solemnly Profess, Testifie and Declare, That His Present Majesty King William, is Rightful and Lawful King of these Realms; And We doe mutually Promise and Engage to stand by and Assist each other, to the Utmost of our Power, in the Support and Defence of His Majesty's Most Sacred Person and Government, against the Late King James, and all his Adherents; And in Case his Majesty come to any violent or untimely; Death (which God forbid) We do hereby further freely and unanimously Oblige our selves, to Unite, Associate, and stand by each other, in Revenging the same upon his Enemies, and their Adherents; and in Supporting and Defending the Succession of the Crown, according to an Act made in the First Year of the Reign of King William and Queen Mary..." Ibid., pp. 565-566.

By December, 1774, it was evident to all sides in the Massachusetts Civil War that, against the expectations of many, the Country Tories were rallying after the devastating political defeat of the Powder Alarm in September. Led by a handful of loyal officers, among them Col. Elisha Jones of Weston, Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas at Marshfield, and Col. Thomas Gilbert at Freetown, the Country Tories were raising corps of Loyal Militia which, although in many cases remote from each other, formed strategic centres of resistance to the marauding rebel Whig militia and their mob allies. The - largely secret - Tory Town Committees of Correspondence were quietly multiplied and strengthened, being knit together one to another across town boundaries and into County organizations much like those of the rebel Whigs, while Ruggles' Loyal Association, copied and circulated by Tories from town to town began to organize the Loyalists that, in the pioneering tradition had banded together in local groups for mutual protection.¹

¹ These Tory organizations in many cases were to last out the conflict. See the invitation of three Tory Committees for a County Convention in Hampshire, July 17, 1776. Military Papers, American Revolution, Orders. MSS., Forbes Library, Northampton.

There is no adequate study of Loyalist resistance groups and other secret organizations in Massachusetts, which had their beginnings in the years before the simmering political conflict erupted into open Civil War with the Powder Alarm. One of these was active at Harvard and in Cambridge Town before 1762, as Thomas Danforth later explained: "For several years before the War, when it was evidently the design of a set of desperate people in Boston to bring on a rebellion, a Society was held at Cambridge consisting of his father (Samuel, President of the Provincial Council, and who graduated at Harvard in 1715) and other gentlemen, to which he himself was admitted while at Harvard College, (1762) with the object of supporting the Constitution and laws of the Province." PRO.A.O.13:44. It is not known - but probable - that Col. Jones' Harvard sons: Daniel (1759) Stephen (1775) and Charles (1778) were members of this Society, but all were conspicuous Tories. Very likely they joined with the other Harvard-ites in the public drinking of dutied tea. (see Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University* (1860) Vol. II, pp. 163-164.)

Tory organizations were to be most successful in the coastal counties S.E. of Boston, and in the far west, in the Connecticut and Housatonic River Valleys. For the effectiveness of Tory organizations in Plymouth and Barnstable - James Otis described the latter as "this Tory County" - see Otis to Benjamin Greenleaf, March 18, 1776, printed in Peter Force, *American ARChives*, Ser. IV, Vol. 5, p. 408.

The Tory political and military revival of late Fall and Winter, 1774-1775 in the Massachusetts towns outside Boston was the first of those to take place from time to time in the American colonies throughout the conflict. It was a matter of critical importance to the outcome of the conflict, moreover, that these Tory revivals occurred most often where, as in the fall and winter of 1774-1775 the regular troops were held in Boston for the most part, the "imperial presence" was muted or submerged in local issues: that is, when the conflict was more of a civil war and less of a rebellion against an enemy from the outside threatening hearth and home. It was the seeming "invasion" of the red-coated regulars, and later more than these, the easy-to-hate and patently foreign mercenary troops as well as the traditional frontier enemies - Frenchmen and their Indian henchmen from Canada - that raised up moderate men as rebels like dragon's teeth.¹

From the outset of the armed conflict in the American Colonies the British (and many of the Tories themselves, particularly those who wished to take no part in the fighting) made the error of equating Tory strength and popular support for Government with the presence of regular troops. In Boston, General Gage, more politically acute than credited in his lifetime, or later, did recognize that there was a difference in behaviour between the Tories in Boston under the protection of the redcoats, and the Country Tories that had been left to face the Whig Civil War on their own. The problem - the fundamental imperial problem for Britain for the next two centuries - was how effectively to foster and use local political and military support for colonial government: and this neither Gage nor the other British military commanders -

¹ It was in Col. Jones' County of Middlesex, and other places within reach of Gage's Regulars a day's march out of Boston, however, that the Tories and their organizations were most rigourously opposed during the period 1774-1776. In the coastal counties of Plymouth and Barnstable, farther removed from Boston, but - in theory at least - "under the guns of the Royal Navy," it was the rebels who fled inland - in large numbers, leaving the towns with larger proportions of inhabitant with "nothing to fear" from Loyal troops. Many rebels, too, left "exposed" towns on the North Shore: See the "Diary" Of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, Col. Elisha Jones' son-in-law, MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester, who brought his family to Weston in May, 1775; also, the best chronicle for Salem, G.F. Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries 1709-1856 (1911) pp. 82-93.

not to say most politicians in England of both parties (with the notable exception of Lord George Germain) were prepared to meet¹ squarely and to solve.

In a despatch to Lord Dartmouth dated December 15, 1774 - without doubt one of the most significant communications ever to be sent by a military commander or governor in the colonies to the government in London - Gage wrote:-

"I hoped to have procured an Association of many considerable People in this Town, but find them more shy of making open Declarations, notwithstanding they are protected, than People are in the Country where they depend only on themselves and their Friends for Security. They give for Excuse that they must first know the Resolutions from home on all that has passed in this Country, and that its time to declare, when they are assured that the Mother Country will not relax, but resolve to pursue her Measures." 2

Gage continued by expressing the hope of many Tories who, like Col. Elisha Jones, had signed Addresses to the departing Governor Hutchinson the June before, that a way could be found toward a peaceful solution. "If," Gage wrote, "they begin to Associate in the Town, its likely they will also fall on Means to pay for the Tea, for as they are mostly Traders, it would be very advantageous for them to have the Port open, in the present Conjuncture of their Commercial Affairs." 3

1 For some discussion of the military side of this question, see Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats (1964) pp. 32-34, and 172-174. For the attitude of Lord George Germain, who was to give particular aid to the sons of Col. Elisha Jones during the War, and later, see below.

2 Gage to Dartmouth, Boston, December 15, 1774. PRO.C.0.5:92.

3 Ibid. On Jan. 18, 1775 he wrote again to Dartmouth: "It was thought impossible that the Phrenzy which had Seized the People could be of very long Duration, unless constantly Supported by New Events... I find by Accounts from Several parts of the Country, that those hopes were not without Foundation, that the People's Minds are greatly cooled, and many begin to want Courts of Justice, and that the Friends of Government have shewed themselves openly in many Places..." PRO.C.0.5:92.

Gage himself in Boston through the fall and winter of 1774-1775, did what he could to promote the cause of conciliation with the disaffected Whigs. From time to time he met Dr. Joseph Warren, head of the Boston Committee of Correspondence and in the absence of Sam Adams at the Continental Congress directing Whig policy, and other radical leaders, but little was achieved beyond measures better to keep the peace in the town between the inhabitants and the soldiery. Warren, then deeply engaged in organizing preparations for armed rebellion in the spring, later explained that he had rejected Gage's overtures because he feared the men around him - that is, the Governor's Council and Gage's other Tory advisers.¹

Careful to give no provocation for a repetition of the Powder Alarm, Gage kept the regular troops in Boston for the most part until after the adjournment of the Provincial Congress at Cambridge on December 10th.² Thereafter, and with increasing frequency,³ detachments were sent on day-marches into the country.

¹ Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, sketch of Joseph Warren, class of 1759, Vol. XIV, p. 517; see also John Cary, Joseph Warren, (1961) pp. 167-168.

Warren was in the same Harvard Class (though ranked well below him) as Col. Jones' fifth son, Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale (New Hampshire) who (in 1771) had been appointed first Chief Justice of Cheshire County. They must have known each other well, but being opposites in politics appear to have had little in common except membership in the Free-Masons. Warren, of course, was eventually "Grand Master of all the Most Ancient Free-Masons throughout North-America."

² The Whig Provincial Congress sat again from Feb. 1 until Feb. 16th, 1775.

³ Gage's Order Book for this period is lost, but troop movements can be followed in the detailed diary kept by Lt. Frederick Mackenzie, then Adjutant of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers in Boston, which begins on Jan. 5, 1775. On Feb. 3rd, he wrote: "It has been customary of late, and approved of by The General, for some of the Regiments to go out of town, with their Arms, Accoutrements, and knapsacks, when the weather permits and they are off duty, and march three four or five miles into the Country." Diary of Frederick Mackenzie (1930) p. 6. Mackenzie's MSS Diary is now in the archives of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers Regimental Museum at Caernarvon Castle.

On December 13th the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, "together with a detachment from another regiment, form'd a body of 400 men," according to the Whig Boston merchant John Andrews, "equip'd with knapsacks &cs., march out of town as far as the punch bowl in Brookline (a famous tavern), when they return'd again."¹

The next day, December 14th, another detachment took "a different road." On December 21st Andrews made further record in the letters to his brother-in-law William Barrell at Philadelphia: "Two or three Regiments continue to go out of town every day, sometimes to Cambridge, and at other times towards Dedham."²

1 Dr. Joseph Warren was quick to exploit the movements of Gage's troops outside Boston for political purposes and to keep the country towns in a ferment of alarm. On Dec. 13th, for example, Warren sent messengers as far as Newport (Rhode Island) with news that a force of some 300 troops was marching that way. And at the same time Warren sent the rebel Whig despatch-rider, Boston silversmith Paul Revere, northward to New Hampshire with a message for John Sullivan, the militia leader at Durham, suggesting that his men seize the powder stored at Castle William and Mary in Portsmouth Harbour (on an island like Castle William at Boston) before Gage can send troops requested by Governor Wentworth to reinforce the garrison. See "Letters of John Andrews," MHS Proceedings, Vol. VIII, July, 1865, pp. 390-391; Force, American Archives, 4 Ser., Vol. I, pp. 1041-1042; F.B. Dexter, ed., The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles (1901) p. 501.

The Whig leaders in Boston kept a careful watch on the Regular troops; in a later memoir Paul Revere described these activities:-

"In the fall of '74 and the winter of '75, I was one of upwards of thirty, chiefly mechanics, who formed ourselves into a committee for the purpose of watching the movements of the British soldiers, and gaining every intelligence of the movements of the Tories. We held our meetings at the Green Dragon. We were so careful that our meetings should be kept secret, that every time we met, every person swore upon the Bible that he would not discover any of our transactions but to Messrs. Hancock, (Sam) Adams, and one or two more. In the winter, towards spring, we frequently took turns, two and two, to watch the soldiers, by patrolling the streets all night." Forbes, Paul Revere, (6edn. 1969), p. 234.

² John Andrews to William Barrell, Dec. 21, 1774. MHS Proceedings, Vol. VIII, July, 1865, p. 391. See also for later troop movements the Diary of Frederick Mackenzie (1930); under the date of Feb. 3, 1775, he noted that his regiment, the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, had marched toward Cambridge, "and that there are always some persons appointed to Watch the motions and direction of the Troops." p. 6.

For Col. Jones and his corps at Weston and the other hard-pressed Massachusetts Country Tories, however, the difficulties of raising loyal military companies for defense and of gaining public support for their concept of legal and political colonial rights, as set forth in the Association covenants, were made the greater by these excursions of Gage's troops to nearby towns in the two counties adjoining Boston, (part of) Suffolk and Middlesex; the "secret" despatch on February 26th of the 64th regiment under Col. Leslie to Essex County, by sea to Marblehead and thence overland to Salem where the troops were "allowed" peacefully to cross the North Bridge and 50 yards beyond only by agreement with Capt. Felt of the Salem Militia before returning, was a major political disaster - raising the rebel militia of all Essex County - and greater for the more vulnerable Tory cause, so dependent upon popular opinion as it was, than for the Imperial as these incidents inevitably were.¹

Most telling of all was the final incident in Col. Leslie's retreat from Salem on February 26th (not witnessed by Col. Jones' son-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar of the First Church, who was then at Weston).² When Captain Felt of the Salem Militia gave the order, the leaf of the North Bridge draw was lowered, and Col. Leslie's troops marched across about as far as Mason Street, wheeled, and started back again for Marblehead. "Just where they turned, Sarah

1 This was the first "great alarm" since the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1, 1774. The 64th Regiment was then stationed at Castle William, in Boston harbour and away from the ubiquitous Whig "watchers." Col. Leslie waited at Marblehead until the inhabitants had gone to the Meeting House for afternoon service before landing his troops. But the alarm was given, and Major Pedrick rode to Salem with the news. From Salem Benjamin Daland, who kept a stable on Summer Street, carried the alarm to Danvers, and thereafter Whig despatch riders spread it to all the towns in Essex County in a matter of hours: by nightfall over a hundred men were on the march from Amesbury, in the north, not far from the New Hampshire border. See Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. 1, p. 2.

2 See the "Diary" of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, February, 1775. MSS, Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

Tarrant leaned out of her window and called out:

'Go home and tell your Master he sent you on a fool's errand and has broken the peace of our Sabbath. What! Do you think we were born in the woods, to be frightened by owls?'

One of the soldiers pointed a musket at her.

'Fire if you have the courage,' she yelled. 'I doubt it'." ¹

There was no firing by the regular troops that day, however, and the Massachusetts Civil War was not to be broadened into a revolution for almost two months - although, prophetically enough on April 17th, just two days before the Lexington Alarm, the Gentleman's Magazine (London) began its account of the affair at the North Bridge by saying:-

"It is reported that the Americans have hoisted their standard of liberty at Salem..."

Better by far than any rebel Whig doings or exhortations were the expeditions of Gage's troops for keeping the Whigs in the country towns in a ferment of suspicion and hostility toward the Tories and perpetual fear that "the regulars were coming" through the winter of 1774-1775. Gage himself had pointed out the pitfall in November, 1774, in his request for reinforcements to Lord Barrington: "A large Force will terrify, and engage many to join you, a middling one will encourage resistance, and gain no friends." ² But there were other considerations. Frederick Mackenzie of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers noted in his Diary on Feb. 3rd: "This practice is conducive to the health of the troops; and may enable the General to send Regiments or Detachments to particular parts of the Country without occasioning so much alarm as would otherwise take place. Our Regiment marched out this day towards Cambridge," he wrote, but added: "The people appear apprehensive that something particular

1 The best account still of the ill-fated expedition of Col. Leslie to Salem is James Duncan Phillips, Salem in the Eighteenth Century (1937) pp. 350-360.

2 Gage prefaced this with the following admonition: "If you will resist and not yield, that Resistance should be effectual at the Beginning. If you think ten thousand Men sufficient, send Twenty, if one Million (Pounds) is thought enough, give two, you will save both Blood and Treasure in the end." Gage to Barrington, Nov. 2, 1774. Gage MSS.

is concealed under these movements; and there are always some persons appointed to Watch the motions and direction of the Troops."¹ Again, on February 8th, Mackenzie recorded: "The 23rd Regiment (the Royal Welsh Fusiliers) marched into the Country this day towards Watertown. The Country people seem extremely jealous of these movements (which are more frequent than they were), as they apprehend they are intended to cover some design the General has formed."² Whatever the disadvantages, however, Gage had no intent to abandon Massachusetts Bay outside Boston to the Colonials, Tory or Whig. He wrote to Lord Barrington on February 10th: "To keep quiet in the Town of Boston only, will not terminate Affairs; the Troops must March into the Country."³

Although on the whole Gage was sympathetic to the Loyalists, and as Commander-in-Chief at Boston (1774-1775), within the confines of orders, did what he could to aid them, his military policy to a large degree worked against the formation of Tory Corps such as that of Col. Elisha Jones at Weston and other Tory military and political interests. A continuation of the historic British concept of secondary status for colonial territories, the situation of Country and Boston Tories was one of studied subservience to Imperial interests - and this was to continue through the conflict of arms, imposing such vital limitations upon the military and political activities of the loyal colonials as virtually to assure the final defeat of their cause. It is of great significance that, in Gage's statement in his despatch to Dartmouth of Jan. 27, 1775

1 Diary of Frederick Mackenzie (1930) Feb. 3, 1775. p. 6.

2 Ibid., p. 7.

3 Gage to Lord Barrington, Feb. 10, 1775. Gage MSS, Clements Library. Earlier, on Dec. 4, 1774, he had written: "I hope you will be firm, and send me a sufficient Force to command the Country, by marching into it, and sending off large Detachments to secure obedience through every part of it." Ibid.

is accepted, neither Col. Elisha Jones at Weston nor any other commander of a Tory Corps asked Gage for a detachment of regular troops as reinforcements before mid-January, 1775, and only then as a last resort when a number of Tory Associations had been defeated and disarmed by massed companies of rebel militia from nearby towns and they themselves were threatened at last by overwhelming numbers.¹

1 Gage to Dartmouth, Jan. 27, 1775. PRO. C.O. 5:92. Gage wrote: "The town of Marshfield with that of Scituate having been lately under Terrors of this kind, from threats of their Neighbours, for having formed some Association amongst themselves, applied to me for Protection; and I have sent a Detachment of 100 Men to their Relief... It is the first Instance of an Application to Government for Assistance, which the Faction has ever tried to perswade the People they would never obtain, but be left to themselves." The Tory leader at Marshfield, who held out until after the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775, was Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas. For the despatch of the troops by sea to Marshfield, see the Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, Jan. 23, 1775 (for the sailing of the troops in the Diana Armed Schooner under command of Capt. Balfour of the 4th Regiment) p. 5, the entry for Jan. 25th (landing at Marshfield) p. 6.

COL. JONES' RANGERS: DEFIANCE IN DEFEAT,

DECEMBER, 1774 TO APRIL, 1775

"His life was in Danger, which was the Reason that he kept his Guard. Before Hostilities began the Mobs had come so often against him that he was obliged to leave home & went to Boston in the Fall of 1774..."

Josiah Jones before the Loyalist¹
Commissioners, St. John, Oct. 21, 1786.

The activities of Col. Elisha Jones at Weston and the other loyal militia officers who, in the autumn and winter of 1774-1775, banded their people together in Associations and raised the Loyalist Corps in the Massachusetts country towns to defend their families and property against raiding rebel militia and the Whig mobs, however limited in their success, more than any other undertakings by the Tories in these dark and troubled months embodied the fact of resistance to rebel rule and Civil War.

After the Powder Alarm the Country Tories were only too brutally aware that self-preservation -for the present at least - lay in their ability to defend themselves with arms. The Civil War, for the Tories, was to create a lasting -and politically important- gulf between those who took arms in their own defense and fought the rebels and those "political Tories" who, at the first signs of danger, had fled to remain in Boston.² The latter,

1 PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 366.

2 The third group among the Massachusetts Bay Tories was the "early refugees" to England, those who went before the "Great Evacuation" of Boston, March 17, 1776. See below.

with the leisure for correspondence talked much and complained much of the hard lot fate had dealt them, becoming as well the writers and polemicists that supplied the protected Tory press in Boston with "authoritative" Tory tracts and articles. These, whatever their usefulness as propaganda targets for Whig journalists, however, because of Whig boycotts of Tory newspapers and broadsheets, had only a small circulation outside the capital, and only a limited political influence. Many articles were unsigned, or pseudonyms used, as was the established custom - to avoid "reprisals" or libel suits: "Pills for the Delegates" by GROTIUS, four articles which first appeared in Draper's Massachusetts Gazette, and Boston News Letter in the form of letters addressed to Peyton Randolph, the President of the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, argued that the Whigs had been the aggressors in the matter of colonial rights. Jonathan Sewall, the Provincial Attorney General, and after the death of John Maturin in December, 1774, appointed Gage's private secretary, employed his time in writing through that winter, among other items, "The Americans Roused, in a Cure for the Spleen," a dramatic satire on the First Continental Congress.² Sewall, a committed Tory since the early 1760's, was not the notorious "Massachusettensis" despite the suspicions of John Adams with whom, as "Philanthrop" he had earlier crossed swords in the press. The author of this series of articles which appeared in Mills' and Hicks' Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy and Advertiser was in fact the Tory refugee Daniel Leonard, the Taunton lawyer. Appointed to the Council in August, 1774, he was mobbed and driven to Boston soon after taking the oath; Leonard's "Massachusettensis" articles were

1 Philip Davidson in Propaganda and the American Revolution 1763-1783 (1941) makes the telling point that most Tory pamphleteers were writing at the time of the Continental Congresses, and that few remained in the Colonies in 1776 to attack Paine's pamphlet Common Sense and other proposals for independence: the most notable exception was not a Massachusetts man, the Rev. Charles Inglis of New York, who replied in Common Sense, The True Interest of America Impartially Stated. 302-303.

2 For Jonathan Sewall as a Tory Propagandist: Carol Berkin, Jonathan Sewall (1974) pp. 108-115.

printed in the Post Boy as letters "Addressed to the Inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay" between Dec.12,1774 and April 3,1775.¹

Leonard's identity was carefully hidden, even from the party he supported, and with good reason: he was one of the post-Tea-Party Tories (as late as May 28, 1774, in the session when Col. Jones was re-elected to the House from Weston as a Tory, Leonard voted with the Whigs, among others, in favour of the resolve endorsing the resolutions of the Virginia House of Burgesses denying the power of Parliament to tax the Colonies) and he would have carried little conviction with either side for condemning the very Whig actions which he himself had supported. From the first issue of Dec.12th, moreover, the views of "Massachusettensis" had little that would have commended them to Col. Jones and the other Tories then fighting to defend themselves from the rebels outside Boston. Not a veteran of the French Wars, Leonard belittled the achievements of the Massachusetts militia and its commanders in the past. As for the future, he wrote addressing the Whigs:

"Your new-fangled militia have already given us a specimen of their future conduct. In some of their companies, they have already chosen two, in others, three sets of officers, and are as dissatisfied with the last choice as the first. I do not doubt the natural bravery of my countrymen; all men would act the same part in the same situation. Such is the army with which you are to oppose the most powerful nation upon the globe. An experienced officer would rather take his choice with five thousand British troops, than with fifty thousand such militia..."²

"Massachusettensis" went on to argue that the cause of rebellion was doomed to failure. But as so recent an apostate Whig, he put the case for the Loyal Colonials thus, ignoring the appeal to legal

¹ The best sketch of Leonard is by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIV, pp. 640-647. Leonard was a year behind Judge Daniel Jones' year of 1759. The study by Ralph Davol, Two Men of Taunton (1912) based upon Leonard's papers - since "missing" - is biased in favour of Leonard's adversary Robert Treat Paine.

² The first "letter" by "Massachusettensis" Dec.12, 1774, in the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy and Advertiser. The letters were later issued in Boston as a pamphlet in 1775.

principle and natural rights upon which the Association covenants were based, and the fact that for months the Tories had been driven by hostile acts of the rebels in Massachusetts to take arms in their own defense:-

"Upon a superficial view we might imagine that this province was nearly unanimous; but the case is far different. A very considerable part of the men of property in this province, are at this day firmly attached to the cause of Government; bodies of men, compelling persons to disavow their sentiments, to resign commissions, or to subscribe leagues and covenants, have wrought no change in their sentiments; it has only attached them more closely to Government, and caused them to wish more fervently, and to pray more devoutly, for its restoration. These, and thousands beside, if they fight at all, will fight under the banners of loyalty. I can assure you that associations are now forming in several parts of this province, for the support of his Majesty's Government and mutual defence; and let me tell you, whenever the royal standard shall be set up, there will be such a flocking to it, as will astonish the most obdurate..."¹

It is open to argument that the writings of "Massachusettensis" (Daniel Leonard) and other refugee "political" Tories in Boston until the Evacuation of March, 1776 (most prolific during the fall and winter of 1774-1775, before the Lexington Alarm) in effect played into the hands of the rebel Whigs and their highly-organized propaganda campaigns. These Tory articles and pamphlets gave such as John Adams (who as "Novanglus" replied to "Massachusettensis" in Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette) and other Whig polemicists,

1 Ibid.

2 Governor Hutchinson's influence upon Tory writers in Boston and elsewhere has never been adequately explored by historians. It appears to have been considerable, even after his recall to London - and was no doubt a factor in the ineffectiveness of the Tory arguments, little improved by the renewed presentations. The writings of Leonard and Sewall are notable for using Hutchinson's ideas (both corresponded with Hutchinson in England): Sewall's "The Americans Roused..." for example, was little more than a clumsy dramatic portrayal of Hutchinson's unfortunate speeches to the House and Council on Parliamentary sovereignty and other vexed Constitutional questions in 1773.

positions to attack which, based as they were more upon the theories of Locke than Blackstone, lent themselves so readily to Whig refutation and contributing to the always noisy Whig dicta in the widely-circulated Boston Gazette and Massachusetts Spy.¹

Neither Col. Jones, Col. Thomas Gilbert, or Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas, who led the armed resistance to the Whigs outside Boston in the Civil War of 1774-1775, is known to have contributed material to the Tory press during this period. These "fighting Tories," (one might call them "legitimate Tories") took their stand - at the open risk of life and property - quite simply upon the case for freedom of thought and freedom from terror set forth by Brigadier Timothy Ruggles in the Association covenant. It was Ruggles' Association covenant that was to be the most important Tory writing of the entire war: upon its principles a whole new British dominion in North America was to be built (and later defended as well against attack by expansionist Americans in the War of 1812).²

The Whigs in 1774 and 1775 condemned the Association, and vilified its author and those Massachusetts Bay Tories such as Col. Jones who adhered to it, on both sides of the Atlantic. On Feb. 13, 1775, "Americanus" wrote in the Boston Evening Post:

"You may rely upon it, that your infamous Association is treated with the same Contempt, by the good People through the Province, as would be the Persons of the Authors (except a few dastardly Souls who are fit for no other Use than to serve as Bumfodder for the Junto at Boston)." ³

1 See John Adams' introduction to Novanglus and Massachusettensis published in Boston in 1819.

2 The sons of Col. Elisha Jones' son Ephriam (1750-1812) a farmer at East Hoosick in 1774, and who served as Commissary of Forage with Burgoyne and later as an officer in the Royal Rangers, had a grant of land after the War in Upper Canada, at Elizabethtown in Augusta Township. Ephriam Jones' family took a leading part in the government of Upper Canada (Ephriam was elected to the first Legislature) and formed the core of the Family Compact (three of his sons, several of his sons-in-law, and other family connections comprised more than half the 30 names in William Lyon Mackenzie's list of Compact members. Ruggles himself settled at Wilmot, Nova Scotia. For the family of Col. Jones in Canada, see C. St. Clair Stayner, "Weymouth and the Joneses," a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Halifax, April 3, 1970.

3 Boston Evening Post, Feb. 13, 1775. 1/1, 2.

In England the little London Chronicle, only a foot square, but a giant for truth among the tangle of client-Whig papers, published the Association on February 11, 1775 with this preface:

"The following is the Association drawn up by Brigadier General Ruggles, and entered into by the Loyalists of Massachusetts Bay, for their mutual Defence against the Opposers of Lawful Government." ¹

It was inevitable that the Tory Associations in Massachusetts would come under attack by the Whig opposition in England which supported the dissident Colonial radicals. Lord Chatham, the leading advocate of conciliation, to prepare the way for his proposals (The Provisional Act) for accomodating the demands of the colonial radicals and to avert the danger of an armed clash between them and the regular troops introduced a bill into the House of Lords (defeated on Jan. 20, 1775) ² which called for the immediate withdrawal of Gage's army from Boston.

Ironically enough it was the refugee Governor Thomas Hutchinson whom the Whigs in Parliament held responsible for the arming of the Massachusetts Loyalists. It was true that Hutchinson had worked - if to little avail - to carry out the undertakings for the settlement of differences with the London Government given in his reply to the Address of the Middlesex County Magistrates (June, 1774) to which Col. Elisha Jones was a signatory, and the other Addresses presented in Massachusetts Bay before his departure. Also that Hutchinson had advocated ^{such measures as} the reopening of the port of

¹ Back in Boston Margaret Draper's Massachusetts Gazette took note of the publication of the Association in London, and on May 19, 1775 reprinted the introductory remarks of the London Chronicle. 2/3.

² Barrington to Gage, Jan. 31, 1775, Gage MSS, Clements Library; For Chatham's "Provisional Act" (defeated by February) and the maneuverings of the Whigs against the North Government, see Bernard Donoghue, British Politics and the American Revolution. The Path to War, 1773-1775. (1964), pp. 231-238; L.H. Gipson, The British Empire before the American Revolution, Vol. XII, pp. 288-294.

Boston if the tea were paid for (an idea which most Massachusetts Loyalists would have supported) and that he did what he could to oppose and to mitigate the operation of the Coercive Acts, and to plead at least for the exemption of the Massachusetts Loyalists from the punitive working of the proposed Restraining Bill, designed to enforce submission by strangling the trade of New England. In England, Hutchinson, to the end a philosophical Whig as his History of Massachusetts-Bay and other writings show, continued to be a supporter of the constitutional government, if more often than not he favoured Whig rather than Tory colonial policies.¹

So early as the Parliamentary debates of January-February, 1775, however, the Whigs, who were increasingly to denounce Hutchinson as did Charles James Fox as "that firebrand and source of the American disputes," pointed₂ to Hutchinson as the author of armed conflict in Massachusetts Bay. Hutchinson himself was in the gallery at the House of Lords when not Chatham but his protege, the former Lord Chief Justice and Lord Chancellor, the self-appointed "guardian of the Constitution," Lord Camden, mounted the attack in a speech opposing the Restraining Bill. Camden alleged that Hutchinson had so packed the "inland town" (sic.) of Marshfield, Massachusetts, with amenable justices of the peace that the town had given Gage and the government in England the false view that the interior towns would welcome the aid of the regular troops.³

1 See Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, (1974) pp. 310-314. The most incisive study of Hutchinson and the period of his exile in England, however, remains that of Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, pp. 206-214.

2 Peter O. Hutchinson, ed. The Diary and Letters of... Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. II (1886) p. 344.

3 L.H. Gipson, The British Empire before the American Revolution, Vol. XII, p. 299; Peter Hutchinson, The Diary and Letters of... Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. I, pp. 409-410.

The "inland town" in question was most probably a garbled reference to Weston, where the Tory corps raised by Col. Elisha Jones in November, 1774, one of the first in Massachusetts Bay, was the only Loyalist force of any consequence not within reach of the sea. In his Diary where he filled three pages with alleged errors in Camden's speech, Hutchinson, careful as always about his appearance to history, dissociated himself from the Marshfield Loyalists (who, in fact, at the beginning of January, 1775, had asked Gage for a detachment of regular troops as reinforcements). "But Alas!" he wrote in the Diary, Marshfield "appears by the Map to be a Town upon the sea Coast...it happened that I never made a Justice in that Town whilst I was in the Government."¹

As events proved, it was the good fortune of the Massachusetts Bay Loyalists, caught up in civil war after the Powder Alarm, that Hutchinson, who could understand neither men of principle nor actions unmotivated by logic, had not remained longer in office. Nor was the remark of Benjamin Franklin (a Bostonian after all) on hearing of Hutchinson's death in June, 1780 that it had been caused by fright at the Gordon Riots as unkind as it appears. Hutchinson, like his radical arch-enemy Sam Adams a politician but never a soldier, had always been able to run to safety from the Boston mob. More than any it was Hutchinson, who with his long tenure of office (he was first appointed lieutenant governor under Thomas Pownall on June 1, 1758) bore most responsibility for the conduct of government in Massachusetts Bay and the slide of public administration toward anarchy: it was Hutchinson who never used what powers he had to support the civil authorities when the Whigs overrode the law and the lives and property of Tories were left exposed to the violence

¹ Hutchinson noted his embarrassment when "Upon (Lord Camden's) mentioning my name most of the bishops and many lords who sat with their backs to me turned about and looked in my face." Peter Hutchinson, ed., The Diary and Letters of...Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. I, p. 409.

of Whig mobs, as in the case of the crusading Tory journalist John Mein as long before the Powder Alarm as the fall of 1769. Hutchinson had stood by while the mob that had assaulted Mein finally forced him to flee Boston for his life for publishing the truth about the smuggling activities of John Hancock and other prominent Whigs, and afterward when Elder Colburn Barrell of the Boston Sandemanian Meeting to which Mein belonged (this religious group were to be conspicuous for their Toryism and loyalty during the Siege of Boston, April, 1775-March, 1776) was indicted by a grand jury for breach of the peace for a sermon in which he said that

"A person would be in danger of having his property demolished, & his person tore to pieces for speaking respectfully of the King ...The Country (is) in open Rebellion, Disobedience, & Disloyalty..." 1

In January, 1775, meanwhile, Lord North's Cabinet agreed troop reinforcements to be sent in the spring to Gage at Boston (although far fewer than the General had requested). Of the greatest significance to the future of Col. Elisha Jones and his Tory sons, however, was the decision taken on January 21st to approve the proposals of Brig. Timothy Ruggles sent to London in October, 1774, "to raise a Corps of irregulars," (that is, Rangers) as in the last French War, to be upon the military Establishment for the duration of the conflict, and paid and subsisted as Regulars. This was to be the first step toward integrating the Tory militia corps first raised by Col. Jones and other loyal officers in Massachusetts Bay before the Lexington Alarm with the regular army. 2

1 Hutchinson in his History of Massachusetts Bay (Vol. III, p. 187) recognized the import of ~~of~~ the Whig persecution of Mein, "...the first trial of a mob since the (regular) troops had been in town, and, having triumphed in defiance of them, a mob became more formidable than ever." Mein's Memorial complaining of Hutchinson's handling of the affair is in PRO. T.1/478; See Hutchinson to Hillsborough, Nov. 11, 1769. PRO. C.O. 5/758. For the case of Colburn Barrell, Hillier Zobel, The Boston Massacre (1970) pp. 163-343. A Sect member was Mandamus Councillor Isaac Winslow. 2 Ruggles to Israel Mauduit, Oct. 16, 1774. Dartmouth MSS.; Cabinet Minutes Jan. 13 & 21, 1775, Ibid.; Dartmouth to Gage, Jan. 27, 1775, Gage MSS. For Dartmouth's later admission in Parliament that too few troops had been sent to Gage in 1775, see Cobbett and Hansard, eds. The Parliamentary History of England, Vol. XVIII, pp. 1254-1255.

None of the three principal Tory military corps raised before the Lexington Alarm: Col. Jones' at Weston, Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas at Marshfield, and Col. Thomas Gilbert at Freetown, however, was to be kept together after the final recall and retreat of the remnants of these forces to Boston in April, 1775, when they were organized into a single corps under Brig. Timothy¹ Ruggles of Hardwick popularly known as the Loyal American Associators. There can be little doubt that Gage, well disposed toward the Loyalists and who, by his own account, encouraged the formation of the Tory Associations for self-protection outside Boston and armed and reinforced the Marshfield Loyalists in January, 1775, found the zeal and independence of these Tory corps - who carried the burden of the fighting for the defense of Government in Massachusetts Bay through the fall and winter of 1774-1775 - more than something of a political and military embarrassment. At the least, despite the months of open warfare between the Loyalists and the rebel militia - from the Powder Alarm to the Lexington Alarm, and beyond - Gage, without orders, but arguably within his powers as Governor, made no proclamation of rebellion nor raised the Royal Standard in the country.²

¹ Brig. Ruggles' called the Tory corps the Loyal Legion of America. For the raising of this force in Boston in April, 1775 which was to serve until the Evacuation of March 17, 1776, see below.

² The delay arose only in part because of the weeks required (longer in winter) for communication across the Atlantic. It was only after the latest series of punitive Acts, designed to enforce submission, including the Non-Intercourse Act, directed against New England and later extended to prohibit trade as well with the other Colonies except for New York, Georgia, and North Carolina where it was thought that Loyalists could regain control, that passed through Parliament that the Cabinet of Lord North finally approved the form of a proclamation of rebellion, on March 30, 1775, which should be promulgated by Gage in Massachusetts. Cabinet Minute, March 30, 1775. Dartmouth MSS. Gage did not issue such a proclamation until June 12, 1775. See below. For Parliamentary legislation, see the summary in Bernard Donoghue, British Politics and the American Revolution... (1964), pp. 248-255.

It was the Tory Corps of Col. Elisha Jones at Weston, so near to Concord in the heart of strategic Middlesex County and commanding the Post Road to Worcester and the Connecticut Valley towns - but which Gage could only have reinforced by sending a detachment of troops overland (as during the Lexington Alarm of April 19, 1775) - that was the first of the three major Tory forces (the others at Marshfield and Freetown) to be broken up by the Rebel Whig Militia.

It is not known when the Rebel attack came. Probably, however, it took place on December 23, 1774 (the date of the "Declaration" which the rebels forced 40 of Col. Jones' loyalists to sign disavowing their endorsement of the Association Covenant in November) or a day or two before. Throughout the conflict the Rebel Whigs made much use for propaganda of coincidental dates and anniversaries of alleged Government atrocities (the "Boston Massacre" Orations) and tyrannies: it was on December 23rd that Ruggles' Association Covenant was first printed in Boston, in Margaret Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette. The day before, Ruggles had sent this open letter¹ to the Printers of the Boston News-Papers:

"As Messrs. Edes and Gill in their Paper of Monday 12th instant were pleased to acquaint the Public 'That the Association sent by Brigadier Ruggles, etc. to the town of Hardwick together with his son's certificate thereof and the Resolves of the Provincial Congress therein, must be deferred to their next...' I am so credulous as to expect then to have seen their next paper adorned with the form of an Association which would have done honour to it, and, if attended to and complied with by the good people of the Province, might have put it in the power of anyone very easily to have distinguished such loyal subjects to the King as dare to assert their rights to freedom, in all respects consistent with the laws of the land, from such rebellious ones, as under the pretext of being friends to liberty, are frequently committing the most enormous outrages upon the persons and property of his Majesty's peaceable subjects, who, for want of knowing who to call upon (in these distracted times) for assistance, fall into the hands of a banditti, whose cruelty surpasses those of savages. But finding my mistake

1

Not all of Ruggles' immediate family were Tories: his wife Bathsheba, a notably spirited and strong-minded lady (daughter of Col. Melatiah and Desire Chipman Bourne of Sandwich) was doubtless a Whig out of independence; their eldest son (all eldest sons were called Timothy) remained at Hardwick through the War, but he, too, settled later in Nova Scotia. See Henry Stoddard Ruggles, The Ruggles Family (1892) 79-86.

I now take the liberty to send copies to your several offices, to be published in your next papers, so that the public may be made more acquainted therewith than at present, and may be induced to associate for the above purpose. And as many of the people for some time past have been arming themselves, it may not be amiss to inform them that their numbers will not appear so large in the field as was imagined before it was known that Independence was the object of contemplation; since which many have Associated, in different parts of the Province to preserve their Freedom and support Government; and as it may become necessary in a very short time, to give convincing proofs of your attachment to Government we shall be much wanting to ourselves, if we no longer trample upon the patience which has already endured too long suffering, and may if this opportunity be neglected, have a tendency to ripen many for destruction who have not been guilty of an overt act of rebellion, which would be an event diametrically opposite to the humane and benevolent intention of him whose abused patience cannot endure forever, and who hath already by his prudent conduct, evinced the most tender regard for a deluded People." 1

From those who witnessed the "breaking up" of Col. Jones' Tory corps none left an account which has been found, written or traditional. In Tory families the worst of the times of terror in the last years of Colonial dominion in Massachusetts Bay was often left unrecorded, at first out of fear of further persecution by the rebel Whigs, and later out of sorrow and loss. It was, however, the usual practice for the local Whigs under the direction of the "ruling" Committee of Correspondence (at Weston in December, 1774, Deacon Thomas² Upham and the two innkeepers, Benjamin Peirce and Samuel Baldwin) to plan the "invasion" of the town by an overwhelming force from the "neighbouring towns" - a pre-arranged Whig mob led by contingents of Minute Men and other rebel militia. As the "defeated" rebel conspirators in an attempted "mobbing" of Col. Israel Williams and other Tories at Hatfield in the summer of 1774 explained, if

¹ Massachusetts Gazette, Dec. 23, 1774; it was also published in Thomas and John Fleet's "neutral" Boston Evening Post on Dec. 26th. At New York in Hugh Gaine's New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 9th.

² M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records... 1754-1803 (1893) pp. 207-208.

such work were done by local Whigs,"it would Brake Neighbourhood and there fore would Not Do so well as for...Stran(g)ers." 1

Apart from the Weston Committeemen, the most prominent political enemies of Col. Jones in the town who would have had knowledge of the proceedings if they did not themselves take part in them, were the two men chosen to attend the First Massachusetts Provincial Congress: Josiah Smith, another tavern-keeper, and Samuel Phillips Savage, the dark shadow of Sam Adams and the Loyal Nine, and finally Braddyll Smith, elected to succeed Col. Jones as Town Representative at the famous Town Meeting of September 29, 1774, and already Captain of a company of Middlesex County Minute Men, with a growing reputation for terror. 2

Whatever the circumstances of the "breaking up" of Col. Jones' Weston Tory Corps in December, 1774, 38 of its members were disarmed and forced by the rebels to sign

"a Declaration dated December 23^d 1774, setting forth, that they themselves had no such Design ('to aid and assist in carrying the late Unconstitutional Acts of the British Parliament into Execution, against the British Americans') and that they hold said Acts to be Unconstitutional, and tending to enslave the British Americans; and that they are fully disbanded from said Covenant and Inlistments; and they having promised in said Declaration, that they are, and will hold themselves in Readiness, and join with their American Brethren in supporting their Lives and Liberties, both civil and sacred, of this and other United Sister Colonies in British America." 3

1 Deposition of Benjamin Read and James Hunt, August, 1774. Israel Williams Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc.

2 For the Weston Town Meeting of Sept. 29, 1774, see above. Samuel Phillips Savage's "Diary" is "missing" after March, 1774, until 1784, the period of the civil war and revolution, and his known collection of manuscripts "purged" like those of Sam Adams and other leading rebel Whigs.

3 No copy of this "Declaration of Dec. 23, 1774" is known to survive, in Weston Town Archives, or elsewhere. This is taken, however, from the summary included in the resolve of the "most secret" Sudbury Whig Convention of Jan. 5, 1775 (the records of which were "lost" or destroyed by the Whigs) but published by "Sam Adams' Printer", Edes, in his Boston Gazette when the Whigs had learned of the Gage expedition to take rebel military stores at Concord, two days before the "Alarm," April 17, 1775. 4/2.

Neither Col. Elisha Jones, nor his second youngest son, Jonas, then eighteen, however, with at least 16 men of the Weston Loyalist Corps signed the rebel Declaration of Dec. 23rd. Those now known are: ¹

Samuel Train, jun.	Josiah Lawrence aged 14
James Stimson	Jonas Jones 18
James Stimson, Jr	Peter Cary 18
Asa Travis	Co. James Taylor 15
Thomas Corey	Thomas Williams 18
Samuel Gray, aged 18	Silas Coolidge 19
Lemuel Stimson 16	Daniel Upham 16
Josiah Allen, jun	* S. Livermore
	* Stephen Mirick 17

It could have been that these men - the youngest, Josiah Lawrence, aged only 14 - managed to fight their way free or otherwise to avoid being taken up by the rebel forces. When, as was usual after such rebel forays, the town of Weston quietened down, Tory feeling was apparently still sufficiently strong to prevent the local Whigs from unduly harrying these non-signers. By the time the Whigs held their Convention at the neighbouring town of Sudbury on January 5, 1775, only two - S. Livermore and Stephen Mirick - had "dashed their Names out of said (Col. Jones' Tory) Covenant." ²

Possibly Col. Elisha Jones' military leadership was so much feared by the rebels in Middlesex County that they planned their invasion of Weston and attack upon his Tory Corps for a time when the Colonel was known to be going away, possibly on a trip to Boston. Certainly this was the tactic by which the Bristol County rebels managed to defeat Col. Thomas Gilbert's Tory Rangers - with only a

¹ This list is as appears in the account of the resolve of the rebel Sudbury Convention of January 5, 1775 printed by Edes and Gill in the Boston Gazette on April 17, 1775.4/2.

² "S" Livermore was probably Samuel Livermore, a name much used in that family. Loc. Cit. He had held the minor town office of Tythingman, 1772-3, and was "popular" enough to be elected one of the two Constables on March 5, 1775. M. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 179, 211.

fraction of their numbers - the following April. Finding that "the whole of the malcontents in the district" were planning an attack, Col. Gilbert wrote to the Governor for aid, and in reply Gage, in a letter dated March 31, advised him that a detachment of 200 troops were being sent by sea to Newport (Rhode Island) and thence up the coast. When Col. Gilbert made a journey down to Newport to see why the reinforcements had been delayed, the rebels on April 9th sent an armed force estimated at 2,500 men against his Tory Rangers at Freetown. Three hundred strong at best, the Tories were overrun, but not without making a fight of it; among the casualties was Col. Gilbert's brother Samuel, who was hit in the head by a clubbed firelock, and lost the sight of one eye. Col. Gilbert's son, Thomas, the Younger, Major of the Second Bristol County Regiment, was among those put in jail by the rebels, who plundered the homes of Col. Gilbert and his sons and the other Tories in Freetown and Taunton before they disbanded.¹ For tending the Tory wounded Dr. William McKinstry was later hounded by the mob from Taunton and was fortunate to escape to Boston with his life.²

¹ For the request to Gage for troops: Gage to the Magistrates of Freetown, March 31, 1775. Gage MSS, Clements Library. Some of the intelligence reports to Gage from Bristol County "secret" Tory agents still survive: one marked "received" April 9, 1775, and another dated April 18, 1775. See also the terrible letter of Dr. William McKinstry to Gage, May 12, 1775. Gage MSS.

See also the accounts of Col. Thomas Gilbert in PRO.A.O.13/50 and A.O.12/10, ff.131-147; and of his son, Maj. Thomas Gilbert the Younger, A.O.13/24. After the war the family settled on St. Mary's Bay in Digby County, Nova Scotia - and from them the writer is descended.

For the rebel conspiracy against Col. Thomas Gilbert's Tory Rangers at Taunton and Freetown, see Committee of Inspection of Bristol County to John Hancock (President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, the Second Congress, second session, was held at Concord from March 22-April 15, 1775) April 4, 1775.

An older sketch, but one that draws upon manuscripts no longer to be found, is John C. Crane's "Col. Thomas Gilbert, The Leader of New England Tories," New England Historic Genealogical Society Publications, 1893, pp. 8-19; For the Gilberts in Nova Scotia: Isaiah W. Wilson, A Geography and History of the County of Digby (1893) pp. 335-339.

² See the Memorials of his son William McKinstry, PRO.A.O.13:75, 13:47. At Taunton during the rebel persecution: Frank Davol, Two Men of Taunton, (1912) p. 268.

Whether Col. Jones, like Col. Gilbert several months later,¹ was with his Tory Corps when the rebels in their customary overwhelming numbers came against them, and that he was driven to take refuge in Boston at this time, may never be established. Col. Jones himself left no record that has survived of these events. His son Josiah testifying before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John (New Brunswick) on December 21, 1786, twelve years later but with years of experience as a practicing lawyer, said only that "the Mobs had come so often against him that he was obliged to leave home and went to Boston in the Fall of 1774."²

It was rebel policy, however, to make it appear that the Tories had left their towns and abandoned their property of their own free will, and that no force had been used against them - and Col. Elisha Jones of Weston with his large and valuable estate in Weston quite apart from his holdings in land running to thousands of acres in Western Massachusetts, was no exception. Still in the Weston Town Archives is the following communication:-

To the Hon^{bl} John Winthrop Esq^{er}
Judge of Probate for the County of Midd^x

We the Subscribers Selectmen of the Town of Weston
Would inform your Honour that there is an Estate
in Weston that belonged to the late Col. Elisha
Jones Who Left S^d Town of Weston and fled,^{Volentry}
to our Enemies When the British Troops Ware
in the Town of Boston therefor Would Pray yo(ur)
Honour to appoint an agent to take Care of Sa(id)
Estate agreable to a Law of this State

Weston Jan^y-28th-1779

Josiah Smith	Selectmen
Samuel Whittemore	of
Saml Fisk	Weston
Joseph Roberts	

1 On May 4, 1775, Col. Gilbert wrote to his sons who were still held by the rebels to die by the sword rather than be hanged as rebels, which would be their fate if they joined the Americans. Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. II, p. 508.

2 PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 366.

3 MSS, Weston Town Archives, Weston, Massachusetts. In a document dated at Weston, June 6, 1780, three "apprizers"-Josiah Smith, Samuel Lamson, and Jonathan Fisk-valued Col. Jones' Weston property only at £35,550. Weston Town Archives. See Appendix.

It is not known whether at this time Col. Jones was accompanied to Boston by any of his family. If his son Jonas, a marked man to the rebels for signing the Weston Tory Association of November 14, 1774, "went in" then, he had returned to the family home by the day of the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775.¹ The general expectation among the Tories in the winter of 1774-1775 was that the political crisis in the Colony, however violent, would not be of long duration, and many wives remained behind to look after the family property. Certainly Col. Jones' wife Mary Allen exhibited a courage of this kind to stand against adversity a year later at the time of the Evacuation of Boston.²

This agrees, moreover, with the account passed down in the family that Mary Allen Jones did remain at Weston after Col. Jones went to Boston,³ with two of the servants, one of them Cicero, the faithful black butler and coachman. It was rebel Whig policy as part of "Tory harrassment" to entice away their servants (as the negro slaves, mostly used as house servants, were always called in Massachusetts) Those males who refused to be "listed" to serve in the rebel militia during the winter of 1774-1775, and later, were forced into the rebel army (which in Massachusetts as elsewhere had substantial numbers of negroes and mulattoes hopeful of eventual freedom) if they were not first "picked out" to labour gratis for members of the local Committees of Correspondence and Inspection. It was to be Cicero's misfortune that he would be "attached" - stolen - by the Weston Rebel Committeemen on May 1, 1775, along with Col. Jones' cattle and hay, and put to work

1 See Jonas Jones' Memorials, PRO. A.O.13:47; A.O.13:50; and A.O.13:74.

2 See below.

3 Frank Sanborn, Henry D. Thoreau (1917) pp.12-13, 523-524. Sanborn drew upon family recollections at Concord, and early "Journals" in MSS of Thoreau. He was also given material on the Jones family by the Rev. Reginald Heber Jones of Boston and Concord, a descendant of Col. Elisha Jones' son Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale, N.H. Rev. R.H. Jones to Mary E.R. Jones, Feb. 14, 1910. MER Jones MSS, author's possession.

But, Col. Jones' widow in fact joined her husband in Boston before March, 1776, and sailed to Nova Scotia with her sons in Howe's Fleet at the Evacuation. See below.

for Committeeman Samuel Baldwin, the innkeeper.¹

Meanwhile, help of a kind did come to the family of Col. Elisha Jones left at the mansion on Beacon Hill, for on December 24, 1774, Christmas Eve, Mary's husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, arrived at Weston. Nor from his "Diary" does it appear that he left again before the end of the winter, when he noted for March 16th, "Came home to Salem." Between these dates, however, Asa Dunbar recorded only illness, and always with the same melancholy entry, "had ye Cholic," the disorder which had begun to plague him with growing frequency since his inoculation at the Salem Small Pox Hospital in January of 1774.²

Dunbar had last stayed in Weston at the end of October, 1774, and was accustomed to making brief visits to his wife's family while in the vicinity on preaching tours, as the custom was, for the exchange of pulpits with other ministers. This trip appears to have begun ordinarily enough: on December 17th Dunbar "went to Medford," and the next day he travelled to Menotomy (Arlington) to preach for the Rev. Samuel Cooke. On December 19th, it being "Foul weather, stayed at Mr. Coke's all day," and on the 20th Dunbar "went to Cambridge," where, it appears, he "put up" at "Bradish's," that is, at the famous Blue Anchor Tavern just by the Square (on the west side of what is now Boylston Street). The Blue Anchor was then very much a Tory Tavern, and its owner, Ebenezer Bradish Sr., had only recently been in trouble with the Cambridge mob for supplying the Middlesex High Sheriff David Phips with horses to draw the cannon from the Powder House into Boston at the time of the Powder Alarm. Bradish's son Eben Jr., a Cambridge lawyer and married to the only daughter of Judge Timothy Paine of Worcester (a signer of the famous "Worcester Protest" against the Tea Party and the activities of the Committees of Correspondence) an active Tory himself, had been at Harvard with Dunbar.³

1 See the "Diary" of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, May, 1775. Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester. Cicero was later to help in the escape of Josiah Jones from Weston in September, 1775. See below.

2 See Dunbar's MSS "Diary," 1774; He was sharply critical of the methods used by Dr. James Latham to inoculate at the Salem hospital; see his (anonymous) half-page article in the Salem Essex Gazette, Mar. 15, 1774.

3 For Ebenezer Bradish, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XVII, pp. 126-8.

Beginning with December 20th, Dunbar made daily entries in his "Diary" for the next four days, unusual in their frequency:-

Dec.20 Went to Cambridge
 21 Seized with ye Cholic at Bradish's
 22 Still confined with ye Cholic
 23 Better of ye Cholic

After this, Dunbar confided nothing but illness to paper, being as prudent as the times were hazardous, until after his departure in mid-March, 1775. The timing of Dunbar's arrival at Weston, the day after the rebels (on Dec. 23rd) forced many of the men in Col. Jones' Tory Corps to sign the declaration renouncing their allegiance, was no doubt significant although Dunbar's "Diary" gives so little away; what is certain, Dunbar did not delay the journey from Cambridge because of the weather.¹ In Boston, only a few miles away, Lt. John Barker of the 4th Regiment wrote in his Diary:

"Sat. 24th. Bad day; constant snow 'till evening when it turned out rain and sleet..." 2

Of the trials that befell Col. Jones' wife Mary and the family at Weston, little more is known until the time of the great Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775.

Records of the annual spring Weston Town Meeting for the election of officers and other business, held on March 7, 1775, give no indication of the political turmoil in Massachusetts Bay at that time, or the urgent preparation for war then being made by the Town Committees of Correspondence and Inspection.³ In passing the accounts of the Town Treasurer, Captain Samuel Lamson, for the year previous, payment apparently was authorized as a matter

1 MSS "Diary" of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, December, 1774.

2 E. Dana, ed., The British in Boston Being the Diary of Lt. John Barker of the King's Own Regiment... (1924) p. 14.

3 A special "political" Town Meeting on Jan. 2, 1775 voted that Weston pay its usual taxes not to the legal Provincial Treasurer Harrison Gray, but to the "Receiver" appointed by the Whig Provincial Congress Henry Gardner of Stow; chose for a Town Committee of Inspection John Allen, Israel Whittemore, and William Whitney; and reelected "by a unanimitis vote" Braddyl Smith Representative to the Provincial Congress at Cambridge on Feb. 1st. M. F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 208-210.

of routine to Col. Elisha Jones for funds due to him as Overseer of the Poor for the year 1773-1774. The only reference to the fact of revolt is the omission of his militia title, a Royal commission:-

£

"Paid to Elisha Jones Esqr one of the overseers of the Poor 4/1/3 and 1Q

Record of the settlement of this account on March 7, 1775, for Col. Jones marked the official end of a career of service in town affairs which went back nearly thirty years to the formation of the government of the First Precinct in Weston in December, 1746.¹ When - or if - this money was paid to Col. Jones, we do not know: only one of his account books has survived, and in it, significantly enough, none of the town accounts appear.²

Through the winter of 1774-1775, meanwhile, the triumph of the Middlesex Whigs over Col. Jones - who had been driven to Boston - and the Weston Corps of Tories, most of whose members had been forced to disband, was not complete. One of the first of the Tory Corps to be raised in Massachusetts Bay, Col. Jones' Loyalists pointed the fact of armed resistance to Whig despotism and mob rule, and were an example for like-minded men in other towns to follow, as at such other inland places as Petersham, where a Tory Association was formed at the beginning of January, 1775.³

1 M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 1-2, 188, 212.

2 Col. Elisha Jones' Ledger Book, MSS. The Golden Ball Tavern Museum Archives, Weston.

3 On Jan. 2, 1775, Thomas Beaman of Petersham was present at a meeting in that town when Joshua Willard, Esq., William Barron, Esq., Joseph Stevens, Moses McClallan, Luke Lincoln, Joseph Smith, James Jackson, Samuel Frizzell, David Stone, Robert Goddard, Ebenezer Bragg, Seth Hapgood and Dr. Ephriam Whitney, agreed that they would "not acknowledge or submit to the pretended authority of any Congress, Committees of Correspondence, or other unconstitutional Assemblies of men but at the risk of our lives if need be oppose the forcible exercise of all such authority..." This Document was copied into the Petersham Town Records. See the Loyalist MSS of Thomas Beaman, who in the winter of 1774-1775 was a Tory agent in Worcester and Middlesex: PRO. A. O. 13:51, A. O. 12:11, ff. 49-50. For a rebel account of the Petersham Tories, Ephriam Doolittle (of Petersham) to John Hancock and the Mass. Provincial Congress, April 4, 1775. M.H.S.

At Boston, Col. Elisha Jones would have made a report of the political and military situation in Middlesex County to the acting commander of the Massachusetts Bay Militia, Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, and probably as well to Gage, who took a close and careful interest in intelligence reports, particularly those brought in by such leading and reliable Colonials.¹ It may have been that the circumstances of the Rebel Whigs overrunning Col. Jones' Weston Tory Corps in December, 1774 - if not the recommendations of the Colonel himself - led Gage and his advisers to reconsider the vulnerable and scattered positions of the Associations being raised and maintained by the Tories in rural Massachusetts. Certainly from the beginning of January, 1775, it was Gage's policy when asked by these organizations for aid to send them not only arms but small detachments of regular troops - provided they could be transported quickly by water (thus lessening the risk of creating a repetition of the Powder Alarm) and where if an attack threatened such Tory towns could be protected - like Boston itself - by the guns of the navy. Thus 100 troops under Captain Nesbit Balfour of the 4th Regiment sailed in the armed schooner Diana and the sloop Britannia on Jan. 23, 1775 to reinforce the Marshfield Loyalists under the command of Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas,² and another contingent promised to Col. Thomas Gilbert at Freetown by Gage on March 31st.³ Gage's policy, however, did not extend to giving even such limited protection to the remote district of Maine where Loyalists at Falmouth and other places were instead

1 For Gage and Col. Jones, see testimony of his son Josiah Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John, New Brunswick, Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 366. The Gage MSS at the Clements Library now contain no documents relating to Col. Jones and the Weston Tories.

2 For the departure of Capt. Balfour's troops, see Diary of Frederick Mackenzie (1930) entries for Jan. 23, 25 and 29, 1775, pp. 5-6.

3 Gage to the Magistrates of Freetown, March 31, 1775. Gage MSS.

evacuated to Boston and other places of safety by the Navy - although even after the Lexington Alarm there were rumours that Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, Captain Ichabod Jones the prosperous Boston merchant and shipowner, had transported a detachment of ¹ Gage's regular troops to the strategic Maine seaport of Machias. Gage wrote to Dartmouth on February 17, 1775 that his reinforcement of the Marshfield Tories "has had a good Effect in that Quarter of the Country, and I hope will encourage other Places where Oppression is felt to make Application of the same Nature." ²

Col. Elisha Jones' Weston Tory Corps, ostensibly broken up by the rebels in December, 1774, when 38 of its 55 known members were made to sign the rebel Declaration of December 23rd, meanwhile, continued as a political if not a military threat to rebel-Whig rule in the vicinity of Middlesex County. It says much that by January 5, 1775, only two of the seventeen-man Tory hold-out list at least nominally changed allegiance by signing the rebel Declaration (S. Livermore and Stephen Mirick, aged 17). And that the only known

¹ Captain Ichabod Jones, baptized at Weston May 26, 1717, had commanded a hospital ship in the Massachusetts Provincial Navy at the Siege of Louisbourg in 1745. (Massachusetts Archives, 118:319). To discount these rumours before he sailed on the first (and this time fateful) of his usual spring and summer trading and supply trips to Machias, at the end of May, 1775, Captain Ichabod had the following notice printed in two issues of Sam and Ebenezer Hall's radical Whig New England Chronicle or the Essex Gazette (after Lexington set up in Stoughton Hall at Harvard College) appearing on May 25th and June 1st.:-

Boston, May 5, 1775

WHEREAS there is a Report prevailing and by some believed, that I the Subscriber carried some Soldiers from Castle William to Machias ____ I hereby solemnly declare that I never carried or know of any to be carried or transported to Machias from said Castle William, or from any other Place whatever, to said Machias; and I further declare that I never had such intention, or saw one there in my life.

Ichabod Jones

Captain Ichabod Jones with his two merchant vessels the Unity and Polly, escorted by the armed Naval Schooner Margaretta, arrived at Machias on June 2nd - only to have all three captured almost at once by the rebels in the actions that mark (officially) the beginning of the rebellion at sea.

² Gage to Dartmouth, Feb. 17, 1775. PRO.C.O. 5:92.

acts - there were two - of the rebel-Whig Convention of delegates from Committees of Correspondence in Middlesex and Worcester Counties which met at Sudbury (in Middlesex) on January 5, 1775, condemned Col. Elisha Jones' Tory Weston Corps and, in a second resolve, Col. Jones' cousin Captain Isaac Jones, keeper of the notorious Tory hostelry in the centre of Weston on the Post Road to Sudbury and Worcester, the Golden Ball Tavern, who in the spring of 1774 had been "hanged" from the balustrade in the hallway of his tavern as a warning to desist from Tory activities by a Whig mob dressed as Indians, and several times "published" in the Whig press as an enemy to "liberty".¹

Probably the Sudbury Convention of January 5th was called by the rebels to consider further measures to be taken against the remnant of Col. Elisha Jones' Tory Corps at Weston and the attempts of the Tories in the district to organize for their own protection. No doubt in part, at least, because of its radical, too-advanced and therefore dangerously revolutionary debates, greater precautions than were usual for rebel gatherings were taken by the Sudbury Convention to keep its proceedings secret, and no account of them has been found.²

1 It was after the mobbing of Isaac Jones and the mob destruction at the Golden Ball Tavern on the night of March 21, 1774, that Col. Elisha Jones ordered that a "Military Watch" from the Militia in Weston be mounted "every night." See the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, April 4, 1774. 1/2. For this incident, the "Weston Tea Party," see above.

2 Harry A. Cushing in his History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts (1896) states that there were a number of Whig conventions that were not proper "County Conventions," but called for some specific purpose and whose resolves (like that of the Worcester Convention of Jan. 26-27, 1775) were printed on small hand-bills. Cushing gives as an example the meeting of Whig deputations from the towns of Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Watertown, Charlestown, Cambridge, "Mistick" (Medford), Dedham, Milton, Malden, Stow, Braintree, and Woburn, who met at Boston, Sept. 27, 1774, to concert measures to prevent any supplies of labour and building and other materials from reaching Gage's troops in Boston. p. 101. The recent study of L. Kinvin Wroth, Province in Rebellion... (1975) refers to the Sudbury Convention as "apparently an effort to clothe ad-hoc action against opponents in the quasi-legality of the County convention..." p. 103.

The Sudbury Convention was linked with that held three weeks later at Worcester on January 26th and 27th (before the next session of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress was due to meet at Cambridge on February 1st) by the resolves against the Tory Joneses of Weston and by the direction of both Conventions by the radical Wards, probably the leading rebel family of Worcester County. Artemas of Shrewsbury (b.1727), the only Justice who did not sign the Loyalist Address to Gen. Gage, was "elected" Colonel of the Third Worcester-Middlesex Regiment on Oct. 3, 1774, and on Oct. 27th appointed secretly by the Massachusetts Provincial Congress second General (after Jedediah Preble of Falmouth) of the Massachusetts rebel forces. Artemas Ward was Chairman of the Worcester Convention of January 26-27, 1775, and perhaps also served earlier as Chairman of the Sudbury Convention of January 5th, of which his cousin Jonathan Ward of Southborough ("elected" second Lieutenant-Colonel of Artemas' Third Worcester Regiment on Oct. 3, 1774) was made Clerk.¹

As was so often the case with rebel leaders in Massachusetts Bay their opposition to the Administration - if not their Whiggism - was born of personal grievance: thus it was with Artemas Ward, who, on June 30, 1766, had been dismissed (the letter read "superceded") in his commission as Colonel of the Third Worcester-Middlesex by Gov. Francis Bernard - friend, patron, and business associate of Col. Elisha Jones who commanded the neighbouring Third Middlesex Regiment - for Ward's savage personal attacks upon Bernard himself and government policies during the Stamp Act troubles. Ward's particular animus toward militia officers - such as Col. Jones - who were to remain

¹ See Charles Martyn, The Life of Artemas Ward (1921) pp. 70-78. for Jonathan Ward of Southborough, see Charles Martyn, The William Ward Genealogy, The History of the Descendants of William Ward of Sudbury, Mass. 1638-1925. (1925) p. 151. In the Gage MSS, Clements Library, there is an intelligence report dated Feb. 24, 1775 which mentions Artemas Ward, the Worcester Militia, and stockpiles of rebel military stores. Joseph Ward, schoolmaster in Boston (1772) and after Lexington ADC and Secretary to his cousin Gen. Artemas Ward, corresponded secretly with Lord Dartmouth as late as May 8, 1773 giving information about rebel activities, and asking for the post of Secretary or Lt. Governor of New Hampshire or "any other commission in Civil Government in New England." Dartmouth MSS.

² John Cotton, Deputy Secretary, to Artemas Ward, June 30, 1766, printed in Martyn, The Life of Artemas Ward, (1921) p. 36. See also pp. 13-14 and 35.

loyal to their Commission Oaths, and to militiamen who saw their duty to protect their families and property by upholding the law, is witnessed by the Resolves of the Sudbury and Worcester Conventions of January, 1775 — as it was seen to reach its fullest development three months later after Lexington when Ward commanded the rebel forces besieging Boston by such Tories as had the great misfortune to fall into rebel hands. It was under Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury in the early spring of 1775, let it be remembered, that the deliberate rebel policy of close-confinement, starvation of food and water, and other ill-treatment of Tory prisoners — who before Washington took command from Ward at Cambridge on July 2nd were to include Col. Elisha Jones' sons Elisha the Younger, Jonas, Ephriam, and Josiah — was officially begun.¹

The first of the two resolves adopted by the Sudbury Convention on January 5, 1775, and signed by Jonathan Ward as Clerk, fabricated the crimes and prescribed the punishment of those men who had joined Col. Elisha Jones' Tory Corps at Weston:—

WHEREAS a Number of Persons in Weston signed a Covenanting Agreement dated November 14, 1774, to learn the Military Skill to defend his Majesty's Authority, and other Things contained in said Covenant, which has been, and may be construed, to be of dangerous Consequences; and that they were engaged to aid and assist in carrying the late unconstitutional Acts of the British Parliament into Execution, against the British Americans (and it appearing from authentic Evidence, that Col. Elisha Jones had such a sordid Desire in having said Persons engage in a Military Company, &c.)² and most of said Persons, Viz. (here follow the names of those, given above, who were forced to withdraw)

Being 27 Adult or Persons of Age, and 11 Minors, making 38 Persons in all, who have signed a Declaration dated December 23^d 1774, setting forth, that they themselves had no such Design, and

1 For the harsh treatment of Col. Jones' sons by the rebels, see their Loyalist Memorials: PRO. A. O. 13:47; A. O. 13:50; A. O. 13:74; and Josiah Jones and Dr. Jonathan Hicks from Concord Jail to the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, June 15, 1775. Massachusetts Archives, 180:51-52. And see below. It was the efforts of Gage to obtain the release and humane treatment for Col. Jones' sons in jail that posed the question of prisoner exchange for Tories; the refusal of the Provincial Congress and later Washington to comply caused Gage in retaliation to imprison the Boston Selectmen and other prominent Rebels. See below.

Washington fully shared Ward's animus toward the Tories, and for much the same personal reasons. Throughout the War he continued the Siege-of-Boston policy of treating them as non-persons, often referring (cont.)

that they hold said Acts to be Unconstitutional, and tending to enslave the British Americans; and that they are fully disbanded from said Covenant and Inlistments; and they having promised in said Declaration, that they are and will hold themselves in Readiness, and join with their American Brethren in supporting their Lives and Liberties, both civil and sacred, of this and other united Sister Colonies in British America - And Stephen Mirick aged 17 years, and S. Livermore, two more of said Military Company having dashed their names out of said Covenant, which makes 40 Retractors. - It is therefore Resolved, That the said Declaration and Retraction of said Persons, their Practice agreeing therewith, is satisfactory to this Body, and will remain so, untill they or either of them prove the Insincerity and Breach of the same - And if they, or either of them, by their future conduct, prove inimical to the Constitutional Rights of said United Colonies, then he or they so doing, may expect to be treated as Enemies to their King and Country. And those, viz. (here follows the names of those continuing to hold out against the rebels)

Being 15, and 10 of them Minors, who signed said Covenanting Agreement, and have not signed a Recantation, and so as not to be looked upon as friendly, but treated as enemies to their King, and Country, and may depend upon it, that whenever it shall be necessary to make a Sacrifice to the Public Liberty, that the Vengeance of their injured Country will distinguish them among its first Victims.

Signed by Order of said Convention
Jonathan Ward, Clerk ¹

Cont.** to Tories as "parricides" having no claim in humanity upon the laws of war or natural justice. Most extreme were Washington's comments after the British Evacuation of Boston in March, 1776, that "one or two (Tories) have done, what a great number ought to have done long ago, committed suicide." To John Augustine Washington, his brother, March 31, 1776. MSS. Library of Congress, and to Joseph Reed, April 1, 1776. William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, (1847) pp. 179-181.

2 This remark about Col. Jones appears to have been inserted at the time of publication by Benjamin Edes, who often "pointed up" the copy of material he used in the Boston Gazette with pro-radical comment. As a member of the Loyal Nine Edes was indeed privy to such "authentick evidence" as the Boston Whig leaders received.

1 The only known copy of the Sudbury Convention Resolves of January 5, 1775 is that printed by Benjamin Edes in the Boston Gazette, April 17, 1775. 4:2, 3.

At the time of the Sudbury Convention on January 5, 1775, Col. Elisha Jones had been forced by the rebels to withdraw to Boston, and the leading Tory remaining in Weston was then his younger cousin (born in 1728) Captain Isaac Jones, a prospering merchant and trader, owner of one of the best known in the chain of Tory Taverns, the Golden Ball, on the Great West (Post) Road from Boston to Worcester. Isaac Jones had served as a militia officer in Col. Jones' Third Middlesex (he was a Captain-Lieutenant in 1771) but he was not a field officer in the regiment at the time of the Powder Alarm. Although no evidence has been found, Isaac Jones may well have been associated with Col. Jones' Weston Tory Corps in which his prominent position in the town and record of militia service would by custom have brought him a commission. (The muster roll published by the Whigs recorded none of the officers.) The patriotic Col. Daniel Lamson, Civil War veteran and Weston historian of the 19th century who otherwise gleaned much reliable information from inhabitants whose grandparents had lived through the Revolution, does not mention Col. Elisha Jones' Tory Corps, but he did record that "Mr. (Isaac) Jones was a noted Tory, and was reported to have kept General Gage informed of the arms and ammunition held by the Liberty Men throughout this section."¹

In any event, the rebel Whig case against Isaac Jones was already well worn by January, 1775: in 1774 they had several times "published" him in the Whig press for buying and selling tea and other imported goods in defiance of the Whig boycotts. Nor had

¹ For Isaac Jones in the Militia, see: Massachusetts Archives, 99:444.

Most of the written intelligence reports to Gage were made anonymously and often in code to protect the identities of informants. No communications from Isaac Jones to General Gage are now in the Gage MSS, Clements Library, University of Michigan. The best study of Gage's intelligence organization for this period, based upon the Gage MSS (but which is far from covering the subject adequately) is still Allen French, General Gage's Informers, 1932.

Col. Lamson (a descendant of Capt. Samuel Lamson Whig leader of the rebel Weston Company at the Lexington Alarm) also may have based his statement on the MSS. Diary (1756-1787) kept by Rebecca, wife of the Whig tavern keeper Samuel Baldwin, now "lost." See Col. Daniel Lamson, History of the Town of Weston Massachusetts, 1630-1890. (1913), pp. 188-189.

Whig mobbings of Jones' Golden Ball Tavern, and even the assault upon him, changed the colour of his political views. Added to this, Isaac Jones' tavern business, (the Golden Ball was built in 1768) was prospering, and with its Tory custom taking much of the "carriage trade" from the other Weston Taverns, all of them "Whig" and run by the Whig Selectmen and members of the Committee of Correspondence. At the Town Meeting of Jan. 2, 1775, just three days before the rebel convention in the nearby town of Sudbury, Braddyll Smith (Col. Elisha Jones' old political enemy) brother of Weston innkeeper Josiah Smith, re-elected Selectman with two other rebel innkeepers, Benjamin Peirce and Samuel Baldwin, was again chosen Weston Representative to the next meeting of the Provincial Congress (to meet at Cambridge on February 1st.) There is now no reference to the Sudbury Convention in the Weston Town records, but, as was customary, Braddyll Smith may have been the Weston delegate, with one or other of the Committee of Correspondence, two of the three being the innkeepers Samuel Baldwin and Benjamin Peirce - with Deacon Thomas Upham.¹

There can have been few resolves of rebel Whig conventions in Massachusetts which more blatantly used politics to compass the financial ruin of a business rival than the second of the Sudbury Convention of January 5, 1775, which ordered Jones' Golden Ball Tavern at Weston to be closed:

WHEREAS Isaac Jones of Weston is deemed an Enemy to his Country, and as its not necessary he should keep a public House of Entertainment, there being two others kept near him on the same Road in Weston, by very worthy Persons, well accomodated therefor, who ought to have the Preference to forbid Enemies:-It is therefore Resolved,

1 There is no better indication of a man's social standing and prosperity than his seat in the Colonial Meeting House: in 1772 at the Weston re-seating (one of the Committee of three was Col. Elisha Jones, whose family from the beginning had occupied the "Deacon's" pew - after he was driven from Weston taken over by the family of the Minister) Isaac Jones was assigned the most prominent - and expensive - seat of those given out, the "First below" the Pulpit at a charge of £178/18/6. Weston Town Records. For the Town Meeting of Jan. 2, 1775, see Ibid., and M.F. Peirce, ed., Town of Weston Records (1893) pp. 208-210.

as the Sense of this Body, That said Jones ought not to keep a public House.- And all Persons who will hereafter hold and carry on Connections with him, ought to be treated as Enemies to the Liberties of those British united Colonies in America.

Signed by Order of said Convention
Jonathan Ward, Clerk 1

Although the resolve of the First Massachusetts Provincial Congress on December 10, 1774 had made it official Whig policy for local Committies of Correspondence to collect the names of any who signed Loyalist covenants and to send them to the Provincial Congress for publication, the muster roll of Col. Elisha Jones' corps of Weston Tories and the resolve of the Sudbury Convention of January 5th condemning it were withheld from publication for three and a half months, until monday, April 17, 1775. Nor was any reason offered for this long delay, which, despite the increasingly crowded agenda of the Provincial Congress sessions of Feb. 1 - Feb. 16 (Cambridge) and March 22-April 15 (Concord) appears to have been deliberate. A

1 This resolve of the Sudbury Convention of January 5th, like the first condemning Col. Jones' Weston Tory Corps, was not published until April 17, 1775 in the Boston Gazette. Meanwhile, however, the rebel Convention which met soon afterward at Worcester on Jan. 26 and 27th - presided over by Col. Artemas Ward of Shrewsbury (chosen one of the three rebel general officers by the Provincial Congress Oct. 3, 1774) also took up the case of the Weston Tory Isaac Jones. On Jan. 26th it "Voted that Col. Ward and the other four of that committee" (appointed to "take into consideration a plan for this county to adopt respecting the non-consumption covenants of the Continental and Provincial Congresses") "with Doct. Denson and Wm. Henshaw be a Committee to take into consideration the Conduct of Isaac Jones." On Jan. 27th the Worcester Convention adopted a resolve very similar to that of the Sudbury Convention of Jan. 5th, and this one was published almost immediately, in the Boston Gazette, Feb. 13, 1775, and the Massachusetts Spy on Feb. 16th.

"WHEREAS Isaac Jones of Weston, in the County of Middlesex, Innholder and Trader, has by his Conduct of late Years in various Instances manifested a disposition inimical to the Rights and Priviledges of his Countrymen.

Therefore Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to all the Inhabitants of this County, not to have any commercial Connections with the said Isaac Jones, but shun his House and Person, and treat him with that Contempt he deserves; and should any Person in this County be so lost to a Sense of their

Cont..

factor may have been the Provincial Congress resolve of Dec. 10th itself which declared that the real purpose of Ruggles' Tory Association (a copy of which had been sent to the Congress by Ruggles' own-but now Whig controlled-Hardwick Town Meeting) was to mislead the people into agreements which would hinder the peaceful settlement of differences with the mother country—the sole object of the Whig Congresses.¹ The logic of this argument may well have appeared too tenuous with respect to Col. Jones' Weston Tory Corps for the Whig propagandists. On January 16th the Boston Gazette printed the names of 14 Tories condemned by Petersham Town Meeting as "Incorrigible Enemies of America" for opposing the alleged "pretended Authority of any Congress, Committees of Correspondence, or other unconstitutional Assemblies," while on Feb. 7th the radical Essex Gazette (Salem) printed the resolve of Marblehead Town Meeting to "break off all Connections in Commerce, and in every other Way" with six Tories who were published "that the Abettors of Tyranny and Parricides of their Country, may be universally known and detested."³ In any case, the publication of the Weston Tory Covenanters was quietly shelved for the time being: to have admitted any success of the Tory Associations during the Massachusetts Civil War, however limited, would have admitted the great truth that the rebels tried to avoid throughout the conflict: that Colonial opinion, to the risk of life and property, was divided in its loyalty between legitimacy in government and rule by revolution.

Cont. Duty after this Recommendation, as to have any commercial Connections or Dealings with the said Jones, we do advise the Inhabitants of this County to treat such Persons with the utmost neglect."

This resolve was also printed as a broadside with a condemnation of the leading Tory printers in New York as well as Massachusetts: James Rivington (New York Gazetteer); Hugh Gaine (New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury); Margaret Draper (The Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter); and Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks (Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy). See Broadsides, Ballads &c Printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800 (1922) p. 246. The illustration is from a copy at the MHS.

For the Worcester Convention, see American Antiquarian Society (Worc.) U.S. Revolution MSS, Box 1, folder 5 (Jan-March, 1775); Force American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. I, 1192-1194; Charles Martyn, Artemas Ward (1921) 79-80.

1 William Lincoln, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 (1835) pp. 68-69.

2 Boston Gazette, Jan. 16, 1775. 1/3

3 Essex Gazette, Feb. 7, 1775. 1/2.

A CONVENTION of COMMITTEES *for the County of*
 WORCESTER, *convened at the Court-House in Worcester,*
January 27, 1775, the following RESOLVES (among others)
passed, viz.

WHEREAS *Isaac Jones* of *Weston*, in the County of
Middlesex, Innholder and Trader, has by his Conduct
 of late Years in various Instances manifested a disposi-
 tion inimical to the Rights and Privileges of his Countrymen.

Therefore *Resolved*, That it be earnestly recommended to
 all the Inhabitants of this County, not to have any commercial
 Connections with the said *Isaac Jones*, but shun his House and
 Person, and treat him with that Contempt he deserves; and
 should any Person in this County be so lost to a Sense of their
 Duty after this Recommendation, as to have any commercial
 Connections or Dealings with the said *Jones*, we do advise the
 Inhabitants of this County to treat such Persons with the utmost
 Neglect.

Whereas the Enemies of these united Colonies are indefati-
 gable in their Endeavours to create Divisions among the Inha-
 bitants, and as there are several Printers on the Continent, viz.
Rivington and *Gaine*, of New-York, *Draper*, *Mills* and *Hicks*, of
 Boston, that incessantly assist them in their Endeavours by pub-
 lishing their scandalous Performances in their several News-Pa-
 pers :—

Therefore *Resolved*, That it be recommended to the good
 People of this County not to take any more of the aforesaid
 Papers, but that they encourage those Printers who have inva-
 riably appeared friendly to this Country.

In the early months of 1775 the Whig newspapers continued to avoid printing the text of any of the Tory Association covenants. In a piece published on February 2nd, after the rebel Sudbury and Worcester conventions, Isaiah Thomas in the Massachusetts Spy put down Ruggles' Association by touting the strength of the newly reorganized rebel militia:-

"Hardwick January 19. Such is the military spirit, and such the opposition to military tyranny, in this Town, that, exclusive of the train-band companies and one company of Minute-Men, the Alarm-Men consisting of near one hundred and twenty, most of whom are able-bodied and good marksmen, met on Monday the sixteenth instant, and having formed themselves into two companies and made choice of their Officers, did likewise enter into a Covenant to attend military duty and equip themselves to a Man, agreeable to the laws of the Province in that case made and provided. So that we have reason to believe that the Tory Covenant or Association, sent into this Town by Brigadier Ruggles, will have little or no effect amongst us, nor will any other means used by our enemies to divide or divert us from pursuing the measures which we think will have a tendency to recover and secure to us and our posterity our just rights and privileges." 1

Among others, one Tory handbill dated February 6th countered by warning of the fate of the English rebel Wat Tyler, and advocated the seizure of the rebel leaders:-

"Never did a people rebel with so little reason; therefore our conduct cannot be justified before God! Never did so weak a People dare to contend with so powerful a State; therefore it cannot be justified by prudence. It is all the consequence of the arts of crafty Knaves over weak minds and wild enthusiasts, who, if we continue to follow, will lead us to inevitable ruin. Rouse, rouse, ye Massachusetians, while it be yet time!" 2

1 Massachusetts Spy, Feb. 2, 1775. 2/1.

2 This handbill was reprinted later by Peter Force, American Archives, Series IV, Vol. I, p. 1216.

After being driven to Boston, Col. Elisha Jones appears to have escaped the worst of the personal attacks made by the rebel Whig press on the Tory leaders. In the Boston Gazette of April 17, 1775, Benjamin Edes accused Col. Jones of the "sordid Desire" of having his Weston "Military Company" "aid and assist in carrying the late Unconstitutional Acts of the British Parliament into Execution, against the British Americans..."¹ Added to his long years of consistent support for Government in the House of Representatives in the General Court, on the Middlesex Magistrates Bench, and in Weston Town Meeting, these were Whig crimes enough. The fullest savagery of the Whig press attack that built up to a frenzy of abuse in the weeks before the Lexington Alarm was reserved for Brigadier Timothy Ruggles. On February 13th Thomas and John Fleet's Boston Evening-Post, which to some degree had "printed for both sides," carried an article which invited the assassination of Ruggles as "a cursed Fratricide":-

"The Mask is removed, and we now clearly see what you then had in view, viz., a Pension of £300 per Annum, for which and the Prospect of others yet more lucrative, you have become the Tool of a corrupt Minister, to enslave and ruin Thousands of your innocent Fellow-Countrymen. And to crown all, you have accepted Appointment of a Mandamus Councillor, for which abominable Act, committed in open defiance of the faithful advice of many of your good Friends, you have given the finishing stroke to your tattered Reputation, and are now driven out from your inheritance, the Society of your good Friends and Neighbours, and like the cursed Fratricide of old, fear that every one who finds you shall slay you." 2

Ruggles had been warned, meanwhile, of rebel plans to kill him.³

¹ Boston Gazette, April 17, 1775.4/2.

² Boston Evening-Post, Feb. 13, 1775.1/1.

³ Alexander Fraser, Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario, (1905), Vol. II, p. 790.

Finally, on April 17, 1775, two days before the Lexington Alarm and three and a half months after the Sudbury Convention, the rebel Whigs saw fit to publish the resolve of January 5th condemning Col. Elisha Jones and the signers of his Weston Tory Covenant dated November 14, 1774. Appropriately enough these appeared in Sam Adams' "Trumpeter of Sedition," the Boston Gazette, space being reserved in what was known by the printers, Col. Jones' old adversaries Benjamin Edes and John Gill, privy to the innermost Whig secrets of the Loyal Nine, to be the last issue that, in the foreseeable future, would be published in Boston. While the issue of April 17th was cried in the streets and sent into the country by trusted express riders, rival radical printer Isaiah Thomas quietly smuggled his press and type out of town and other prominent Whigs still remaining were making secret and hurried plans to depart before the long expected and now imminent conflict between rebel forces and Gage's regular troops began.¹

Several days before April 17th Dr. Joseph Warren, head of the Boston Committee of Correspondence, and the other rebel leaders knew of Gage's plan to send a detachment of troops to remove the rebel military stores hidden at Concord, these preparations set in motion on April 15th when the Grenadiers and Light Infantry were relieved of all duties — and the work of the Second Massachusetts Provincial Congress meeting at Concord was adjourned that day until mid-May.² In Boston for months past no movement of Gage's forces had gone unwatched by the Sons of Liberty. Paul Revere the silversmith later

¹ Thomas left Boston early on the morning of April 19th in a boat to Charlestown with Dr. Joseph Warren. Isaiah Thomas, The History of Printing in America, Vol. I, p. 169; John Cary, Joseph Warren, (1961) gives a careful summary of Rebel Whig preparations in Boston, concluding: "The fact that resistance was not made until the British reached the town of Lexington probably was not fortuitous..." pp. 181-185.

² E. E. Dana, ed., The British in Boston being the Diary of Lt. John Barker of the King's Own Regiment... (1924) quoting Gage's General Orders of April 15, 1775. pp. 29-30.

described how, on April 15th, which was saturday,"about 12 o'clock at night, the boats belonging to the transports were all launched, and carried under the sterns of the men-of-war. We likewise found that the grenadier and light infantry were all taken off duty." ¹It was at dawn the next morning (April 16th) that Paul Revere made his noted sabbath-day ride to the parsonage of the Rev. Jonas Clarke close by Lexington Green to alert the Liberty Men in the country and to warn Sam Adams and John Hancock that the departure of Gage's troops was imminent, while on the way back, at Charlestown, (from which across the mouth of Charles River Boston is clearly visible) Revere arranged with Col. William Conant "that if the British went out by water we would show two lanterns in the North Church steeple - and if by land one as a signal, for we were apprehensive it would be difficult to cross the Charles or get over Boston Neck" (to Roxbury). ²

This sortie of Gage's troops from Boston and the planned confrontation by a force of rebel Minute Men on Lexington Green - in effect a rural re-staging of the Boston Massacre of 1770 - was not expected by the rebels to extinguish the civil war that they had been waging with growing ferocity against the Tories in Massachusetts Bay since the Powder Alarm. It was intended rather to engulf that conflict by sparking off at last the war of rebellion against the Crown - by the appearance at least of an attack by Gage's regulars upon colonial militia - so long worked for by Sam Adams and the radicals both in the colonies and in England. ³

1 Forbes, Paul Revere, (1st. edn. 1942, 1969 edn. Boston) p. 245. Based upon three accounts written by Revere, one of them for the Mass. Historical Society in 1798, Forbes is still the best study of Revere and the rebel preparations in Boston; Revere to Jeremy Belknap, Boston, Jan. 1, 1798. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, XVI (1878) pp. 371-374.
 2 Ibid, p. 248.

3 Clifford Shipton in his sketch of the Rev. Jonas Clarke of Lexington argues that Clarke must have known of the plot to bring on hostilities there, and that, as a friend of Dr. Joseph Warren, he would also have known of plans to destroy the British force that marched to take the rebel military stores at Concord. Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIII, p. 214; Joseph Warren to Arthur Lee, April 3, 1775, Richard Henry Lee, Life of Arthur Lee (Boston, 1829) Vol. II, p. 266; John Miller, Sam Adams... (1936) pp. 331-332. H. Zobel, The Boston Massacre (1970) supports Gov. Thos. Hutchinson's view of a Whig plot against the troops in Boston. For an opposing view, denying a rebel plot, see Bernhard Knollenberg, "Did Samuel Adams Provoke... the Clash at Lexington," AM. Antiq. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. LXX, Oct. 1960, pp. 500-503.

In the days preceeding April 19,1775,no instructions sent by Gage to the Tories in Middlesex County-and Concord and Lexington - appear to have survived. Nor any message from Col.Jones in Boston to his family at Weston,or other Loyalists there, But by the morning of April 19th squads of Tories to act as guides (called "pilots" by the rebels who marked them down for particular vengeance) and well briefed on the hiding places of the rebel military stores at Concord had "come in" or had been chosen from Tory refugees already in Town, marched with Col.Francis Smith's expeditionary force, and, with Col.Jones' Harvard son Stephen among them,accompanied the relief column sent out later in the day under Lord Percy.¹

Had it not been the spring or Easter vacation the green-coated Tory Harvard military companies and their band of music would have been at Cambridge flanking the way to Lexington and Concord.(And the College,no doubt,with a tradition to match that of the boys at V.M.I. during the Civil War.) As it was, a number of Harvard undergraduates served on the Lexington Alarm of April 19th as Volunteers with Stephen Jones (and it is thought his youngest brother Charles and Nahum,eldest son of Col.Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay,both of the Class of 1778).The rebels had broken up Col.Jones' Weston Tory Corps and the other Loyalist Associations in the central part of Middlesex County,and none is known to have operated as a unit during the Lexington Alarm when Tories as well as Gage's forces on the road to Concord came under rebel attack. However, a remnant of Col.Jones' Corps,besides his Tory son Jonas, (who was to escape to Boston in disguise the day after the Alarm) may have given Loyal service,although 6 of the 15 members who refused

¹ See testimony of Stephen Jones before Loyalist Commissioner Pemberton,St.John (New Brunswick)Oct.24,1786.Second Report of the Bureau of Archives for the Province of Ontario Part II,1904.p.762. For the activities of Col.Jones'sons at the Lexington Alarm,see below. For the "Tory Pilots"at Concord,see Isaiah Thomas'first issue of the "Spy"at Worcester,renamed the Massachusetts Spy,orAmerican Oracle of Liberty,3/1,2.For the Loyalist papers of the Tory Pilot William Warden,a Boston shopkeeper,grocer,and hairdresser-one of Gage's most trusted agents, see:PRO.A.O.12:10,ff.94-102,A.O.13:51;A.O.13:75.

to withdraw their allegiance from the Tory Covenant,¹ and 11 more who had,² are listed in the official muster rolls of the two rebel companies that marched from Weston on the Lexington Alarm, Capt. Samuel Lamson's militia company and Captain Israel Whittemore's company of artillery.

It must be said that the rebel muster rolls when they can be found are noted for inaccuracies and were later padded out with claimants for government pensions, as Col. Jones' great-grandson Henry David Thoreau recorded in his Journal of one Concord Minuteman who hid himself behind a barn until the fighting was over.³ From the time of the Lexington Alarm, however, the rebels made good their threats that Tories should be "punished" by doing more than their share of military service, the usual offer being the alternative of jail or army enlistment - which many chose, pocketing their principles, out of self-preservation. It was no idle threat when the Sudbury Convention -presided over by the radical "fighting Wards" of Shrewsbury- in its resolve condemning Col. Jones' Weston Corps on January 5th warned the "Loyalist Fifteen" "depend upon it, that whenever it shall be necessary to make a Sacrifice to the Public Liberty, that the Vengeance of their injured Country will distinguish them among its first Victims."⁴

1 Samuel Train Jr., Thomas Carey, Lemuel Stimson, Josiah Allen, Jr. Peter Cary, and Thomas Williams. Town of Weston Records; see Col. Daniel Lamson, History of the Town of Weston (1913) which prints the names of those who marched on the Lexington Alarm, April 19, 1775, pp. 79-80.

2 Isaac Hobbs, Roger Bigelow, Hezekiah Wyman, Samuel Underwood, Ebenezer Bracket, Isaiah Bullard, Thadeus Fuller, David Livermore, Jr., Amos Jones, William Carey, and John Stimson. Ibid.

3 The man's name was Amos Baker. Entry for November 1, 1851. Thoreau had a great interest in local history and in the Revolution, and he collected material from those who had heard first-hand accounts of the "Concord Fight". See entries for June 3, 1850, April 14, 1852, and Aug. 17, 1858, where he recorded George Minott's reaction to Lemuel Shattuck's History of the Town of Concord (Boston, 1835): Minott had given Thoreau much information about Concord history. "Minott has only lately been reading Shattuck's 'History of Concord,' and he says that his account is not right by a jugfull, that he does not come within half a mile of the truth, not as he has heard tell..." Capt. Jonas Minott, the Tory Concord Captain, was Thoreau's step-grandfather. B. Torrey and F. Allen eds. The Journal of Henry David Thoreau (Dover, edn. 1962) V. 2, 1342.

4 Boston Gazette, April 17, 1775.

If no Loyalist Corps is known to have fought on the side of Government at Lexington, the future of such volunteer units as part of the Crown forces - of the greatest importance to Col. Elisha Jones and his family, eight of whose sons were to hold the King's Commission in Provincial Corps during the conflict - nevertheless, was assured. Word finally reached Boston by April 16, 1775 that the Cabinet in January had approved Brig. Ruggles' proposals "to raise a corps of irregulars," and he submitted to Gage a plan for raising a regiment of 1,500 Loyalists to be subsisted as regular troops and to serve for the duration of the revolt. The letter sent by Ruggles to John Pownall in London on hearing the news is typical of the Brigadier's fighting spirit that was to hearten his Provincials as long as the war lasted, as it had in the long years of struggle against the French, and in the trials of pioneering in Nova Scotia that lay beyond:

"My heart leaps for joy to find the reception given by their Lordships to my Proposals...as I have the most Cordial inclination to contribute every thing in my power to convince these rebellious wretches of their folly and wickedness in despising the best Government both in Theory and administration that ever yet blest the earth we inhabit. And if it causes me as many wearisome days and sleepless nights, as five Campaigns did in the last War, I pray God my constitution may endure it; and my Country will be happy if Success attends his Majesty's arms; if not many of us will lose our lives and be put out of our present miserable situation. I am happy in finding all my best Officers now living, and that serv'd with me last War, are Zealously Affected for this Service, by which means I Expect soon to recruit the Regiment after the General's Proclamation (i.e. of rebellion) is Issued for Severing the Loyalists from the Rebels." ¹

¹ Brig. Timothy Ruggles to John Pownall, April 18, 1775. Dartmouth MSS. See Henry Stoddard Ruggles, General Timothy Ruggles (1895) pp. 22-23.

THE TORIES AND "BUNKER" HILL

"the Victory obtained by about two thousand regular troops Commanded by Genl How, over a large body of the Country Rebels (tis said about six thousand) on the heights of Charlstown, the 17th Ultio was a remarcable Action, it proves that nothing the Enimies to Great Briton Can do will daunt the Courage of Brittish troops, the Rebels had Intrenched themselves on the top of a high hill with two Cannon Mounted in the Redoubt, besides severall field pieces, on the hill which is but about a quarter of a mile from Charle's Riever, in approaching which, the troops had to brake through stone walls and other difficultys which gave the Enemy every advantage they Could wish for, however after a most violent hot fire, the brave soldiers forsed the Intrenchments, to the Joy of all the Spectaters, (myself being one) and others on this side the riever, who are friends to their King & Country, emediatly on the Kings troops appearing on the top of the Redoubt, the Rebels ran of in great Confution leaving their Cannon, Intrenching tools and a large number of their dead and some wounded, the loss was great on bouth sides, the action lasted about an hour & a quarter; we have reason to lament the loss of so many Valluable brave offercers & men of the Kings Army who were kild on the field of Battle, & since dead of the wounds they recd..."

Martin Gay
Boston, July 8, 1775¹

In mid-June, 1775, Gage, his forces strengthened by large reinforcements which had arrived since the end of May - including three major generals in the Cerberus on May 25th: William Howe, Henry Clinton, and John Burgoyne - was making preparations to take the offensive against the rebel forces that had held Boston

¹ Martin Gay to Jotham Gay, Boston, July 8, 1775. Col. Soc. of Mass. Publications, Vol. III, 1897, pp. 380-381.

under siege since the disastrous expedition to Lexington in April.

As a preliminary step Gage issued the proclamation of June 12, 1775, which began by recounting the transgressions of the rebels, describing them as "the infatuated multitudes, who have long suffered themselves to be conducted by certain well-known incendiaries and traitors...to avowed Rebellion..." Pointing to the outrage of the attack upon the King's troops on April 19th, the proclamation condemned as insulting the blockade of Boston by the rebels who "with a preposterous parade of military arrangement, affected to hold the Army besieged." Finally, and to prevent bloodshed, a pardon was offered to all except the rebel leaders Sam Adams and John Hancock - with due warning to all giving them aid - and martial law proclaimed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.¹

It was the work of the newly-arrived Major General John Burgoyne, handy with a pen, but never to less advantage. Patronizing and full of bombast, Gage's proclamation of June 12th was a propaganda gift to the rebel colonial press as well as the Whig opposition in England.² Of greatest consequence to Colonel Elisha Jones and the other Massachusetts Tories, however - many of whom doubtless regarded the proclamation with mixed feelings - was the

¹ Text printed in Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. 2, pp. 968-70; and Journals of Each Provincial Congress, pp. 330-31n.

² Burgoyne as author: Edward DeFonblanque, The Life and Correspondence of the Right Honourable John Burgoyne (London, 1876) p. 134. And see London Evening Post, July 18, 1775.

On June 14th the rebel Massachusetts Provincial Congress had Gage's Proclamation printed as a broadside, with this preface:

"The Following is a copy of an infamous thing handed about here yesterday, and now reprinted to satisfy the curiosity of the public. As it is replete with consummate impudence, the most abominable lies, and stuffed with daring expressions of tyranny, as well as rebellion against the established constitutional authority of the American States, no one will hesitate in pronouncing it (to be) the genuine production of that perfidious, petty tyrant, Thomas Gage."

fact that the Third Massachusetts Provincial Congress, sitting at the Watertown Meeting House, was provoked to reprisal. It appointed a committee "to consider the subject matter of a late extraordinary proclamation of General Gage,"¹ which on June 16th made its report in the form of an answering draft proclamation, said to have been written by the rebel firebrand President of the Third Provincial Congress, Dr. Joseph Warren of Boston, who was killed at Bunker Hill the next day.² The main theme of this "proclamation" was not retaliation against British authorities, but, as was to continue rebel policy through the war and afterward, to mark the Tories out for vengeance, casting a dark shadow toward the future, prefiguring the successive legislative acts (that of June 21st for the appointment by Selectmen of administrators for Tory property was adopted within a week) which would deprive the Joneses and other Tories who took an active part in the war of their legal rights.³

After a list of alleged Massachusetts grievances reminiscent of the "Massacre Day" (March 5th) anniversary orations of Warren and others (including the naval blockade of Boston ordered by the Port Bill, seizure of the colony's powder supply at Cambridge on Sept. 1, 1774 - in which affair Col. Jones had raised the Middlesex County Militia to protect the powder convey - dissolution of the General Court by Gov. Gage at Salem on June 17, 1774, and "denial of justice" to the people) the Massachusetts Congress offered pardon to all including those "who have fled to the town of Boston for refuge, and to other public offenders against the rights and liberties of their country" but as with Gage's proclamation of June 12th with notable exceptions. First on this list of persons excluded from amnesty were General Gage and Admiral Graves. Then followed certain categories of Tories: Jonathan Sewall (Attorney General and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court).⁴

¹ Journals of Each Provincial Congress, p.330.

² John Cary, Joseph Warren, 1961, pp.216-217.

³ For rebel acts undermining Tory property rights, May-June, 1775, see below.

⁴ Sewall was probably singled out for this opprobrium because his former friend John Adams and others then believed him to be the author of Massachusettensis. Daniel Leonard, the Taunton Lawyer, was the writer, but Carol Berkin (Jonathan Sewall, New York, 1974, pp.110, 176n) found material in the papers of Ward Chipman (Lawrence Coll., Pub. Arch. of Ca.) that Sewall contributed to these essays.

Charles Paxton (Commissioner of Customs at Boston) and Benjamin Hallowell (Comptroller of the Port of Boston at the time of the Stamp Act Riots and later, in 1770, a commissioner of Customs); the "mandamus" councillors who had not resigned, and "all the natives of America, not belonging to the navy or army, who went out with the regular troops on the nineteenth of April last" - to Lexington and Concord - and, borrowing the words used in Gage's proclamation of June 12th to condemn Sam Adams and Hancock, "whose offences are of too flagitious a nature to admit of any other consideration than that of condign punishment." ¹

Col. Elisha Jones' name does not appear among these irredeemable Tories, chosen, it would appear, for their decisive part in enforcing the most resented of the "Intolerable Acts." It is significant, however, that the Third Provincial Congress ranked as equals in ignominy the "mandamus" councillors, who throughout Massachusetts had been subjected to some of the worst abuse meted out by rebel mobs, and the Tory Volunteers of April 19th - among whom was Col. Jones' son Stephen, in Boston for the Harvard Spring vacation, who served as a guide for Lord Percy's relief column to Lexington, and an army courier.² This was a reflection of the rebel policy toward "Fighting Tories" who, serving as Volunteers with Regular troops or with loyal militia (after 1775 the Provincial Corps), were given the worst treatment of any prisoners: in Massachusetts after Lexington "close confinement" for Tory Volunteers was the rule - which by mid-June 1775 had been the fate of three more of Col. Jones' sons, Elisha the Younger at

¹ Journals of Each Provincial Congress, pp. 330, 343-344.

² For Stephen Jones and the Battle of Lexington, see above.

Great Barrington, Jonas at Watertown, and Josiah at Concord, who, to avoid the risk of poison, was having his food brought by his sister Mary Jones Dunbar from Weston.¹

The last colonial grievance listed in the draft proclamation of the Third Congress on June 16th was the British attack "in a most barbarous and infamous manner" upon the "inhabitants" at Lexington on April 19th, which had destroyed all hope of reconciliation. The proclamation ended with a call to arms:

"We trust, that the God of armies, on whom we rely for a blessing upon our arms, which we have taken up in support of the great and fundamental principles of natural justice and the common and indefeasible rights of mankind, will guide and direct us in our designs; and at last, in infinite goodness to this his injured people, restore peace and freedom to the American world." 2

Whether because it was overtaken by events, or because even the radicals who controlled the Third Massachusetts Provincial Congress considered it too close to that ultimate treason of independence for which there was not yet a majority, the draft report of June 16th was tabled and the proclamation was never published. Its belligerent tone, however, fitted the carefully planned and secret rebel preparations, under way for some time, for a military coup that same night on Breed's Hill, within cannon shot of north Boston and the naval anchorages in the harbour.

¹ See "The Memorial of Josiah, Simeon, Stephen and Jonas Jones..." PRO.A.O.12:10.n.d.(ca.1785).

For Josiah Jones at Concord jail, see also: Torrey and Allen, eds, (1962) The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, April 14, 1852. Vol.III, p.412; and Frank Sanborn, Henry D. Thoreau, (New York, 1917) p.14.

² Journals of Each Provincial Congress, pp.344-347.

As early as May 12th the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, directing the rebel military operations against Boston, had called for the making of "A strong redoubt to be raised on Bunker's Hill, with cannon planted there, to annoy the enemy coming out of Charlestown, also to annoy them going by water to Medford."¹ The rebel move on the night of June 16th was designed to preempt Gage's planned occupation of Dorchester Heights, commanding Boston from the south, which had been fixed for June 18th as the first part of an offensive to raise the Siege. As Burgoyne wrote to Lord Stanley on June 26th: "Howe was to land the transports on the point; Clinton in the centre; and I was to cannonade from the causeway or the Neck; each to take advantage of circumstances. The operation must have been very easy."² Next Gage's forces were to occupy the strategic ground to the north of Boston, the Charlestown Heights and Charlestown Neck - the peninsula jutting out into the harbour between the Charles and Mystic Rivers on which were the commanding heights of Bunker's Hill, and lower but with the advantage of being closer to Boston, separated by a shallow ravine, Breed's Hill. It was on the top of Breed's Hill during the night of June 16th that the rebels, commanded by Colonel William Prescott of Pepperell, a Louisbourg veteran, threw up a redoubt and other fortifications.³

¹ Frothingham, Siege of Boston, pp.115-119, chronicles the activities of the Committee of Safety. See also Charles Martyn, The Life of Artemas Ward (New York, 1921) pp.116-121. Ward was the rebel Commander-in-Chief at the Siege of Boston before Washington took command July 2nd. Graduated at Harvard in 1748, Ward had settled at Shrewsbury and married Sarah, daughter of the Rev. Caleb Trowbridge of Groton and a great-granddaughter of the Rev. John Cotton. Ward was a judge and militia colonel who had served with distinction in the French Wars.

² Gage's plan to occupy Dorchester: William Howe to Richard Howe, June 22, 1775. Stopford-Sackville MSS. Report, Vol.2, p.3. Burgoyne to Lord Stanley, June 26, 1775. Force, American Archives, Ser.IV, Vol.2, p.1094.

³ For Prescott, see: Caleb Butler, History of the Town of Groton, including Pepperell and Shirley... (Boston, 1848) pp.337-341. See Prescott's memoir of the Battle as related later to his son, Judge Prescott, in the "Narrative..." Mass. Hist.Soc. Proceedings, Vol.14, pp.76-78.

Gage had been outmaneuvered, and Boston was awakened at dawn on June 17th by the bombardment - largely ineffectual - of Breed's Hill by the Lively and other warships in the harbour. It was to be a day that no one in Boston to witness, civilian or soldier, ever forgot. Dorothea Gamsby later recalled: "It was scarcely daylight when the booming of the cannon on board the ships in the harbour shook every house in the City..." ¹ Richard Reeve, Secretary to the Board of Customs Commissioners, ² wrote on June 22nd.:

"We were first alarmed about 4 o'clock by an incessant fire from the Lively Man of War, Stationed between Charles Town and Boston in the Ferry Ways, and could plainly discern from the eminences of this Town numbers of People seemingly very intent on finishing a work which appeared to front and Command the Town — Three or four bras Cannon of 24 pound Ball were planted on a Battery erected on Copps Hill at the extremity of what is called the North End, which Commands the Charles Town Hill (Breed's) at the distance of about a Mile or a Mile and half, and about 9 o'clock they began to fire upon the Enemy from Cannon & howitzers — It did not appear to the Spectators on this Side that the Fire from the Battery or Ships did

¹ Narrative of Dorothea Gamsby, Crary, The Price of Loyalty, 1973, pp. 48-49.

² Richard Reeve's letters to London during the Siege of Boston are among the most informative from the "Loyalist" side to survive. They were mostly addressed to Sir George Howard and Sir Grey Cooper and are now in the Reeve MSS., Buckinghamshire County Record Office, Aylesbury. Henry Hulton, Customs Commissioner at Boston, 1767-1776, was also a witness to the Battle of Bunker Hill; see his letter dated at Boston June 20, 1775. Hulton MSS., Manchester College, Oxford.

any considerable execution, or retarded the progress of their work -- When they saw the flash from our cannon we could plainly see them fall down, and mount again as soon as the Shot was passed, without appearing to be the least disconcerted -- Two or three Shot from the Rebels Cannon fell into the North Part of the Town but did no damage -- The necessity of dislodging them from a Post of such consequence to the very being of this Town, appeared evident to every one..." 1

At an early morning council of war at headquarters in the Province House the newly-arrived Major General William Howe, with Brigadier Robert Pigot as second in command, were chosen to lead the expeditionary force to Charlestown. This included the grenadiers and light infantry (flank companies) from each regiment - under Lieutenant colonels James Abercromby and George Clark, Pigot's Brigade, and a detachment of marines under Major John Pitcairn. Pitcairn had been second in command to Col. Francis Smith at Lexington, and was well liked, by the Tories as well as the regular troops, and even by the crotchety Whig Ezra Stiles, away from the 2 fighting at Newport, who described him as "a good man in a bad cause."

"At 11," Lt. John Barker of the 4th Regiment, who went on the expedition to Charlestown, wrote in his Diary, "were order'd to assemble, and the 10 eldest Compys. of each march'd to the Long Wharf and embark'd in boats; the 5th and 38th likewise embark'd from the same Wharf, the 43rd and 52nd and remaining Comps. of Grs. and Lt. Infy. from the North Battery; the whole commanded by Majr. Genl. Howe set off about 1 oclock and landed on the right of Charles Town 3 under favor of the Cannon from several Ships and Copse Hill Battery."

¹ Richard Reeve, Boston, June 22, 1775, to London. Reeve MSS, Bucks. Co. Rec. Off., Aylesbury.

² Dexter, ed., The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, 1901, Vol. I, p. 605. Stiles had the commendable trait of going out of his way to praise the character and learning of people with whom he disagreed, however. See the sketch of Stiles by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XII, p. 93.

³ Dana, ed., The British in Boston, 1924, entry for June 17, 1775. p. 60.

Because of a shortage of boats, however, (many belonged to the naval vessels, transports, and merchantmen in the harbour) the crossing was delayed; the troops had to be taken over in two divisions, Generals Howe and Pigot following with the artillery in the second. Charles River at the Ferry Way from the North End of Boston to Charlestown Neck was, as Price's Map of 1769 states, "about a half-Mile over," but the distance was considerably longer for those troops that embarked on the Harbour side at the Long Wharf.¹

"About two o'clock," wrote Richard Reeve, watching from Boston, "we saw them all safely landed on the other side, refreshing themselves upon the grass on a rising ground, near the landing Place, where they continued near an hour." The Troops had "fallen out" to eat their mid-day meal from the store of three days' rations carried by each man. Howe, meanwhile, waited for his reserve - the 47th regiment and the 1st Marines - ordered across from Boston, and the arrival of the two floating batteries anchored beyond Charlestown in Charles River near the Mill Dam, part of his original plan to send a column along the Mystic River beach to flank the rebels' redoubt on the right. Howe's idea to warp the man-of-war Somerset up the Mystic River and use her heavy guns to rake the enemy breastworks had to be abandoned when it was found that she drew too much water. Worse was to come, however, for by 2:51p.m. the tide was at flood, and the floating batteries, late in receiving their orders, were so delayed by the ebb in the Mystic River as to take no effective part in the battle.²

¹Price, "A New Plan of the Great Town of Boston in New England," 1769. Probably the best plan of the Battle of Bunker Hill (although the topography is somewhat distorted) was made by Henry deBerniere, an Ensign in the 10th Regiment, who had been aided on his spying and sketching missions for Gage to Worcester and Concord in Feb. and March 1775, by Col. Elisha Jones' cousin Isaac of the Golden Ball Tavern at Weston. This map was captured in deBerniere's baggage, and later published by M. Thomas of Philadelphia in the Analectic Magazine, Feb., 1818. See Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 14, pp. 56-57.

² Richard Reeve, Boston, June 22, 1775. Reeve MSS, Bucks. Co. Rec. Off. Floating batteries: Gen. Wm. Howe to Richard Howe, June 22, 1775. Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, Stopford-Sackville Papers, Vol. II, p. 4.; Nat. Lowe's Almanac 1775, June 17th gives "full sea" at 2:51p.m.; Ad. Graves' "Conduct", Brit. Mus. ADD. MSS. 14,038, Vol. I, p. 73b; Clinton's criticism of slow order, MSS. "Narrative," p. 145-2D, Clinton MSS.

Howe's strategy was thus largely reduced to frontal attack by the infantry against an enemy, by early afternoon, well dug in and protected by the redoubt on high ground, and on its previously exposed left flank by new fortifications. The rebels had "improved" their gifted time hour by hour, bringing up reinforcements and strengthening their defenses on the hilltop as well as extending the breastwork on their left down into the Mystic River and making another some distance behind it along Charlestown Neck to cover any retreat of their forces stationed in the redoubt.¹

The battle of June 17, 1775 was not as military historians have pictured it, an engagement with little strategy fought with folly and won by the terrible bravery of the British Regulars alone.²

If the Loyalists in Boston had no part in planning the initial strategy of the battle (and the costly errors related to geography argue that they did not) Loyalists went with Howe to Charlestown Neck as Volunteers, as they had done two months before with the army at Lexington and Concord.³

Squads of Loyalists, including Col. Jones' son Stephen, were used to great advantage by Lord Percy and others at Lexington for scouting territory familiar to them, and for the same reason as messengers between the British expeditionary forces and Boston.

¹ Frothingham, The Siege of Boston, pp. 389-391.

² There is no study from the Loyal American point of view of Bunker Hill. Paul H. Smith, in Loyalists and Redcoats, 1964, pp. 13, 38, dismisses Bunker Hill as contributing "little to defining or expanding Gage's Loyalist policy," while linking it to rebel successes at Lexington and Concord as exposing "the folly of treating the rebellion casually." Piers Mackesy takes the traditional Whig - and rebel - view that at Bunker Hill the British "tried to teach them the sharp lesson of the frontal attack," drawing, moreover, a false parallel with the later Battle of Brooklyn Heights (August, 1776) where Howe had room to maneuver and flank the rebel lines. The War for America, 1775-1783, 1964, pp. 87-88.

³ For Loyalist Volunteers at Lexington and Concord, see above.

Since the night of Lexington, April 19th, when the Loyalists in Boston signed the Loyal Association at Headquarters at the Province House, there was in being a second roster of "special" volunteers who agreed not only to do service as required for the defense of the town, but "to go without the British Lines on any emergency." ¹

No evidence has yet been found that Loyalists went into battle at "Bunker" Hill in anything which could be described as a unit. It may have been, however, that in the confused last phase of this engagement, at the time of the regrouping for the third and successful assault, among the Tories who were already in the battle at Charlestown Neck, and who had crossed from Boston with Clinton's motley collection of reinforcements, were those who went up Breed's Hill together like the Tory squads of Lexington.

An important contribution to Howe's forces at Charlestown, as at Lexington and following the long tradition of Colonials in public service, was made by that category of Loyalists that might be called the "Regular" Volunteers. As in earlier times these were colonials of good family hoping for commissions, who soldiered without pay and were attached officially to one or other of the army regiments and the marines in the Boston garrison. One of these was George Inman, of Cambridge, of the Harvard class of 1772, whose father had "made the genteelst entertainment" ever seen at a Commencement by Boston merchant John Rowe, when 347 ladies and gentlemen dined and there was a ball afterward. Inman was a volunteer at "Bunker" Hill with the 4th (King's Own) Regiment.² Col. Elisha Jones'

¹ For the signing of the Loyalist Association on April 19th, see above. For the roster of "special" volunteers, see above, and the Loyalist Memorial of Samuel Hirst Sparhawk, a grandson of Sir William Pepperell, PRO. A.O. 13:48. Sparhawk was a member of the Harvard class of 1771, but Shipton, in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVII, pp. 631-2, did not use the Loyalist papers in the PRO and does not mention it.

² For the Tory squads at Lexington, see above.

³ For George Inman, see Cunningham, ed. The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, (many entries) and July 15, 1772 and 16th, 1772, p. 231; and "George Inman's Narrative of the American Revolution," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. VII, 1883 No. 2, pp. 237-8. For his service at the Battle of Long Island, Howe presented Inman with an ensigncy in the 17th Regiment of Foot.

son Jonas, captured by the rebels while distributing proclamations for Gage outside Boston in May, was prisoner in Watertown jail at the time of the "Bunker" Hill Fight. He later escaped and joined the British army in Canada as a volunteer, and for his gallantry in action at Saratoga was given a commission in the 20th (Lancashire Fusiliers) Regiment.¹

It is probable that Stephen Jones, who took such an active part as a Tory Volunteer at Lexington, and was to fight through the war in the Provincial Service, was not in Boston at the time of "Bunker" Hill. Some time before he may have slipped out of the town - by water - on one of the information-gathering missions that he undertook for Gage during the Siege, or been absent in charge of a forage vessel for his father on a trip to one of their loyal suppliers at Annapolis Royal or another of the Fundy Ports.²

Col. Elisha Jones, his wife Mary Allen, and the servants were doubtless among the rest of the able-bodied population watching from first light and in full view the unfolding of the most awesome spectacle that in all its history Boston has ever witnessed: the battle of Charlestown on June 17, 1775.

It was well past two in the afternoon, however, before the long delayed assault of the rebel positions by Howe's troops finally began: first with a bombardment, then with the men advancing in line, at a slow march, and stopping frequently to give time for the canon (soon to be stopped from moving forward by a marsh) to fire. The domestic scene for onlookers in the town was recalled by Dorothea Gramsby and shared in the experience of hundreds of Tory families:

1 Testimony of Jonas Jones, Memorial of Josiah, Simeon, Stephen, and Jonas Jones, PRO. A.O. 12:10, ff. 360-363.

2 Sworn statement of Stephen Jones, Digby, Nova Scotia, Oct. 24, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10, ff. 389-391.

"The glittering host, the crashing music, all the pomp and brilliance of war moved up toward that band of rebels, but they still laboured at their entrenchment; they seemed to take no heed. The bullets from the ships, the advancing column of British warriors were alike unnoticed. 'I should think they would begin to get out of the way,' said my aunt.

"Every available window and roof was filled with anxious spectators, watching the advanceing regulars. Every heart, I dare say, throbbed as mine did and we held our breath, or rather it seemed to stop and oppress the labouring chest of its own acord, so intensely we awaited the expected attack, but the troops drew nearer and the rebels toiled on.

"At length one who stood conspicuously above the rest waved his bright weapon; the explosion came attended by the crash of music, the shrieks of the wounded, the groans of the dying. My aunt fainted. Poor Abby, (the maid) looked on like one distracted. I screamed with all my might. The roar of artillery continued, but the smoke hid the havoc of war from our view. The housekeeper attended to my aunt and begged for somebody to go for Dr. (Joseph) Warren, but everybody was too much engaged with watching the smokeing battlefield. O, how wild and terrific was that long day! Old as I am, the memory of that fearful contest will sometimes come over my spirit as if it had been but yesterday." ¹

That morning, meanwhile, as at the time of Lexington, there had been a gathering of prominent Loyalists at Headquarters in the Province House, to offer their services and to hear the news. We do not know if Col. Elisha Jones was among them, but two of them at least were members of the Massachusetts Council, which Gage, as Governor, may well have summoned as was customary in times of political crisis or threat of danger to the colony. Council member Brigadier Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, as commandant of the loyal Massachusetts Militia (though only a remnant of it - enrolled as Associators on the night of Lexington - had reached

¹ Narrative of Dorothea Gamsby, Crary, The Price of Loyalty, 1973, pp. 48-49.

Boston to fill the places of the rebel townsmen who had fled) and never a man to mince words, is supposed to have warned Gage that the rebels on Breed's Hill would make a real fight of it. Apocryphal or not, Gage's reply as well as Ruggles' sharp rejoinder reflect the contemporary political and military prejudices of the English officer and the colonial militiaman: Gage is said to have declared that the rebels would retreat at the sight of cannon. "Without discipline, without officers, and under the disadvantage of being engaged in an unjust cause...it is impossible for them to withstand our arms a moment." To which Ruggles is alleged to have made reply: "Sir, you know not with whom you have to contend. These are the very men who conquered Canada. I have fought with them side by side; I know them well; they will fight bravely. My God! Sir, your folly has ruined your cause!"¹

¹ Generations of Massachusetts lawyers have relished the tale - with many another about Ruggles, for all that he was a Tory, but one of the most notable and colourful figures ever to sit on the Bench. Memoir of Timothy Ruggles, Worcester Magazine, Vol. II, 1826, p. 59.

Unlike many British military leaders during the Revolution, Gage had in fact a long and varied experience of the fighting abilities of Colonial militia. In the French and Indian War, Gage's first view of Colonial troops under fire was the Virginia Militia commanded by George Washington - on the march from the Monongahela to Ft. Duquesne (later Ft. Pitt) where Gage led the advance column under Gen. Braddock. On July 9, 1755 the behaviour of the Colonials was far from reliable when the force was ambushed and badly mauled by a detachment of French and Indians, and Braddock killed. Later, Gage served at Oswego, and commanded the light infantry on Gen. James Abercromby's disastrous expedition against Ft. Ticonderoga in 1758 when Ruggles commanded the Massachusetts Militia, and at the end, Gage served under Amherst at the capture of Montreal in Sept., 1760.

Professional jealousy being the pernicious thing that it is, however, the prejudice of the Regular Army against militia, and especially colonial militia and provincial troops, was real enough. But the statement of Piers Mackesy (in The War for America, 1775-1783, 1964, p. 30) that "With the possible exception of Lord Amherst, those among the government's friends who knew the Americans best rated them lowest," is the reverse of the truth. Mackesy's authority is the often quoted and highly prejudicial remark of Gen. Wolfe (always lofty toward things American) made not, as Mackesy says, at Quebec, but before he had seen them fight, at Louisbourg, on but four days acquaintance after his arrival on May 15, 1759: describing the Rangers as "the worst soldiers in the universe." Wolfe to Maj. Walter Wolfe, May 19, 1759. Beckles Willson, The Life and Letters of James Wolfe (1909) p. 427. See Col. Charles Stacey, The Siege and the Battle Quebec 1759 (Toronto, 1959) pp. 5-6. John W. Shy, "A New Look at Colonial Militia," Wm. & Mary Quarterly, 1963, pp. 183-5, reexamines prejudices against militia troops.

Loyalists remembered that before the Battle of "Bunker" Hill Gage had asked about the character of the rebel commander at the redoubt, Col. William Prescott of Pepperell, a veteran of Louisbourg, who atop the parapet and with supreme unconcern was seen directing his men in strengthening the fortifications, until the shooting began. After watching Prescott for some time Gage handed his glass to another member of the Massachusetts Council, Abijah Willard of Lancaster, asking if he knew him. Willard replied that Prescott was his brother-in-law. "Will he fight?" asked Gage. "I cannot answer for his men," said Willard, "but Prescott will fight you to the gates of Hell."¹

And so the rebels did.

To protect the British left, exposed to sniper fire from Charlestown, the houses were set on fire to drive the rebels out (they had even climbed to the church steeple) and red-hot balls thrown from the warships and carcasses from Copp's Hill Battery at Boston soon had the town burning.² But Howe's first two assaults on the rebel fortifications were thrown back with staggering losses. An officer later wrote:

"As we approached, an incessant stream of fire poured from the rebel lines: it seemed a continued sheet of fire for near thirty minutes. Our Light-Infantry were served up in Companies against the grass fence, without being able to penetrate — indeed, how could we penetrate? Most of our Grenadiers and Light-Infantry, the moment of presenting themselves lost three-fourths, and many nine-tenths, of their men. Some had only eight and nine men a company left; some only three, four, and five. On the left, Pigot was staggered and actually retreated. Observe, our men were not driven back; they actually retreated by orders."³

¹ Sabine, American Loyalists, 1847, p.706. Willard's sister Elizabeth, who died in 1751, had been Prescott's first wife. See Joseph Willard, Willard Memoir, 1858, pp.414-15.

² Burning of Charlestown: Samuel Graves, "The Conduct of Admiral Graves," Brit.Mus. ADD.MSS. 14,038.Vol.I,p.74.

³ Letter of a British officer. Anon. Dated Boston, July 5, 1775. Historical Magazine, June, 1868, p.367.

The position of the Royal troops at Charlestown was now critical, and Howe again sent to Boston for reinforcements. Clinton, as he says, "Having been directed by the Commander in Chief to remain on the Boston side, at a battery we had on Cobb's (sic) Hill, for the purpose of forwarding reinforcements to General Howe," received word from him "that Enemy appeared in great force, desired reinforcement, and orders me to embark 2 marines and another Battn." But Clinton did more than this. He later explained: "On seeing our left give totally way I desired Gen Burgoyne, who was with me, to save me harmless to Gen Gage for going without his orders, and went over to join with Howe. "Leaving orders for 2 M(arines) to...embark and follow," Clinton "went over in man of war barge." "I landed under fire from the town (i.e. Charlestown); two men were wounded in the boat before I left it." ¹

Clinton's surviving papers say nothing of those who accompanied him, of the ship's barges and other boats that crossed at this time to Charlestown - manned in part at least with Tories left out of the fighting earlier and who answered Clinton's call for volunteers. The "Diary" of Josiah Quincy, son of Samuel Quincy (1735-1789) the last Royal Solicitor General of Massachusetts, recalled the danger: "A three pound shot from the American Lines passed lengthways the boat, touched not a man, and beat out her stern." ²

¹ Memorandum of Bunker Hill. Clinton MSS., Clements Library, University of Michigan; see also William Willcox, ed., The American Rebellion Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-1782... 1954, p.21.

² Entry for January 9, 1819. "Diary" of Josiah Quincy. MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

At Charlestown, where he found all in confusion on the beach, Clinton first wrote to Gage, "informing him of the critical state of matters." Then Clinton organized his volunteers: "I then collected all the guards and such wounded men as would follow - which to their honour were many - and advanced in column, with as much parade as possible to impose on the enemy. When I joined Sir William Howe he told me that I had saved him, for his left was gone. The enemy about this time quitted" their fortifications on the hill,¹ retreating in some disorder back across Charlestown Neck.

The spirit of the Tories who fought at "Bunker" Hill is nowhere better shown than by John Coffin. Born in Boston in 1756, the son of Nathaniel Coffin, merchant and King's Cashier of the Customs, John went to sea as a boy (as did many a merchant's son of good family) and by 18 had risen to command a ship. Coffin was in charge of one of the boats that ferried the troops across from Boston before the third assault, and being invited by the "Colonel" (possibly Clinton) "to come up and see the fun," the only weapon at hand being the tiller of his boat, Coffin "unshipped" it, and went along. The last - and finally successful - assault upon the rebel works was the only one where the forces led by Howe came to grips with the enemy hand-to-hand. John Coffin layed about him with his tiller, "shipped" the musket, powder, and belt of the first man he knocked down, and further distinguished himself in the rest of the action. For gallantry Coffin was commissioned Ensign on the field, and after the battle was presented to Gage.²

¹ Willcox, ed., The American Rebellion Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-1782... (1954) p.21.

² John Coffin was a big man, more than 6'2"; he had a distinguished military career during the Revolutionary War, ending as a major. He settled in New Brunswick on the St. John River at a place he called Alwington Manor, for the ancient family estate in Devon. He died in 1838, aged 82, the oldest general in the British army. Of his sons, one also became a general (artillery) and two admirals in the Royal Navy. See Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1907, pp.234-9. On July 30, 1775, Henry Hulton wrote to a correspondent in England: "I wrote to you by the Cerberus man of war with an account of the action of the 17th June. Mr. Coffin tells me his son John who is bred to the sea is going mate of a vessel to Liverpool. He is a very clever young fellow and will give you an account of the state of affairs here..." Hulton MSS., Manchester College, Oxford.

Another Tory who lived through the final storming of the rebel fortifications was the peppery Nathaniel Dickinson, born at Deerfield in 1734, who lived at Mill River. His sister, "Aunt Hannah" Dickinson, was the formidable (and heartless) third wife of Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, Col. Billy Williams of Pittsfield. Dickinson, who had fled to Boston in April, 1775, had been one of the most active Tories in western (Hampshire County) Massachusetts. Among other "crimes" the rebels charged Dickinson with being one of the Tory couriers, taking messages between Hampshire County and Hatfield (Col. Israel Williams) to Gage at Boston, and with enlisting a Tory militia company to support the government in western Massachusetts. The rebels had several times made open threats against his life, and once at least Dickinson had been "tied up to be hanged." After "Bunker" Hill, Dickinson received Howe's thanks for killing a rebel.¹

¹ For violence against Dickinson, see: Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. I, p. 1261; For Dickinson's Loyalist Claims papers, see PRO. A.O. 12:10, ff. 188-95, 430-6; A.O. 13:50.

For Dickinson at Deerfield, see: George Sheldon, A History of Deerfield, 1896, Vol. II, pp. 697, 709-710, and "Genealogies," p. 146. Sheldon lists the Deerfield men known to have been at "Bunker" Hill with Col. Prescott's rebel force - but not Nathaniel Dickinson and other Deerfield Tories.

Among other Tory volunteers at "Bunker" Hill were: the Boston distiller Alexander Constable, who in 1775 helped Col. Joseph Goreham to raise the Royal Fencible Americans in which he received a lieutenant's commission (PRO. A.O. 13:73) and who died in Oct., 1780 as a result of rebel torture in a Charleston, South Carolina jail; Joseph Cookson, a clerk in the Boston Customs House; and George Warden, a stonemason, who had offered his services to the Royal Engineers. See PRO. A.O. 13:73 and A.O. 13:75.

The loyal forces occupied - and strengthened - the rebel positions at Charlestown, but by Howe's order there was no pursuit of the rebels across the Neck, which Clinton, whose force had advanced along the centre of the peninsula, perhaps rashly wished to undertake.¹ Nor, and of greatest significance to the future of the British in Boston, was there any move by Gage to fortify Dorchester Heights, equal in strategic importance to Charlestown and which commanded Boston to the south.²

From "Beacon Hill in full prospect" a new arrival only three days before watched the battle, Samuel Paine, son of "Squire" Timothy Paine of Worcester, who had known Col. Elisha Jones' sons at Harvard and who was to serve with them through the Siege in Ruggles' Loyal Associators. "The Troops have suffered Extremely," he wrote to his brother William, the Worcester physician and apothecary, "The Rebels lost a vast many, among whom was Doctor Warren, a noted Rascal... We have about 30 Prisoners here, some of whom (British Army deserters) are to be Executed. After the firing ceased, I went over, and Good God what a Sight, all the Horrors of War, Death and Rebellion. The British Army is encamped upon the High Hills in Charlestown in fine spirits, will advance into the Country as soon as possible, laying waste and destruction wherever they go... We may Expect a Bloody Summer, for my Countrymen fight well for them and are determined at all events to die or conquer."³

1 See Clinton's notes for his "Narrative," Clinton MSS., Clements Library. These are abridged in the printed version ed. by William B. Willcox, The American Rebellion Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative... 1954, p. 21n.

2 On June 24th, a week after Bunker Hill, Gage had approved a plan to take possession of Dorchester, and a detachment had embarked - but Gage countermanded the order. Capt. Charles Stuart (son of Lord Bute) wrote in his MSS. "Narrative," (p. 9): "A week after this attack a detachment was sent in Boats to take possession of Dorchester Heights but the commander in chief thinking his troops inadequate to the keeping that spot before they had reached the opposite shore caused them to be recalled." See also the "Notebook" of Gen. Haldimand, Brit. Mus. ADD MSS 21889, p. 28.

3 Paine had been gathering intelligence for Gage before "coming in" to Boston. See his report to Gage, dated June 15, 1775 - the day after his arrival - Gage MSS, Clements Library. Samuel Paine to William Paine, June 22, 1775. William Paine MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

The British casualties reported by Gage, 226 killed and 828 wounded, were staggering, worse, it was said, than those against the French at Minden (1759).¹ Of these the Tories had their share, listed without² distinction, however, as "Volunteers" in Gage's official returns. The Tory casualties were a measure of their contribution to this victory that was more of a disaster than many defeats. Boston merchant Alexander Campbell, who had joined Gen. Robert Pigot's brigade as a volunteer on April 19, 1775 - was wounded in seven places, but lived to volunteer again, later in the year at the head of a company of ninety men enlisted by himself to raise the Highland settlers in North Carolina.³ "Dangerously wounded" at Charlestown was the prominent Salem surgeon, Dr. Thomas Boulton, who had been a volunteer with Lord Percy's relief force at Lexington.⁴

It was doubtless true that Colonel Elisha Jones and his family, so long in the forefront of resistance to the rebels, were not among the least of the Boston inhabitants in giving aid to the wounded. The best account of the Tories and the return of the dead and wounded to Boston was written by the benevolent John Clarke, First Lieutenant of Marines, a veteran of 36 years in the King's service:

"As soon as the news of the battle being over, reached Boston, those persons who style themselves Friends to Government, instantly sent out every sort of carriage they had, as coaches, chariots, single-horse chaises, and even hand-barrows, to the water-side, to assist in bringing to Boston, the wounded and killed officers and soldiers to their respective homes: likewise all the Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries of Boston, instantly attended the wounded Officers, and gave them every assistance in their power.

1 "I here the Officers say that the battle of Menden did not exceed itt..." Isaac Smith Sr., to John Adams, Salem, July 1, 1775 (Post Script to Smith's letter dated June 24th) L.H. Butterfield, ed., Adams Family Correspondence Vol. I (1963) p. 229.

2 "Return of the Officers Non Commissioned Officers and Privates Killed and Wounded of His Majesty's Troops at the Attack of the Redoubt and Intrenchments on the Heights of Charles Town 17th June 1775." with Gage to Lord Dartmouth, July 24, 1775. PRO. CO 5:92.

3 PRO. A.O. 13:73.

4 PRO. A.O. 13:43; A.O. 13:74.

"Then followed a melancholy scene of several carriages, with the dead and dying officers; in the first of which was Major Williams bleeding and dying, and three dead Captains of the Fifty Second Regiment; but he lived till the next morning.

"The second contained four dead Officers, then another with wounded Officers; and this scene continued until Sunday morning, before all the wounded private men could be brought to Boston." ¹

"It being a very hot day," wrote Mrs. Isaac Winslow, who had watched the battle from her house-top, "nothing could be more distressing than the scene of the wounded soldiers passing by, fainting with heat, pain and thirst, and continually calling on the inhabitants for water."² Among the many Tories who helped were Dorcas Griffith and her daughter, a widow, who kept a linen drapery shop on Hancock's Wharf. Captain David Johnston of the Marines later certified that, as one of the wounded he must have died in the street had not Dorcas Griffith and her daughter taken

¹ John Clarke, An Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, Between His Britannic Majesty's Troops and the American Provincial Army on Bunker's Hill, near Charles Town, in New England... London, 1775, pp. 16-17.

² New England Hist. Gen. Register, Vol. LVI, p. 49.

Chief Justice Peter Oliver later wrote in his Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion: "After the Battle, the Kings wounded Troops were carried to Boston, & it was truly a Shocking Sight and Sound, to see the Carts loaded with those unfortunate Men, & to hear the piercing Groans of the dying & of those whose painfull Wounds extorted the Sigh from the firmest Mind. As I was a Witness to one Instance, in particular, of Stoicism, I will relate it. I was walking in one of the Streets of Boston, & saw a Man advancing towards me, his white Waistcoat, Breeches & Stockings being very much dyed of a Scarlet Hue. I thus spake to him; "My friend, are you wounded?" He replied, "Yes Sir! I have 3 Bullets through me." He then told me the Places where; one of them being a mortal Wound; he then with a philosophic Calmness began to relate the History of the Battle; & in all Probability would have talked 'till he died, had not I begged him to walk off to the Hospital; which he did, in as sedate a Manner as if he had been walking for his Pleasure..." D. Adair and J. Schutz, eds., Peter Oliver's Origin & Progress of the American Rebellion A Tory View, (Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1961) pp. 127-8.

him into their house. To their humanity he owed his life.¹

On the day after the battle Mrs. Gage set an example by sending "all her fowls, fish, and what little fresh meat she had in the house, to the wounded Officers, scarcely leaving a sufficiency for herself and the General..."² But the inhabitants who followed in the way of the Good Samaritan - putting Boston politics aside with the manufactured legends of the "bloody lobsterbacks" and that supreme devilment of manufactured incidents, the "Boston Massacre" - were to pay the rebels dearly for their compassion toward the injured. All who gave aid to the wounded and the dying, including even doctors, surgeons, and apothecaries - whose vocation was the preservation of life - were marked down for retribution. Dr. John Jeffries was among the doctors who went over to Charlestown to treat the wounded, and with Howe's permission the rebel wounded as well, who were also brought to Boston.³ Other medical men who gave notable service included Dr. Sylvester Gardiner⁴ of Boston, and the Tory refugee Dr. Charles Russell of Lincoln.⁵ Among the Whigs who remained in Boston through the Siege were Dr. Miles Whitworth (who was appointed surgeon in charge of the wounded rebel prisoners at Boston) and Dr. James Lloyd.⁶

1 The certificate of Captain David Johnston is with the Loyalist papers of Dorcas Griffith. PRO.A.O.13:73.

2 John Clarke, An Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June 1775... (1775) p.21.

3 For John Jeffries and "Bunker" Hill (noted as the person who identified the body of Dr. Joseph Warren) see Boston Medical and Surgical Journal Vol. XCII (1875) p.729. See also PRO.A.O.13:47 and A.O.13:74.

4 For Dr. Gardiner, see: PRO.A.O.13:45; A.O.13:73.

5 For Dr. Russell (who with Jeffries, and Gardiner were evacuated to Halifax on March 17, 1776) see PRO.A.O.13:75.

6 Drs. Whitworth and Lloyd were imprisoned by the rebels in Boston jail after the British evacuation. See Cunningham, The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, entries for April 17, 19, May 3rd, 1776, pp. 308-9. Abigail Adams in her letter to John Adams of April 14, 1776, maintained that Drs. Whitworth and Lloyd should be punished by being transported from Boston. See Loyalist papers of Whitworth's son John Dean Whitworth, a Lt. in Col. Robert Rogers's Queen's Rangers, wounded and taken prisoner at White Plains, he was bound in irons in Boston jail and would have died but for the intervention of his father. PRO.A.O.13:75.

The reputation of the rebels for making war by no civilized rules, begun during the months of the "terror" against the Friends of Government before Lexington,¹ was further added to by their activities at "Bunker" Hill. This time the charge was that the rebels used poisoned bullets. Richard Reeve, Secretary to the Board of Customs Commissioners, wrote on June 22, 1775:

"In cutting out the Bullets from our Wounded it was found that they were all very ragged and had occasioned infinite pain, there can be no doubt but they were purposely made so, and there is another circumstance well worth enquiry, which is that a white crusted matter is said by the Surgeons to have adhered to all those Balls, which is supposed to have been some poisonous mixture, for an uncommon rancorous suppuration has followed in almost every case - This I had from a Surgeon of the 52nd Regimt - The Genl it is presumed will direct a Strict enquiry to be made into this particular fact - There is certainly no Species of Villainy but what these People are capable of --" 2

¹ For the scalping and mutilation of British soldiers by the rebels at Lexington, see above.

² Richard Reeve MSS., Manchester College, Oxford.

Abigail Adams mentioned poisoned bullets in her letter to John Adams, Braintree, July 5, 1775: "their own wounded men die very fast, so that they have raised a report that the Bullets were poisoned." L. Butterfield, ed. Adams Family Correspondence (1963) p. 239.

THE "LOYAL LEGION OF AMERICA"

"These People shew a Spirit and Conduct against us, they never shewed against the French, and every body has Judged of them from their former Appearance, and behaviour, when joyned with the King's Forces in the last War; which has led many into great mistakes. They are now spirited up by a Rage and Enthousiasm, as great as ever People were possessed of, and you must proceed in earnest or give the Business up....You must have large Army's making Divertions on different sides, to divide their force.

"The loss we have sustained, is greater then we can bear. Small Army's cant afford such losses....The Troops are sent out too late, the Rebels were at least two months before-hand with us...."

General Gage to
Lord Barrington, June 26, 1775¹

It was the experience of "Bunker" Hill: the heavy casualties of the royal troops which left them badly outnumbered by the besieging rebels, and the showing of the colonials - loyal and rebel - in the battle, that at last was to bring about the raising from the Tories remaining in Boston of the first Loyalist Regiment of the Revolution, a project advocated by Brig. Timothy Ruggles, Col. Elisha Jones, Thomas Gilbert, and other leaders of the loyal Massachusetts Militia since the time of the Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774.

On the night of "Bunker" Hill, as after Lexington, squads of Tory volunteers in Boston relieved the regular troops, patrolling the streets and doing guard duty.² We do not know if Col. Elisha Jones was among them, but others of the most prominent Tories took part

¹ Gage to Lord Barrington, June 26, 1775. Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan,

² Leading one of these may have been Boston merchant Thomas Brown. Giving evidence before the Loyalist Commissioners at Halifax, Dec. 10, 1785, he produced a commission from Gage dated June 5, 1775, appointing him First Lieutenant in a company of loyal militia under John Erving. PRO. A.O.12:10, ff. 47-55.

and gave a lead to the rest. One at least was a member of the Governor's Council, Daniel Leonard, a refugee from Taunton, who had offered his services to Gage as a combattant at the time of Lexington, and most significantly, as "Massachusettensis" had written the best exposition of Tory political philosophy to appear in the Colony, the series of seventeen letters addressed "To the Inhabitants of the Province of Massachusetts Bay," that ran in the Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy (Nathaniel Mills and John Hicks) between Dec.12,1774 and April³,1775. One of the "Post Tea-Party Tories" (Dec.16,1773), Leonard, Captain of the ¹ First Company of the Harvard Fencibles when he graduated in 1760 but not a veteran of the French and Indian War, had taken a poor view of the battle capabilities of the colonial militia in his letters of Massachusettensis, especially in the first, which² reflected, and must have influenced the attitudes, of many. Leonard's

¹ See for Leonard's activities in Boston during the Siege, PRO.

A.O.13:47; A.O.13:74; the fullest biography of Leonard is by Frank Davol, Two Men of Taunton (Taunton, 1912) based upon Leonard's papers -since missing; and the best, the sketch by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1760, Vol.XIV, pp.640-647.

² "Massachusettensis" wrote in the letter of Dec.12,1774:

"....It is well known that the Provincials in the late war were never brought to a proper discipline, though they had the example of the regular troops to encourage, and the martial law to enforce it. We all know, notwithstanding the province law for regulating the militia, it was under little more command than what the officers could obtain from treating and humouring the common soldiers; what, then, can be expected from such an army as you will bring into the field, if you bring any, each one a politician, puffed up with his own opinion, and feeling himself second to none? Can any of you command ten thousand such men? Can you punish the disobedient? Can all your wisdom direct their strength, courage, or activity to any given point? Would not the least disappointment or unfavourable aspect cause a general dereliction of the service? Your new-fangled militia have already given us a specimen of their future conduct. In some of their companies, they have already chosen two, in others, three sets of officers, and are as dissatisfied with the last choice as the first. I do not doubt the natural bravery of my countrymen; all men would act the same part in the same situation. Such is the army with which you are to oppose the most powerful nation upon the globe. An experienced officer would rather take his chance with five thousand British troops, than with fifty thousand such militia." Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Post Boy, Dec.12,1774.

ideas of the rebel militia, however, if not shaken by their stand at Lexington, after "Bunker" Hill doubtless shared much of the opinion of Samuel Paine of Worcester who, after watching the battle from Beacon Hill wrote on June 22nd, "We may Expect a Bloody Summer, for my Countrymen fight well for them and are determined at all events to die or conquer."¹

The night patrol and guard duty by the Tories was continued - and, as were other Tory activities, closely watched by the rebels. At Salem Isaac Smith Sr., a Whig refugee from Boston, reported on July 1st to his nephew John Adams, representing the rebel government of Massachusetts in the Continental Congress at Philadelphia, that according to information received by "a person yesterday from Boston... There is a Military Watch kept by the friends of Government. Martyn Gay one of the Captns."² An eminently respectable Bostonian, Gay was a Deacon of the West Church, a prosperous founder and copper-smith, and shipowner, who in 1772 had been appointed Captain of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston. Gay's son Samuel was a classmate of Stephen Jones at Harvard (1775), and Martyn Gay, like Col. Elisha Jones, was at this time active in importing forage, provisions, and wood from Nova Scotia.³

¹ Samuel Paine to Dr. William Paine, June 22, 1775. William Paine MSS., Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

² Isaac Smith Sr., to John Adams, Salem, July 1, 1775 (post script to Smith's letter dated June 24th) L.H. Butterfield, ed., Adams Family Correspondence (1963) Vol. I, p. 229.

³ Frederick Lewis Gay, "John Gay of Dedham and some of his Descendants" New Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, Vol. XXXIII, Jan. 1879, p. 52. At the beginning of July, 1775 Martyn Gay sent his son Samuel by sea to the St. John River in Nova Scotia to learn "the mercantile trade" (the original idea had been for Samuel to go on from there to Quebec) "where I trust he will be Clear of the Confusion & horror that attend this place, which is a perfect Garrison surrounded with a Rebel Army..." Martyn Gay to his brother Jotham, Boston, July 8, 1775. Col. Soc. of Mass. Publications, Vol. III, 1897, p. 380. See Martyn Gay's Loyalist papers, PRO. A.O. 13:50; and Oliver Roberts, History of the Ancient & Hon. Artillery Company, Vol. II (1895) P. 106.

The Loyalist volunteers in Boston, however, were soon afterward put upon a proper military footing - a status which they were to hold, albeit with many changes of command and location, throughout the War of the Revolution. This was an event of the greatest importance to the lives of Col. Elisha Jones and his Tory sons, who, to the very end with other dedicated Massachusetts men, were to follow the fortunes of the British Army.

A little more than a fortnight after "Bunker" Hill Gage at last embodied the signers of the Loyalist Association into a volunteer corps under the command of Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick. Of him, veteran commander in the French and Indian War and the most renowned New England soldier of the latter 18th century, a man then aged 64, Gage wrote to Dartmouth on July 24th: "Nobody is more ready to appear in Arms in the Cause of his King and the British Constitution than himself." ¹

It is significant of Ruggles' thinking that as part of his "Proposals" for a Loyalist force to suppress the rebellion (approved in principle by the Cabinet in London in January, 1775) it was "earnestly requested this Corps (as the first rais'd on this unhappy occasion) be stil'd The Loyal Legion of America." ² From his first years as Hardwick Representative in the Massachusetts House (and notably his support of the Colonial Governors' - except Georgia and Nova Scotia - plan of 1754 for a defensive league against the French) Ruggles had favoured Colonial Union. ³

¹ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, July 24, 1775. PRO.C.O. 5:92.

² Ruggles' "Proposals for raising a Brigade or Legion..." were copied on the back of the Roster of the Loyalist Legion dated July 5, 1775, now in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan. They are not dated.

³ For Cabinet approval of Ruggles' Proposals, see above. Colonial Union: Journal of the...House of Representatives of...Massachusetts Bay (1754) p.272; Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Sketch of Ruggles, class of 1732, Vol. IX, p.202; Later, Ruggles (with Oliver Partridge, 1712-92 of Hatfield, and the firebrand James Otis) represented Mass.-and was chosen Chairman- of the inter-Colonial Stamp Act Congress at New York in Oct. 1765; Ruggles objected to the instructions, drawn after he left Boston, favouring the exclusive right of Colonies to tax themselves, and did not sign the Petition to the Crown. See Thos. Hutchinson, History of Mass., Vol. III (1936) pp.85-6.

The plans for the "Loyal Legion," based as they were upon Ruggles' own long experience of warfare in America and command both of militia and regular troops, are notable for their innovations in organization and weapons.¹ Among others they were to serve as a model for later colonial (provincial) corps, and the provisions for two companies of "Rifle or Marksmen"² in each battalion of ten companies set the pattern for Loyalist provincial corps as pioneers in the use of the "Kentucky" - and also after 1776 the Ferguson - rifle in the British army:

"To His Excellency the Honourable Thomas Gage General & Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces raised or to be raised in North America, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay &c &c

"Proposals for raising a Brigade or Legion of Troops for the immediate Service of his most Sacred Majesty in Quelling the most unnatural and Wanton Rebellion now rife in this Province.

That the S^d Brigade, or Legion, do consist of three or more Battalions, the whole to be commanded by one Colonel in Chief, a Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, a Major, eight Captains, twelve Lieutenants, eight Ensigns, a Chaplain, a Surgeon & mate, adjutant, & Quartermaster to each battalion with four Sergeants, four Corporals, & two drummers with fifty privates to each Company.

¹ It appears that Ruggles' plans were held back until Gage issued the Proclamation of Rebellion of June 12, 1775, some considerable time. On April 18, 1775 Ruggles had written to John Pownall in London: "...I am happy in finding all my best Officers now living, and that serv'd with me last War, are Zealously Affected for this Service, by which means I expect soon to recruit the Regiment after the Generals Proclamation is Issued for Severing the Loyalists from the Rebels."

² The rebels had used riflemen from the beginning of the Siege, one of their functions being to "pop" at sentries. A letter from Lt. Carter dated July 2, 1775, (printed by Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, vol. 2, p. 1350) says: "Never had the British army so ungenerous an enemy to oppose. They send their riflemen, five or six at a time, who conceal themselves behind trees, etc. till an opportunity presents itself of taking a shot at our advanced sentries, which done, they immediately retreat."

That that Battalion consist of ten Companies each (viz.) two Grenadiers or broadsword men, four of light armed Infantry, two of Rifle or Marksmen, one of artillery (accustomed & instructed to work great guns & particularly field pieces) and one of artificers & mechanicks, the last to be chiefly pioneers, hatchet and spade men, carpenters, masons.

That the whole be clothed and accoutred agreeable to a¹ plan herewith delivered and very humbly presented for approbation.

That it is earnestly requested this corps (as the first rais'd on this unhappy occasion) be stiled The Loyal Legion of America.

That the bounty allowed for the encouragement and assistance of equipping the Troops be Two Guineas to each man, & it is most respectfully hoped the allowances of Pay & Provisions, Quarters & Camp necessarys, for both officers & men will be the same with his Majesties established troops, and that the recommendation, nomination, & appointment of the officers be honored with Your Excellencys sanction & approbation, & conferred on Gentlemen of unblemished Character, eminent for their Loyalty, & to depend more immediately, on their zeal, distinguished activity, diligence & success in Recruiting & disciplining the Corps as expeditiously as possible. All which is most humbly & respectfully submitted to Yr Excellency's consideration & decision by Yr most Dutiful and Obedient

Servant

2

Timothy Ruggles

..

¹ This plan is not now with the other documents relating to Ruggles' Loyal Legion of America in the Gage Papers, Clements Library. For the uniforms of Ruggles' corps in Boston during the summer of 1775, see below.

² Ruggles' proposals for the Loyal Legion were sent to Gage in the form of a letter, the only known copy of which was made on the back of the roster of Ruggles' Corps dated July 5th, 1775, now in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan. Ruggles' letter to Gage in this copy is undated.

On July 5, 1775 Gage embodied five companies of Loyalists in Boston under the command of Brig. Timothy Ruggles. These were just half of one ten-company battalion provided for in Ruggles' plans for the Loyal Legion of America. Given the numbers of able-bodied Loyalists in Boston during the summer of 1775, by far the greater part being women and children, however, this corps of some 300 men and officers was clearly intended only as the nucleus of a larger force to be raised among the Tories outside Boston once the army got on the move. ¹

The fifteen officers, including Brig. Timothy Ruggles and Colonel Elisha Jones, were men of eminence in the colonies of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with distinguished records of public service, civil and military. They included members of the Governors' Councils, judges, magistrates, and other public officials, and members of the Massachusetts and New Hampshire Assemblies. Of great importance from the standpoint of Ruggles' corps as a fighting unit and its readiness for service, the great majority on the outbreak of hostilities held senior rank in the militia. Many (like those who served in the ranks of Ruggles' Corps as Volunteers) were veterans of Louisbourg and other campaigns in the French and Indian Wars under Ruggles himself and the much-respected General Jeffrey Amherst (who refused to serve against the colonials in America) where several had commanded regiments and companies. Six of the fifteen officers attended Harvard College, and at least one more of them sent his sons there: through the War Loyalist Corps from Massachusetts and New Hampshire (notably Gov. Wentworth's Gentlemen Volunteers in which Col. Elisha Jones' sons were to serve) following colonial tradition were officered by Harvard men. Only two of Ruggles' officers were not New England born: James Forrest, an Ulsterman, and James Anderson, a Scot, but they were representative of two notably loyal immigrant groups in Boston. ²

¹ The roster of officers and men of these five companies dated July 5, 1775 is in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

² Later, in the Fall of 1775, with the reorganization of the Loyalist Corps in Boston by Howe, they were to raise two new companies, the Loyal Irish Volunteers and the Loyal North British Volunteers. See below.

BRIG. RUGGLES' CORPS OF LOYALISTS, BOSTON, July 5, 1775¹

FIRST COMPANY

Captain: The Hon^{ble} Timothy Ruggles Esq.
 First Lieut.: Mr. James Forrest
 Second Lieut.: Mr. Edward Winslow Junr

SECOND COMPANY

Captain: The Hon^{ble} Abijah Willard Esqr
 First Lieut.: Mr. Elisha Jones
 Second Lieut.: Mr. Thomas Danforth

THIRD COMPANY

Captain: Adino Paddock Esqr²
 First Lieut.: Mr. Edward G. Lutwich
 Second Lieut.: Mr. James Anderson

FOURTH COMPANY

Captain: James Putnam Esqr³
 First Lieut.: Mr. Job Williams
 Second Lieut.: Mr. Samuel Goldsbury

..

FIFTH COMPANY

Captain: Richard Saltonstall Esqr
 First Lieut.: Mr. Abraham Savage
 Second Lieut.: Mr. George Leonard

1 Roster of officers and men of Ruggles' Corps of five companies dated July 5, 1775 in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

2 There is a roster (officers and men) of Capt. Adino Paddock's Third Company with his Loyalist Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:75. It is identical with that in the Gage Papers noted above, and also dated July 5, 1775.

3 In his Memorial James Putnam states that he "was Commissioned by General Gage the 5th July 1775 to command a Company of Associated Loyalists and did duty with them in the Town ..." PRO. A.O. 13:49.

Ruggles' Loyalist Volunteers were assigned to companies in alphabetical order, and Col. Elisha Jones' three sons with him in Boston, Elisha the Younger, Josiah, and Stephen, served in the Third Company of Captain Adino Paddock. Paddock's Commission dated July 5, 1775 and still among his Loyalist Papers, is the only one of the five issued at that time known to survive:

"To Adino Paddock, Esq.

By virtue of the Authority in me Vested, as Governor of His Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay, I do hereby appoint you Adino Paddock Esq. to be Captain, Edward Lutwych to be First Lieutenant, and James Anderson to be Second Lieutenant of the foregoing Company of Volunteers for His Majesty's Service, subject to my Orders, and they are required to obey you according to the terms of their Association — Given under my Hand and Seal in Boston this 5th day of July, 1775....

Tho. Gage " ¹

Appended to Paddock's commission was the roster of his Third Company, also dated July 5th. It may have been, however, that this roster was drawn up some time before. Josiah Jones, whose name appears, had been captured the first week in June by the rebels while serving as supercargo of a vessel sent for forage to Annapolis Royal by his father, and on July 5th was still being held in close confinement at Concord jail.² But another of Col. Jones' sons, Jonas, a zealous and active Tory who had been captured (and imprisoned) by the rebels while distributing Gage's famous Proclamation of April 21st, printed as a broadside, condemning the rebel attack upon the King's troops at Lexington on April 19th, and who of all Col. Jones' sons who served in the war was perhaps the keenest soldier, was not listed.³

¹ For Paddock's Commission, see his Loyalist Papers, PRO.A.0.13:75.

² For the capture of Josiah Jones, see above.

³ "A Circumstantial Account of the Attack... on His Majesty's Troops, April 21, 1775." Mass. Hist. Soc., Broadside Collection; printed in Force, American Archives, Ser. 4, Vol. 2, p. 538. For the capture of Jonas Jones (who finished the war as a Lieutenant in the 20th (Lancashire Fusiliers) Regiment) see above.

It has been said that Benjamin Thompson of Rumford (Concord) New Hampshire, who had been appointed by Governor John Wentworth as Colonel of a Hampshire militia regiment, was among those designated by Ruggles to command one of the battalions of the Loyal Legion of America.¹ Ruggles, however, was never to succeed in raising more than a single battalion in Boston during the Siege, and he kept the command himself. Thompson, driven from New Hampshire by the mobs, was a secret agent for Gage in the Massachusetts countryside during the summer of 1775, coming in to Boston finally in late October with a store of detailed information about Washington's army for a report so remarkable in quality that it would make his name, virtually overnight, in government circles in London the following year. Although never a member of Ruggles' corps at Boston, Ben Thompson, from 1776 working from within the government at London, was to be a key figure in the struggle of the Loyal Americans against the Revolution: his views - much like those of Timothy Ruggles with whom he was on good terms - for using Provincial troops as the most effective force against the rebels did much to influence Lord George Germain (who became Secretary of the American Department in November, 1775) - a steady friend to the American Tories throughout the War - to press the military establishment (as in earlier Colonial wars the chief opponent) and George III² year after year to authorize the raising of Provincials.

¹ Alfred Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1930, p. 275. Jones does not give his source for this statement, but his sketch of Thompson was based upon Thompson's Loyalist papers and manuscripts in the Royal Institution, London.

² One of the best sketches of Benjamin Thompson is still that of Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1907, pp. 261-272.

For Thompson's report, see below.

Germain's correspondence with Howe from 1775 until the general was superseded by Clinton in 1778 is full of proposals for the raising and use of Provincial Corps - evaded wherever possible by Howe. Ruggles corresponded with Germain to the end of the conflict, but their cooperation aided by Thompson, who became a member of Germain's staff in 1776, availed little against the entrenched privilege and patronage of the military establishment and its suppliers in England.

The Adjutant and Quartermaster of Ruggles' Corps were like the other officers, men of outstanding abilities and zeal for the cause. "Acting (as he said) as Lieutenant and Adjutant in the loyal Militia embodied under Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles without pay or rations" was Boston merchant Ebenezer Bridgham. Later at New York in 1777 Bridgham was to be appointed Deputy Inspector-General of the¹ Provincial Forces at 10s. a day (still not enough to live upon). The Quartermaster was one of the "fighting Coffins" of Boston, Nathaniel Jr., a brother of John who had so distinguished himself at "Bunker" Hill. Nathaniel had signed the Boston Merchants' Address to the departing Governor Thomas Hutchinson of May 30, 1774, and was a successful lawyer, but he earned the particular hatred of the rebels for his "infamous" act of employing a negro - who afterward turned informer - to cut² down that notorious rebel shrine in Boston the Liberty Tree.

¹ Bridgham served as Deputy Inspector-General until the Provincial forces were disbanded in December, 1783. See Bridgham's Loyalist Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:43 and A.O. 13:74.

Bridgham was one of the Provincial officers who sought to improve the fighting effectiveness of the Corps by "brigading" compatible units: on Oct. 24, 1782 he submitted a plan for merging the Fencible Americans, King's Orange Rangers, and the King's Rangers. Hist. Mss. Commission, Report on the American MSS in the Royal Institution, Vol. III, p. 183.

² For a time after the Liberty Tree incident, Coffin stayed out of Boston to escape the vengeance of the Whig mob. He served with the army through the war, and was afterward appointed Collector of Customs at St. Kitts, a post he held for 34 years. Coffin died in London in 1831, aged 83. See Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1907, p. 235.

Appointed Chaplain to Ruggles' Corps - a post of importance for its moral leadership in every New England regiment as in every New England town - was the Rev. John Troutbeck, assistant to the Rev. Henry Caner, Rector of King's Chapel. As King's Chaplain the choice of the Rev. Mr. Troutbeck was perhaps inevitable, but it was not of the wisest. Troutbeck stood apart from the Boston clergy as not being a Harvard man (with its hallowed ethos of clerical leadership); he took his B.A. at Oxford in 1741. As an Englishman, moreover, he personified the Rebel-Congregational image of Anglicanism as an imported faith - like Roman Catholicism - which people of all political views regarded as threats to the established New England religious institutions. The days of John Winthrop's Puritan theocracy were long past, for all Sam Adams' daydreams (the Tories called him the "psalm singer") but religion in the Boston of 1775 was a serious matter (as it still is), and the worldliness of the English cleric, however well-intended, jarred inevitably with Bostonian standards of decorum. Although Troutbeck married into a well-respected Boston family, the Goulds, Troutbeck's supervision of John Gould's distillery (rum) business after his father-in-law's death (as trustee for Gould's grandsons) invited social criticism of the kind that was a gift to "Sam Adams" journalists.¹ It must be said that the Boston church for Col. Elisha Jones, as for so many other of the Tory refugees, was not Troutbeck's, the "Governor's" or "Garrison" church of King's Chapel, but the less pretentious, more plainly New England, Trinity. Trinity, still with the same Anglican toleration and forward-facing liberality of belief, and dignified, ordered services (which together, and notably in the disrupted 1760's and 1770's attracted so many converts among the Colonial well-educated and well-to-do) but with its traditional two Harvard-bred and Yankee-born Ministers, the Rev. William Walter, Rector, from Salem, and his assistant the Rev. Samuel Parker, from Portsmouth, New Hampshire.²

¹ For Troutbeck's appointment see: Roster of Ruggles' Corps dated July 5, 1775. Gage Papers, Clements Library. See also the loyalist papers of his daughter Sarah & Memorial of May, 1784. PRO. A. O. 13:24; A. O. 13:49; A. O. 13:74. For the scurrilous ballad about Troutbeck of 1774, see: New Eng. Hist. Gen. Register, Vol. XIII, p. 132. Foote's Annals of King's Chapel takes a strongly "rebel" view.

² The best presentation of Anglicanism in Massachusetts in the period of the Revolution belongs to literature: Harriet Beecher Stowe's Oldtown Folks, 1869. Henry F. May, ed. Oldtown Folks, HUP, 1966.

Ruggles designed uniforms for the Loyal Legion of America, which, following in the tradition of Provincial Corps from earlier Wars, were distinct from those of the regular army. In his "Proposals" sent to Gage, Ruggles noted: "That the Whole be Clothed and Accoutred agreeable to a plan herewith delivered..."¹ While no copy of this plan has been found, nor any drawings, there are contemporary descriptions of the uniform worn by the Loyalist Corps during the Siege of Boston.

It was green (as opposed to the traditional blue with buff facings of the Massachusetts militia). Green, the colour of the dress coats of the most renowned corps of Provincials in the War against the French and Indians, Major Robert Rogers's Rangers. Significantly, in view of the many Harvard men who like Stephen Jones served in Ruggles' Corps during the Siege of Boston (and later in other Tory Provincial Regiments) it was doubtless in emulation of the Rangers that the "Harvard Fencibles," the student military organization first formed during the French and Indian War, also wore green. Daniel Leonard, (Massachusetts) Captain of the First Company in 1760, remembered parading it through the streets of Cambridge wearing a green coat with white trimmings and buff hose.²

¹ Ruggles' Proposals to Gage for the Loyal Legion of America, written on the back of the roster of Ruggles' Corps dated July 5, 1775. Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

² See "The Death of Wolfe" by John Singleton Copley. Campaigning, they wore hunting shirts of stout Tow cloth, tanned by boiling with brown ears of corn, to blend with the landscape.

Daniel Leonard as Captain of the Harvard Fencibles (also known as the Marti-Mercurian Band from the motto on its flag, "Tam Marti Quam Mercurio"): Ralph Davol, Two Men of Taunton (1912) p. 102.

Most of the Harvard Fencibles seem to have been Tories. Reformed when College resumed at Concord in Oct., 1775, it appears to have abandoned the "Tory Green" uniform for that of Washington's army at Boston (for those who had uniform)-which are the colours described in "patriotic" histories such as that of Hall, College Words and Customs (1856) a three-cornered hat, blue coat faced white, nankeen "smalls," white stockings and top boots or black gaiters. Kept on was the old custom of all "trainings," "passing round three or four buckets of toddy." Ibid., p. 247.

By mid-August of 1775, if not earlier, Ruggles' corps had got into uniform. Joseph Reed of Philadelphia, already with a noted reputation as a lawyer and Washington's military secretary at Cambridge (until late October, 1775) wrote on August 24th:

"...We learn from Boston...That the Tories and Refugees are regimented, have a green uniform, and are called the king's volunteers..."¹

Ruggles, moreover, in appearance as well as intellect and ability well suited the post of military commander. "He was well over six feet tall, dark, handsome, with a strong and commanding face. He dressed carefully but not elegantly..."² Ruggles, in Boston and through the war, however, was without his silver-mounted sword, "my old friend," as he called it, that he had carried safely on "five campaigns" in the French and Indian War, and which had been left behind when he had left home at Hardwick for Boston in August, 1774.³ After the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1, 1774, when Col. Jones went in to Boston, the fighting had begun, and as appears by his inventory, he brought his sword with him.⁴

¹ Joseph Reed to Thomas Bradford, Cambridge, Aug. 24, 1775. William B. Reed (grandson) Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Military Secretary of Washington at Cambridge; Adjutant-General of the Continental Army; Member of the Congress of the United States; and President of the Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania. 1847. Vol. I, pp. 119-120.

² Description by a contemporary printed in the Worcester Magazine, Vol. II, 1826, p. 60.

³ Ruggles referred to this sword as "My old friend" in the inventory he made after the War of his property left at Hardwick. PRO. A. O. 13:75. The "Five Campaigns": Ruggles to a correspondent in England (possibly Israel Mauduit) April 18, 1775. PRO. C. O. 5:154.

⁴ See his Loyalist Papers. PRO. A. O. 13:47, 13:50; and 13:74.

It was the green of Brig. Ruggles' Loyal Legion in Boston that was to become the basic uniform colour of the Loyalist Provincial Corps in the American colonies until, some three years later, in 1778, all but Col. John Graves Simcoe's Queen's Rangers (in which Col. Elisha Jones' youngest son Charles was commissioned Cornet in Jan., 1780) and one or two other units were ordered into the red coats of the regular line regiments. "Green," according to Simcoe, "is without comparison the best colour for light troops with dark accoutrements, and if it is put on in the spring, by autumn it nearly fades with the leaves, preserving its characteristics of being scarcely discernable at a distance."¹ The inhabitants of Quebec, enlisted by Col. Allan Maclean for the defense of the town against the rebel army advancing under Gen. Richard Montgomery (soon to be reinforced by Col. Benedict Arnold and his force after their momentous march across Maine from the Kennebec) and on regular guard duty during the winter siege, from September 17, 1775 until the following June, wore plain green coats with no lapels, and buff waistcoats and breeches.²

Material for uniforms and other equipment needed for Loyalist troops raised in Boston during the Siege was procured on an ad hoc basis according to supplies available: surplus regular army stores (increasingly depleted by the capture of supply transports by rebel privateers), but principally, it appears, from merchants' stocks in the town, or, like foodstuffs, forage (in which Col. Jones took a leading part) fuel, and other necessities, imported in Tory ships

¹ Simcoe was one of but a small band of Englishmen (Eton and Merton, Oxford) who as serving soldiers in America best understood and adapted to the tactics of hit-and-run skirmishing that was to dominate so much of the fighting in the war of the American Revolution. A Captain of the 40th Regiment who distinguished himself at Brandywine, (1777) Simcoe was afterward given command of the Queen's Rangers by Howe with the rank of major. He fought hard to keep his Corps of Rangers in "Tory Green." See Simcoe's Military Journal: A History of a Partisan Corps called the Queen's Rangers, Commanded by Lieut. Col. J. C. Simcoe, During the War of the American Revolution, New York, 1844

² For the enlistment of Volunteers to defend Quebec under Maclean, see his report dated Nov. 16, 1775. P.R.O. W.O. 1:2:499. The uniforms are strikingly similar to descriptions of those used also at that time in Boston by Ruggles' Corps. For those used at Quebec, see: Philip Katcher, The American Provincial Corps 1775-1784 1973. p. 9.

from Britain, as well as the loyal provinces of Nova Scotia and Canada with which the Tories did a considerable and lucrative trade throughout this period. Merchants in Boston such as James Anderson took a hand in supplying their own corps: appointed Captain of the Loyal North British Volunteers (by Howe) in October, 1775, Anderson duly applied to the Treasury for a "license to export sundry stores to America for the use of the King's Troops there serving under General Howe..." - which was granted.¹

It was not until the autumn and winter of 1775-1776 that official procedures were established by the government in England for estimating and supplying the Provincial Corps in America, clothing and other items being contracted for by the Treasury.² But little of this arrived in America before the summer of 1776. In Boston, meanwhile, when Howe reorganized the Loyalist corps in October and November, 1775, making two new companies from Ruggles' Loyal Legion, some means of distinguishing between them became necessary. Field-signs were used (instead of the usual coloured facings for the uniform coats, it is thought, had no lapels): a white scarf around the left arm (Ruggles' Loyal Legion), a blue bonnet with St. Andrew's Cross (Anderson's Loyal North British Volunteers) and a white cockade (Forrest's Loyal Irish Volunteers).³

1 John Robinson to John Pownall, April 4, 1776. PRO.T.27:31.

2 Clothing &c for Regular Regiments was provided through regimental agents under supervision of the War Office. See: Norman Baker, Government and Contractors... (1971) p.208. For clothing & stores sent to America for 8,000 Provincial troops in 1776, see John Robinson to William Knox, July 30, 1777. PRO. T.27:31.

3 For the reorganization of the Boston Loyalist troops under Howe, see below. Military historians, when they mention the Boston Loyalists Corps at all (Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats (1964) does not even name Ruggles' Loyal Legion) deny them any uniform. John Mollo, Uniforms of the American Revolution (1975) states that Ruggles' Corps "were not uniformed" (p.172) but in the illustration of a "Loyal Associator" (no.51) shows a man in a green coat with no lapels, and white armband and gaiters stipulated in Howe's Orders of Nov.17, 1775. Philip Katcher, The American Provincial Corps 1775-1784 (1973) the best work of its kind, says nothing of the raising of Ruggles' Corps under Gage, or use of the "Tory Green" uniform, except at Quebec, before 1776.

Ruggles' plans for the Loyal Legion of America provided for one company in each battalion "of artillery (accustomed & instructed to work great guns & particularly field pieces)" and it may have been that Paddock's Third Company was so designated, for its commander was the most knowledgeable artilleryman in Massachusetts, and had refused a general's commission in the rebel army. From 1763 Adino Paddock, by trade a merchant and coach builder (the first in Boston) had commanded a corps of a hundred men in the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Massachusetts. Paddock's new company of volunteers, however, did not have the use of the two brass three-pounders engraved with the Province Arms that since 1768 had been kept by the "Ancients and Honourables" in their "gun house" near the school (at the corner of West and Tremont Streets) which before Lexington the rebels had managed to smuggle (without their carriages) out of Boston.¹

Arms for Ruggles' Corps were drawn as required from British Army stores during the Siege of Boston, but one important category of weapon specified in his plan for the Loyal Legion was not available from this source: the rifle, for none had yet been manufactured in England for military use.² These weapons, developed initially by German gunsmiths in Pennsylvania (known also as "Kentucky" rifles for their use there) were noted for their accuracy of fire and astonishing range (more than twice that of the standard British Army issue, the smooth-bore Brown Bess flintlock musket).

¹ Ruggles' Proposals for the Loyal Legion of America are in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan. For Adino Paddock, see: Loyalist Papers, PRO. A.O.12:105, A.O.13:49, A.O.13:75. He settled in Britain after the War, and died of the Island of Jersey, March 25, 1804, aged 76. See also: Oliver Roberts, Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, (1895) Vol. II, pp. 112-114; Stark, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, (1907) pp. 305-308.

² Patrick Ferguson (1744-1780) did not patent his breech-loading rifle until Dec. 2, 1776. He served with the 70th Foot in the West Indies, and after a short visit to America in 1774 (where he may have seen rifles in action) Ferguson returned to England. In 1777 with 200 of his rifles he was sent to New York where he formed a rifle corps, "Ferguson's Sharpshooters," from Loyalists and Regulars, which did notable service at Brandywine Creek (nr. Philadelphia) Sept. 11, 1777. He later organized several Loyalist Corps, but was killed at King's Mountain in 1780. See James Ferguson, Two Scottish Soldiers, (Aberdeen, 1888).

By the time of Lexington the rifle had superceded the musket in New England as well as the Middle Colonies as the wilderness or frontier weapon, and away east from the Indian dangers, around Boston and other towns, was much in use as a sporting gun for hunting and wildfowling by the many ponds and along the river marshes.¹ Ruggles' specification for two companies of riflemen reflected the availability of this weapon in the stocks of Boston gunsmiths (Boston merchants whatever their political views were glad enough during the Siege to move what stocks they could with trade so poor - though few after the Siege cared to remember these activities) and in the hands of the Loyalists who - like the rebels - went to war as Yankees had done for generations against the French: with their own guns.²

Timothy Ruggles, that many-sided man of brilliance, had already by the 1770's a long reputation as an innovator and an improver. No contemporary in New England had held more successful, longer, or more varied military command in the American Colonies, and Ruggles, in his plan for the Loyal Legion of 1774-1775, the product of this great achievement and experience, looked far to the future: the use of "Rifle or Marksman" companies in combination with "light armed Infantry" "Grenadiers or broadsword men" and

1 Boston Neck, in the summer of 1775 "Nomansland" between the fortifications at Boston and those of the rebels at Roxbury, was a convenient - if dangerous - place for shooting. In 1878 Francis Drake wrote: "The marshes bordering the Neck were covered at high tide, and being a favorite resort for birds, were much frequented by sportsmen. As early as 1713 the town of Roxbury prohibited gunning on the Neck, and in 1785 was obliged to place sentinels there to prevent this desecration of the Sabbath. The practice continued..." The Town of Roxbury (1878) p. 67. Shooting at marks was also popular. The following notice in the Boston Evening Post, Jan. 11, 1773, refers to the popular and fashionable Punch Bowl Tavern at Brookline:

"This is to give Notice That there will be a Bear and a Number of Turkeys set up as a Mark next Thursday Beforenoon at the Punch Bowl Tavern in Brookline."

2. John Adams, no sportsman and never a soldier, described to his wife "a peculiar kind of musket, called a rifle" and the enlistment of rifle companies by the Continental Congress. John to Abigail Adams, June 18, 1775

artillery in each Loyalist battalion, well show Ruggles' ideas at that time on the value of the rifle as a weapon of warfare.¹

The advent of Ruggles' Loyal Legion of America (usually referred to as the Loyal Associators) if only by a modest beginning, was a fact of the greatest importance, not only to the history of the conflict by arms and by ideology, but ultimately and inevitably to the political division of the British colonies in North America. Gage's Proclamation of June 12, 1775 gave long-delayed official recognition to the existing state of rebellion against the Crown. The embodiment soon afterward of Loyalist troops under Brigadier Timothy Ruggles, however, was the raising of the King's standard by colonials against the enemy within: and as such it marks the formal beginning in the American colonies of the Great Civil War, an armed struggle lasting more than a decade, which in Massachusetts must be dated as early as the Powder-Alarm of September 1, 1774.²

¹ Ruggles' collection of guns at Hardwick was confiscated by the rebels. PRO.A.O.13:75.

² Esmond Wright argues soundly: "since 1776 all wars have been at once both civil and ideological struggles." "Men with Two Countries," The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., 1972, p.157.

For the Powder-Alarm, see above.

Of the two, the Civil War was to be much the longer and in the fullness of time the most significant. From the summer of 1775 the rebellion against the Crown and the Civil War co-existed in Massachusetts: the rebellion ended legally with the signing of the "Definitive" Treaty of Peace by Britain at Paris on Sept. 3, 1783 (the armistice was declared Jan. 20, 1783). Both de facto and de jure, however, the Civil War in Massachusetts and the vendetta against the Tories continued for another generation and more, not ending in law until the treason, confiscation of property and banishment acts, part of the web of disabling legislation designed to "drum the Tories out" of the Province, was finally repealed from the statute books.

For Col. Elisha Jones of Weston and the other loyal families who took an active part in the defense of Charter Government in Massachusetts, the Loyal Legion marked the beginning of service through the longest war ever known in North America. Col. Jones had commanded the Middlesex County Militia on the day of the Powder-Alarm at Cambridge, Sept. 1, 1774. After his death (in 1776) his Tory sons who at Boston were volunteers in the first Loyalist corps under Timothy Ruggles, carried on the fight in the Colonies until their Provincial Regiments were finally disbanded in Nova Scotia.

ONE OF THE 'GENTLEMAN SUFFERERS' FOR KING AND CONSTITUTION:
ELISHA JONES, FORAGE COMMISSARY

"I have the honour to transmit to Your Lordship an Address to the King from the Council of this Province who notwithstanding every Insult and Oppression have stood firm in their Principles of Loyalty and Affection to His Majesty's Person and Government. I also inclose a List of the Council, to which I add the Names of other Gentlemen who as well as many of the Council are suffering for their Attachment to the King and Constitution, as Your Lordship will perceive by the inclosed Resolve of the Provincial Congress. There is no kind of Tyranny and Cruelty that these Pretenders to Freedom and Liberty don't exercise over those in their Power who oppose their Schemes tho' only by Words. No Man dares speak his Sentiments, and Many are forced into the Rebel Troops, having no alternative but to take Arms or go to Jail..."

General Gage to
Lord Dartmouth,
Boston, July 24, 1775¹

The raising of the Royal Standard by Brigadier Timothy Ruggles and the Loyalists in Boston in the summer of 1775 established a rallying point for political allegiance in Massachusetts Bay Colony (as Ruggles had envisaged after the Governor's Proclamation of Rebellion, which occurred on June 12th) however for the time being shut off by the rebel army and clandestinely organized in the country outside Boston.² News of the embodiment of the Loyalists soon spread although the rebels, nurturing public opinion through a tight control of the press, were careful to keep such reports out of the newspapers. Then as now the more horrific or sensational the report the more welcome

1 Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, July 24, 1775. PRO. C.O.5:92.

2 For secret activities of the Tories at Deerfield and the Connecticut Valley, see the "Diary" of an active agent, Dr. Elihu Ashley (PVMA, Deerfield) who studied medicine with Col. Elisha Jones' nephew Dr. Thomas Williams of Deerfield.

for its entertainment value, and Ruggles' Tory Corps earned its way like any honest tale - and many a drink of flip or toddy at local inns for post-riders and travellers. Down at Newport, still safely loyal under the guns of Captain James Wallace's naval squadron based there for patrol of Narragansett Bay and Rhode Island waters (that guarded the vital sea-link with New York) the Rev. Ezra Stiles, still at his manse but by now a convinced republican, set down in his Diary on July 23rd that at Boston "300 Tories patrol the Streets, 29 of a night."¹

They were reinforced through the summer and fall of 1775 by what was to be the last wave of Loyalists (post-Bunker Hill) to come in as refugees to Boston. Conspicuous among them were the political waverers in whom orthodoxy finally triumphed, and men who like Benjamin Thompson had been secretly enlisted in the Royal cause. A few managed to get in with passes through the Boston and Charlestown lines, but many flanked the besieging rebel army by going to Newport and sailing passenger with the regular supply convoys around Cape Cod to Boston.²

A significant number of Tory recruits, however, and one of the greatest embarrassments to the rebel cause, were the defectors from the rebel army. Outside Boston, the choice was to serve when called upon, pay a substitute (the time-honoured resort of many of the well-to-do) or go to jail, and those who could or would not pay

¹ F.B. Dexter, ed., The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles (1901) Vol. II, p. 592. Stiles corresponded often during this period with the Rev. William Gordon of Roxbury, Chaplain of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress. Stiles noted for July 24: "Received 2 Letters from Revd Mr Gordon of Roxby dated 20 & 22 Inst. He preached the Election Sermon at Watertown 19th Inst when the Congress was formed into an Assembly or House of Representatives, & assumed upon themselves the Legislature of the Colony (not Province) of Massachusetts Bay." Stiles wrote, less successfully on July 25th: "It is very difficult to ascertain the Loss of the King's Troops at Bunker Hill 17th last Month." Loc. Cit.

² On June 14th Samuel Paine, soon to volunteer for Ruggles' Corps, was allowed to pass the lines after rebel sentries searched his saddle bags. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, XIV, p. 286. Josiah Jones at the end of the summer was to get to Boston again via Newport (see below). Ebenezer Cutler Jr. (whose father lived at Weston) was captured after Lexington, later escaped to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, whence he sailed to Boston on HMS Scarborough. PRO. A. O. 13:50; A. O. 13:73. He, too, joined Ruggles' Corps.

had little choice in the matter, being forced into the rebel army.¹

From the beginning of the Siege after Lexington there had been desertions from the rebel army to Boston,² but after Washington took command at Cambridge on July 2nd, these appear to have notably increased. Washington was obsessed with military order, protocol, discipline and a European model army: dissatisfactions with service, upheavals and jealousies caused by Washington's reorganization for men accustomed to serve only under their own officers, many chosen or elected by themselves from their own or neighbouring towns - all played a part. Washington, brought in to command what from first to last was largely a New England army, was not a New Englander, and had not that mystique of loyalty bred of extended kinship to draw upon - so important in Colonial Massachusetts - as had Timothy Ruggles as commander of the Massachusetts Loyalists (whose ancestors had founded Roxbury, who sprang as well from Dudleys and Woodbridges and had married a Bourne of Plymouth). Moreover, whatever Washington's appointment by the Continental Congress accomplished for the cause of inter-colonial unity, his reputation as a military commander in the field - for those who knew anything about it - rested largely upon accounts of "Braddock's Defeat" (July 9, 1755) and the poor showing made by the Virginia Militia under his command.³

¹ A notorious case was that of a farmer, Henry Howe from Col. Elisha Jones' town of Weston. Threatened with death for refusing to join the rebel army, he fled for his life in the dark of night, and after reaching New York volunteered for service in privateers and armed boats which he continued until the end of the war when he was "paid off" in England. PRO.A.O.13:46; A.O.13:96.

² There were even desertions attempted during the Battle of "Bunker" Hill, as the records of courts-martial show. Gen. John Sullivan's "Orderly Book" (MSS, Mass. Hist. Soc.) records for Sept. 30, 1775: "Then came on the trial of Lewis Acker... for attempting to Desert to the Regulars on Bunkers Hill, the Prisoner Plead guilty, and the Court order him to Receive 39 stripes on his Bare Back at the Head of the Regt, to Which he belongs, and then Drumm'd out of the Army... over Mistick Bridge, with all the Drums and Fifes in the Brigade..." Sullivan had an alternative punishment available for the conviction, "Perpetual Servitude in Simsbury Mines," the underground hell-hole of a copper mine in Conn. where prisoners were lowered down the shafts in cages and worked in chained gangs. Tories increasingly were "kept" at Simsbury. For Washington sentencing to Simsbury, to Conn. Committee of Safety, Dec. 11, 1775. Fitzpatrick ed., The Writings of George Washington..., Vol. IV, pp. 155-6.

³ For a balanced view of Washington in 1775, see: Rupert Hughes, Life of Washington, Vol. II, 1927, pp. 230-242.

The comment on Washington made by the Rev. William Gordon of the Third Church at Roxbury and Chaplain of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress - with English fairmindedness - "He has had little opportunity of seeing service," was more than just.¹ In the summer of 1775 it was Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick who had the commanding reputation as a successful and enterprising military leader and colonial statesman.²

It says much both of numbers and the nature of desertions to the Royal forces from the rebel army besieging Boston that after taking command early in July, Washington was obliged to lay down strict criteria for the selection of out-sentries on the lines at Roxbury and Charlestown. None, according to his order, was to serve in these outposts "Who is not a native of this Country, or has (not) a wife and family in it to whom he is known to be attached."³

¹ The Rev. William Gordon, History of the Rise...of the Independence of the United States (London, 1788) estimate of attitudes toward Washington, pp. 348-50, Vol. I.

² George Atkinson Ward, first editor of the Journal of Judge Samuel Curwen (first edition, London and New York, 1842) wrote: "Few men in the Province were more distinguished, and few more severely dealt with in the bitter controversies preceeding the revolution; as a military officer he was distinguished for cool bravery and excellent judgement and science in the art of war, and no provincial officer was held in higher esteem for those qualities. His appearance was commanding and dignified, being much above the common size; his wit was ready and brilliant; his mind clear, comprehensive and penetrating; his judgement was profound and his knowledge extensive; his abilities as a public speaker placed him among the first of the day; and had he been so fortunate as to have embraced the popular sentiments of the times, there is no doubt he would have ranked among the leading characters of the revolution." Appended to this quotation, later used by William A. Calnek in his sketch of Ruggles (History of the County of Annapolis 1897, p. 587) is the following note by the editor, Judge A.W. Savary: "It has been said by men competent to judge that he (Ruggles) would have been appointed Commander-in-chief, and been the first President of the United States in lieu of Washington." In 1775 Ruggles was aged 64 and Washington 43; Ruggles died in August, 1795, and led an active life until only 4 days before his death as the result of an accident. Washington died in December, 1799. In the fall of 1768 there was talk in Boston that if Gov. Francis Bernard were appointed Governor of Virginia, Ruggles would succeed Thos. Hutchinson as Lt. Gov. of Massachusetts. Boston Chronicle, Oct. 10, 1768.

³ Washington's Orderly Books for the summer of 1775 (to Sept. 26) are printed in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XV; Orderly Books of Gen. Artemas Ward, MSS., at Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston.

How many of the deserters from Washington's army who succeeded in reaching Boston and volunteered for Ruggles' Loyalist Corps will probably never be known. Service with Provincials rather than with regular regiments (with their harsh code of military discipline) had been the traditional preference in earlier Colonial wars by men for the ranks. Ruggles' men, all volunteers, did duty "by the terms of their Association," and there was other advantage to those who joined for, although unpaid, they were eligible to draw rations of food and fuel in desperate short supply because of the Siege when only the rich could afford to buy in the (open) Boston Markets.¹

Of those who escaped into Boston from the rebel army many appear to have been "forced" or "'pressed" men who did not pay for substitutes and against their will were embodied in the rebel militia by Captains short of their quotas. Others were among the signers of Ruggles' "Loyalist Association" of 1774 and veterans of the Loyalist military corps raised in Massachusetts after the Powder Alarm (Sept. 1, 1774) by Col. Elisha Jones of Weston, Col. Thomas Gilbert of Freetown (Bristol County) and Edward Winslow of Plymouth, among others, that had been "broken up" and forced to disband by large detachments of rebel "Minuteman" companies and other "reliable" militia got together for this purpose - and the loyalist troops given the alternative punishment of active service with the rebel army or jail. Other deserters were among the clandestine signers of Ruggles' "Loyal Association" who had been recruited particularly in Western Massachusetts in Housatonic and Connecticut Valley towns by secret agents like Nathaniel Dickinson and Elihu Ashley, son of the "Tory Parson" of Deerfield, the Rev. Jonathan Ashley.² Deserters

¹ See the commission given by Gage to Captain Adino Paddock of the Third Company of Ruggles' Loyalist corps dated July 5, 1775, in Paddock's Loyalist Claims Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:75.

² The diaries of British officers in Boston tend to record deserters that were British-born, the fullest of these accounts being in the Journal of Col. Stephen Kemble, Gage's Deputy Adjutant General. (New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883). For "Yankee" deserters see the innumerable advertisements for apprehending them printed in rebel newspapers.

from Washington's army of conservative political views but with strong spirits of independence usually made their way when they could to the then semi-autonomous and disputed territory (by New York, Connecticut and New Hampshire) called the "New Hampshire Grants" and the vast forest country of the Green Mountains where they were beyond reach.¹

It is notable that the deserters to Boston from Washington's army were not only New Englanders, veterans of Ruggles' campaigns against the French or youths brought up on legends of militia exploits at Louisbourg, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point. Many came in from rebel detachments sent northward to the Siege of Boston from the middle and southern colonies. By the fall of 1775, Ruggles' "Loyal Legion of America," like that of Washington although on a much smaller scale, was an American army, as its founder envisaged.²

¹ "Leg bail" to Vermont,^{as} it was called, officially, from June, 1777. Through the war Vermonters were notorious for their dealings with the British and plans for forming a "neutral" state. See Richard Upton, Revolutionary New Hampshire, (2nd edn. 1971) pp. 126-7, 188-193. Col. Elisha Jones' son Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale (N.H.) was reported secretly by Ira Allen to General Haldimand "as a friend to government" who would as Hinsdale representative to the Vermont Assembly in 1781 strengthen the faction that favoured a policy of neutrality. Records of the Governor and State of Vermont, Vol. II (1874) p. 411.

² Of all the deserters from Washington's army, the riflemen were most conspicuous and talked about. Those from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, in companies voted by the Continental Congress to be raised on June 14, 22, and July 11th, and which began to arrive at Washington's camp at Cambridge on July 23rd, were "uniformed" in hunting shirts. The British called them "shirt-tail men, with their cursed twisted guns, the most fatal widow and orphan makers in the world." Francis Drake, The Town of Roxbury 1878, p. 270. The riflemen did not fit Washington's pattern for an army with "European" discipline, however; from the first day they "deserted to the British" in Boston in large numbers, notably the Irishmen (On Dec. 7, 1775 Boston merchant, Captain James Forrest, raised a new Loyalist Company, the Loyal Irish Volunteers, in Boston. See below) Col. Stephen Kemble, Gage's Deputy Adjutant General, made particular record of deserters in his Journal, noting (Sept. 10th) "These frequent Desertions have occasioned the Rebel General to remove the Rifle Men to Cambridge". On July 25th: "All very quiet. A Deserter came in from the Virginia Rifle Men on Winter Hill, says he's Virginian born... He deserted from them on the night of the 24th. and got off by swimming down the Mystic River to General Howe's Post." Stephen Kemble, Journal, New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 50-58.

The equivocal attitude of British officials toward Loyalist attempts, centred in the early years of the war around Brig. Ruggles and Col. Elisha Jones and the "Massachusetts Colonels," to raise effective military forces and to fight their opposing side of the colonial civil war, however, which had begun with Ruggles' early plans to raise a loyalist corps after the Powder Alarm of September 1, 1774, is never more clearly seen than in Gage's despatches to England during the critical weeks after "Bunker" Hill - the turning point in the military struggle for New England. Gage did more than say nothing of the contribution made by the Loyalists in Boston to what success there had been at Bunker Hill. Almost three weeks after he gave commissions to the five captains of Ruggles' "Loyal Legion," Gage, in a despatch to Lord Dartmouth dated July 24th about the prospects for recruiting Provincial corps in the American colonies, denied Ruggles any measure of success. While paying tribute to Ruggles' zeal, "Nobody," Gage wrote, "is more ready to appear in Arms in the Cause of his King and the British Constitution than himself," the Governor of Massachusetts and Commander-in-chief declared: "As for the Corps proposed to be raised by Brig. Ruggles, it is impossible to effect it in the present Situation of Affairs."¹

¹ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, July 24, 1775. "Private" PRO. C.O. 5:92.

It is difficult to view Gage's assertion about Ruggles' Corps - at variance with the facts - except as part of the war-long dilemma of the British Command in the raising and putting to use of native colonial military contingents. (It was a problem never to be solved, and the loss of colonial loyalty in the end made the loss of the colonies themselves inevitable.) Gage's belief after "Bunker" Hill that the tactical position of Boston as headquarters of military operations in the American colonies was so disadvantageous as to make removal of the army to New York advisable, may also have been a factor.¹ There is much evidence that Gage was not opposed to provincial troops as such. Like Amherst bred to the regular army service, and of long experience in the Colonies fighting with colonial troops, Gage had less prejudice than most military commanders. Before "Bunker Hill" he favoured a plan for Gen. Guy Carleton (Governor and commander at Quebec) "to fix a force on Lake Champlain to be a place of rendez-vous for such people as Col. (Allen) Maclean (recruiting Scots veterans of the French and Indian War who had settled in the Colonies) might raise in New York Province."² In the summer of 1775 Gage also did what he could to help Lt. Col. Joseph Gorham, a captain of Rangers in the French and Indian War and Lt. Gov. of Placentia, to recruit yet another loyalist corps (later the Royal Fencible Americans) in Nova Scotia and elsewhere.³ At the beginning of September, Gage,

¹ Gage to Lord Barrington, June 26, 1775. Gage MSS, Clements Library; Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Aug. 20, 1775. (secret) PRO. C.O.5:92.

² Gage to Dartmouth, June 12, 1775. No. 32. PRO. C.O.5:92; Gage to Dartmouth, July 24, 1775, PRO. C.O.5:92; Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 20, 1775, PRO. C.O.5:92. For Maclean's plans, see also Dartmouth to Lt. Gov. Cadwallader Colden of New York, April 5, 1775. The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden (New York Hist. Soc. Collections, VII, 281-2).

³ Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 20, 1775. PRO. C.O.5:92; Joseph Gorham to Lord Dartmouth, "Memorial," undated (1774), Hist. MSS. Comm., Dartmouth MSS, Vol. II, p. 249.

as Commander-in-Chief also approved the "Proposals for raising an army to the Westward, for alarming the frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and New York," put forward by John Connolly of West Augusta County, Virginia, the enterprising commander at Fort Pitt, who had travelled to lay his plans for raising a Loyalist battalion first before Gov. Dunmore and then by sea to Gage at Boston. Gage (September 10th and 12th) ordered the British commanders at Detroit and in Illinois to give the project their support, and Gen. Guy Carleton at Quebec, while Alexander McKee, Deputy Superintendant of Indian Affairs at Pittsburg, was directed to raise a force of Indians to serve with the Loyalists. Connolly's plan was, early the following spring (1776), for a combined force of regular troops, Loyalists, and Indians to march from Fort Pitt to Alexandria (a thriving "tobacco" port on the Potomac River) to join forces with Governor Dunmore.¹

While not sending to London any hopeful prospect for the raising of Brig. Ruggles' Loyalist military corps on July 24, 1775, in a second despatch of that date Gage forwarded to Dartmouth evidence of the success of his efforts since "Bunker" Hill to encourage and organize political support for Government among the Massachusetts Bay Tories. Col. Elisha Jones was not a member of the nineteen-man Governor's Council, which included Lieut. Gov. Thomas Oliver, which met at the Province House in Boston on July 17th,

¹ Connolly, who returned to Virginia in Oct., 1775, was commissioned by Gov. Dunmore Lt. Col. Commandant of the proposed Loyalist Battalion, and left for Detroit on Nov. 13th. On Nov. 19th, however, Connolly was captured and imprisoned by the rebels, and this plan for raising the Loyalists on the frontier was abandoned. See: Dunmore to Gage (received Sept. 6, 1775, Gage Papers, Clements Library; Loyal Address of the people of "Transmontane Augusta County" Virginia, Aug. 22, 1775, signed by 22 with the note "with several hundred inhabitants of Transmontane Augusta."; Gage to Capt. Lernoult (Detroit) Sept. 10, 1775, and to Capt. Hugh Lord, (Illinois) Sept. 12, 1775; Gage to Alex. McKee, Sept. 12, 1775, Gage Papers; "Narrative of John Connolly, Loyalist," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. 12 (1888) and 13 (1889).

The economic and political antagonism between the frontiersmen of the Appalachian settlements and the old established towns along the seacoast was never exploited by the British with much success except for a time in Vermont. At Boston, on Jan. 10, 1776, Crean Brush, an Irish lawyer and step-son-in-law to Ethan Allen, submitted a plan to Howe for raising 300 Tory volunteers to restore order in the Connecticut Valley, which also was never carried out - owing to Brush's capture in a vessel at the Evacuation of Boston. PRO. C.O. 5:115:373.

and on July 20th adopted a "Loyal Address" of renewed allegiance to the government of King George.¹

Col. Jones, however, was one of the twenty-four "Gentleman Sufferers" especially named by Gage in the "List of other Persons who are Suffering for their Attachment to Government" sent to Dartmouth (together with a list of the Councillors dated July 21st) on July 24th. The names include many of the most distinguished families of colonial Massachusetts, and the list is especially valuable as a record of Loyalist leaders remaining in the colony in the summer of 1775, most of them in Boston, but three outside in rebel prisons or house arrest.

List of other Persons who are Suffering for their
Attachment to Government

James Putnam Esq.	
John Chandler Esq.	
Richard Saltonstall, Esqr. Sheriff of Essex	
William Tyng, Esqr. Sheriff of Cumberland	
David Phipps, Esqr. Sheriff of Middlesex	
Joshua Loring Junr. Esqr., Sheriff of Suffolk	
Elisha Jones Esqr. of Weston	
Charles Russell Esq.	
Peter Johonnet	
Thomas Amory	
Thomas Brindley	
Revd. Mr. Wiswall	
Richard Clark	
Benjamin Manuel	} Consignees (of the East India Co. Tea, autumn, 1773)
Thomas Hutchinson (Jr.)	
Henry Barnes Esq. of Marlborough	
John Worthington Esqr.	} Fled or kept Prisoners
Israel Williams Esqr.	
William Payne Esqr	
James Russel Esqr. and others at Charlestown	
Isaac Rand	ditto
Thomas Gilbert Esqr.	

¹ Gage to Lord Dartmouth, Boston, July 24, 1775. No. 35. PRO. C.O. 5:92. Gage wrote at this time: "I have the honour to transmit... an Address to the King from the Council of this Province who notwithstanding every Insult and Oppression have stood firm in their Principles of Loyalty and Affection to His Majesty's Person and Government."

Jonathan Sewall Esqr.
Daniel Bliss of Concord

N.B. The foregoing persons, both Counsellors and others have suffered exceedingly in their property for their attachment to Government, by a Resolve of the Provincial Congress, and a Total Stop to all kind of Business."¹

The resolve of the Provincial Congress to which Gage referred was that of June 21, 1775, one of the first in the long series of confiscatory acts by which the rebels employed every "legal" means to deprive the Loyalists of their property and income. The act of June 21st directed the Committees of Safety in the Massachusetts towns to take over the property of Loyalists who had left for their "use and conservation," accounting to Congress for any profits. Although this resolve was amended on July 9th to limit such seizures to property that had been entirely abandoned, (which gave back some protection for the wives and other dependents of Loyalists forced by mobs to flee and who remained behind) it meant final stoppage of income "from the country" for such refugees at Boston as Col. Elisha Jones.²

More fortunate than many, Col. Jones' large property in Weston, the mansion house and farms, had been more or less safely occupied since May by his daughter Mary and her husband the Rev. Asa Dunbar. As the entries in his "Diary" show, Dunbar, although

1 The Council on July 21, 1775, was the following: Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver, Chief Justice Peter Oliver, Harrison Gray, Thomas Flucker, Timothy Ruggles, Josiah Edson, John Murray, James Bouteneau, Richard Lechmere, Abijah Willard, John Erving Junr., Daniel Leonard, Nathaniel Ray Thomas, Sir William Pepperrell, Bart., Joshua Loring, William Brown, Foster Hutchinson, Nathaniel Hatch and George Erving.

The list of "Gentleman sufferers..." was probably not in the hand of Gage's personal secretary, Attorney General Jonathan Sewall: the names of the two prominent Boston Huguenot merchants, Peter Johannot and Benjamin Faneuil (pronounced "Funnel" by the Yankees) were misspelled. Sewall and his family left soon afterward for England. Gage to Lord Dartmouth, July 24, 1775. Encl. no. 3. PRO.C.O.5:92.

2 These Resolves are in the Journals of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, some of them also issued as broadsides. Other restrictive acts included that of May 15 (prohibiting removal of Tory property from the Colony "in order to avoid their Proportion of the burdens...for our defense"); May 20 (which allowed Tories to bring only clothing & furniture and no "effects" or provisions into Boston) and May 22 (prohibiting dealings in the property of Royal Councillors by the "taking...of any Deed, Lease, or Conveyance Whatever of the Lands, Houses, or Estates of such Persons."

increasingly hampered by bad health, did his best to manage the Colonel's farms and look after the property as well as to commute each week to Salem and his duties as Assistant Pastor of the First Church. Despite occasional brushes with rebel committeemen suspicious mainly of the comings and goings in Weston of Col. Jones' Tory sons, whether escaping from Concord Jail or on spying, courier, and other secret missions for Gen. Gage, Dunbar with powerful friends in the Provincial Congress including Col. Timothy Pickering of Salem, managed by careful maneuvering to keep on the safe side of the rebels.¹ Even, it appears, of so prickly and influential a rebel as Sam Adams' fellow conspirator ~~as~~ the Rev. Samuel Cooper of the Brattle Street Church, who with his wife was waiting out the Siege at Weston boarding with another of the inner circle of arch-Whigs, Samuel Phillips Savage. Cooper wrote in his Diary on July 13, 1775: "Thursday. Sat out with Mrs. Cooper in our own chaise and Horse for Holliston. Call'd at Brother Woodward's -- not at home -- at Mr. Dunbar's -- not at home. stop'd and cool'd and refresh'd my Self at Farmer Hastings'..." There is no record of further rebel confiscations or plunderings of Col. Jones' property at Weston during the Siege of Boston after May, 1775.

The rebel economic blockade struck hardest at the refugee Tories, as Gage acknowledged in his despatch to Dartmouth on July 24th, and the Governor was moved to alleviate their hardship as best he could. "I am sorry to acquaint your Lordship," he wrote, "that many

¹ See the MSS. "Diary" of the Rev. Asa Dunbar, Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester. For the Dunbars and the escape of Josiah Jones from Concord Jail in September, see below.

² The Rev. Samuel Cooper, "Diary," July 13, 1775. American Historical Review, Jan. 1901. Vol. VI, p. 314.

of the Friends of Government and even Several of the Council who have sought protection in this Town, begin to feel Distress, the Money they brought with them being expended, and the Rebels preventing their receiving any Profits from their Estates. Some of the most reputable of the Council have applied to me for Assistance; we have no Publick Money nor could I dispose of it in that Channel if we had, and I have been obliged to divide with them the little cash remaining of my own. We shall all soon be in the same situation, till Cash is sent to us by our Agents, for by a Decree of the Congress no Officer's Bill is to be taken, and there is not a Merchant even in New York who now dares to send us Money for our Draughts." 1

Where possible Gage solved (at least temporarily) the financial problems of prominent but penurious refugee Tories by appointing them to salaried government offices, keeping on those which because of the rebel siege of Boston had become sinecures, and being generous in creating new posts where they could be justified by civil or military needs. During the Siege, as Governor of Massachusetts,^{moreover,} Gage reversed the trend of plural office holding much accelerated under his predecessor Thomas Hutchinson in part because of the low salaries allowed by the General Court, but equally arising (as his enemy John Adams charged) from Hutchinson's Yankee-politician bent for nepotism and influence-jobbing.² Gage's object was to give as many of the Tories shut up in Boston as possible some source of income. This policy is shown in his despatch to Lord Dartmouth of July 24th where Gage wrote: "I am to report also the Death of Mr. Cotton Deputy Marshal of the Admiralty, Register of Probates, and Deputy Secretary." Gage divided these offices among three Tory refugees: "and that I have appointed Mr. Phips of Cambridge to be Deputy Marshal, Mr. Edward Winslow Jr. of Plymouth to be Register of Probates (for Suffolk County, including, of course, Boston) and Mr. Francis Skinner to be Deputy Secretary..." 3

1 Gage to Dartmouth, Boston, July 24, 1775. PRO. C.O.5:92.

2 For John Adams' criticism of Hutchinson as a politician, see his Works, Vol. II, pp. 169-170, and Ellen E. Brennan, Plural Office-Holding in Massachusetts, Chapel Hill, 1945, pp. 33-4. Clifford Shipton defended Hutchinson's practice of pluralism, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII, pp. 170-172.

3 Gage to Dartmouth, Boston, July 24, 1775. PRO. C.O.5:92.

Soon afterward, at the beginning of August, 1775, Col. Elisha Jones was himself given a government place by Gage, which guaranteed him an income, that of Forage Commissary to the army, a post, however, not among those that were sinecures, but of vital importance in that time when the horse was the motive power of armies, and of particular difficulty with Boston under siege and cut off from its usual supplies of fodder from the Massachusetts hinterland, and shipments of fodder, like those of other supplies from Ireland and England, months away in being ordered and received.¹ For generations Col. Jones' family, merchants at Weston, Boston, and in Maine (at Falmouth, Machias, and Frenchman's Bay) had been prominent in the profitable colonial coastal trade which supplied Boston, Salem, and other large towns with lumber and firewood from Maine, and from Annapolis Royal and other Bay of Fundy ports in Nova Scotia foodstuffs, hay, straw and grain from the wide-spreading salt-marshes and rich fields and meadows (seeded with "English" hay) that run still for miles along the Fundy shore. After his arrival in Boston Col. Jones continued his business as a merchant, under government license like other Tory merchants in Boston to comply with the workings of the Boston Port Act, and was one of the leading Tory importers of boards and firewood from Maine (much of it supplied and shipped by his eldest son Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay) and grain and forage from Nova Scotia.²

¹ Fodder procurement was a major problem, like others relating to supply during the Siege of Boston prefiguring the experience of the entire war, for it was never to be solved: the loyal army contained within a relatively small perimeter, and thus unable to any significant degree to "live off the country," while even on the move in the colonies - as compared to Europe - grazing and arable (i.e. "cleared") land was nearly everywhere in short supply. The chronic fodder shortage was to be a crucial factor in restricting the timing and scope of the military campaigns: see Howe to Germain in spring of 1778 (PRO.C.O.5:95, f.453) after Valley Forge had decimated Washington's army, that fodder shortage hampered the start of the campaign, and a similar complaint from Clinton to Germain in May, 1779, (PRO.C.O.5:97, f.651).

² Some idea of the extent of Col. Jones' business as a merchant in the coastal trade before the Siege is shown by the accounts in his one ledger book known to survive and now kept at the Golden Ball Tavern (once the property of his cousin Isaac Jones) on the Boston Post Road at Weston.

In the colonies as in England such government commissions to commissaries and others for the letting of contracts to suppliers were then very much a staple of political patronage.¹ There can be no doubt that however well qualified, Col. Jones' appointment was a mark of the Governor's favour, and lends further substance to his son Josiah's later testimony that, "General Gage always consulted him and placed the greatest confidence in him."²

The rebel press saw it in that light, and in the best "Sam Adams" propaganda fashion made the most of yet another story about Elisha Jones the wicked Tory squire of Weston --coupling it, for greater satirical effect, with a similar notice of the appointment of Jeremiah Dummer Rogers, another prominent Loyalist, (but with no experience as a merchant) as Commissary of Spiritous Liquors. Benjamin Edes, Sam Adams' crony and author of a number of articles that had pilloried Col. Jones, led the way in his Boston Gazette, and Country Journal printed at Watertown on August 14th, followed by Isaiah Thomas' Massachusetts Spy at Worcester, which carried the following

NEWS FROM BOSTON

"Elisha Jones Esq., late of Weston, appointed overseer of Gage's haymakers, upon Bunker-hill in Charlestown.

"Dummer Rogers Esq., late an Attorney at Littleton, appointed Superintendant of a Grog Shop in Charlestown; the former is waiter to the horses, and the latter attends the Camp Women with a jill of rum &c upon occasion.

"From these Specimens of merit finding a reward we may suppose that the GREAT MEN among the Tories will be provided for." ³

¹ For supply contracts (let under Treasury supervision) as political patronage involving M.P.'s and other prominent politicians, see: Norman Baker, Government and Contractors The British Treasury and War Supplies 1775-1783, 1971, pp. 14, 216-240. But no discussion of the Commissaries in the Colonies, or of how supply problems were met during the early period of the Siege of Boston when Col. Jones and other Tory commissaries had to find what supplies when and where they could.

² Testimony of Josiah Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners at Annapolis Royal (N.S.) Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 366.

³ Boston Gazette, August 14, 1775, 1/2; Massachusetts Spy, August 16, 1775; For Rogers, see his Loyalist Papers, PRO, A.O. 13:48; A.O. 13:75; Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, (1762) Vol. XV. ^{2/3;}

It was true that foraging parties were sent to cut what hay remained on "Bunker" Hill after the battle and on Charlestown Neck under protection of the British guns - so great was the feared shortage of supply for the coming winter. Also on Hog, Spectacle, Deer, and other islands in Boston Harbour that from early times of settlement had been used as well for grazing.¹ Lack of protection by the fleet of Admiral Samuel Graves, for the most part anchored in King's Road, however, made hay-cutting hazardous on the islands, even with escorts of armed men. Much hay and many grazing cattle were lost to hit-and-run rebel raiders in the fast and easily maneuverable whaleboats from the growing flotilla collected in shallow waters out of reach of Ad. Graves' warships from whalers at Salem and other seaports along the South Shore.²

In June the rebels had captured Col. Jones' son Josiah, supercargo of the forage vessel Polly bound out of Boston for Annapolis Royal (N.S.) Stephen Jones, however, as he later testified, "was employed by his father in the Command of a foraging Party

¹ Land was limited on the Boston peninsula, and much of this was salt-marshes covered for part of the day by high tides, and hills, only the lower slopes of which could be used for cultivation and grazing. In the swamps there was marsh grass for thatching and fodder, but requirements of the latter soon outstripped supply, and William Wood was to write in New England's Prospect. A True, Lively, and Experimentall Description of That Part of America, Commonly Called New England... (London, 1634) that the people of Boston were bringing hay to the town "in Loyters" from the islands as well as the mainland. p.42.

² Rebels using whaleboats also made repeated and successful attacks on Boston Lighthouse, under the very guns of the fleet, putting the light out of use for weeks at a time. The most detailed accounts of these rebel forays on the harbour islands are in Ad. Graves "Conduct of Admiral Graves," quoting his despatches (AD.I.485) and other documents, including first-hand accounts, for the period July-September, 1775. Vol.II, ADD.MSS.14039, Brit.Museum. See also Gage to Lord Dartmouth, July 24, 1775, PRO.C.O.5:92. As Gage says, whaleboats were collected from as far away as Nantucket. The South Shore was noted for whaling as was the North Shore for fishing.

So scarce and valuable was hay in Boston in the summer of 1775 that Ad. Graves' bitter dispute over it with Benjamin Hallowell, Commissioner of Customs, came to blows in the street on August 11th (about the time
Cont.

from Boston," and with better luck served for the Commissary Department through the Siege without mishap - or like his older brother being caught by the rebel freebooters that by the summer of 1775 in ever growing numbers infested the inshore waters off Boston Harbour and the sea routes to the supply ports along the Bay of Fundy.¹

(Cont.) of Col. Jones' appointment as Forage Commissary)Hallowell challenging the Admiral for refusing to allow him to cut hay that he had bought on Gallup's Island, and Graves drawing his sword upon an unarmed man. Hallowell, however, much to the satisfaction of the Loyalists who particularly disliked the Admiral for his undue restrictions on fishing boats and failure to protect the supply vessels, had the better of it, breaking the Admiral's sword and according to some reports giving the Admiral a black eye. The story is summarized in Allen French, "The Hallowell-Graves Fisticuffs," Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, LXIII (1931) pp. 43-46.

¹ Testimony of Stephen Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners, Digby, Nova Scotia, Oct. 24, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 390.

For Col. Jones and forage procurement in the autumn and winter of 1775-1776, see below, "Supplies for Boston".

Stephen Jones continued with the Commissary Department after the Evacuation of Boston at Halifax (N.S.) and later at New York. PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 390.

Another of Col. Jones' sons to serve as a commissary was Ephriam (1750-1812) a farmer at East Hoosack (Adams) in Berkshire County, held in jail by the rebels for Tory activities for most of the Siege of Boston. He later escaped to Canada, and was appointed by Sir Guy Carleton Commissary of Forage for Gen. John Burgoyne's army, with which he fought and was taken prisoner at Saratoga. Testimony of Ephriam Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John, May 29, 1787. PRO. A.O. 12:10, f. 411; A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:75.

UNDER A NEW COMMAND

The fall of 1775 brought a change of military command at Boston, rumoured in Massachusetts since the victory that was a disaster at Bunker Hill on June 17th. Lord Dartmouth's letter recalling General Gage, dated August 2nd and delayed by a leaky vessel, finally reached Boston the last week in September. Gage's orders were for immediate departure. His powers, however, were to be divided: military authority was given to General William Howe, then in command at Charlestown, and civil powers as governor to Thomas Oliver of Cambridge, himself a Tory refugee in Boston, who had been sworn in as Lieutenant Governor by Gage at Salem on August 8, 1774.¹ Thereafter through the seige it was Oliver who presided over the Council, and kept the outward forms of civil government in being. Truncated by rebellion and separated from the military function - which in fact ruled in Boston - the powers of the Acting Governor were little more than the cipher then wielded by the rump of Selectmen still remaining in the town. 2

¹ Gage's recall: Dartmouth to Gage, August 2, 1775, C.O. 5:92:411ff; Gage to Dartmouth, Sept. 30, 1775, C.O. 5:92:581; Ad. Samuel Graves at Boston was glad to be rid of a man he disliked. Ad. Graves to William Graves, Oct. 12, 1775, C.O. 5:134:15.

² The best account of the activities of the Boston Selectmen during the Seige is still Richard Frothingham's History of the Seige of Boston ... 2nd. edn. 1851, in summary, and the record kept by two of the Selectmen, Timothy Newell ("Journal" in MHS Collections, Ser. 4, Vol. I) and Deacon John Tudor (William Tudor, ed., Deacon Tudor's Diary, Boston, 1896).

Thomas Oliver was not a member of the Hutchinson-Oliver family clique that through patronage had controlled so large an interest in the political life of Massachusetts Bay Colony, a fact of importance to Col. Elisha Jones, Brig. Timothy Ruggles, and other leading Tories¹ who by birth and marriage stood outside that group. Thomas Oliver, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Phips) Vassal of Cambridge, belonged to the rich Antigua planter family and was a cousin of Richard Oliver, one of the London "City Patriots" that not long before had shifted his support from John Wilkes to the Tories. Oliver, a member of the Harvard class of 1753, was a colleague of Elisha Jones on the Middlesex County bench of magistrates and a fellow officer of the Middlesex Militia, where Jones was Colonel of the Third Regiment. In 1771 Thomas Oliver had been appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the First Middlesex under his brother-in-law and neighbour in "Tory Row," Cambridge, Col. John Vassall, builder of the house Washington took for his headquarters during the Siege, and later to be the home of Longfellow. An advocate of strong measures to put down the rebellion, Oliver served as chairman of the Loyalist Association founded in Boston by Col. Elisha Jones, Timothy Ruggles, and other leaders of resistance after the Battle of Lexington.²

¹ George III, in his first interview with Governor Thomas Hutchinson in London (July 1, 1774) had asked if Thomas Oliver were related to Hutchinson himself (no) and the former Lt. Governor Andrew Oliver and Andrew's brother Chief Justice Peter Oliver (no) who had married one of Hutchinson's daughters. Hutchinson, MSS Journal, B. Mus. Egerton MSS 2662.

² Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, sketch of Lt. Gov. Thomas Oliver, 1753, Vol. XIII, pp. 336-341.

For Col. Elisha Jones, Forage Commissioner, and the other Loyalists with government posts, the change-over in command brought added burdens of administration, particularly in the making-up of accounts for audit in London by the Treasury, the department then responsible for the finance and procurement of Army supplies. On October 7th Captain Francis Hutcheson (60th Regiment) of the Commissary Department, an associate both of Col. Jones and the Barrack-Master, Major William Sheriff (who rented Col. Nathan Jones' farm at Weston) described the situation to his old commander General Frederick Haldimand in London: "The departure of General Gage keeps the persons employed in the different departments (busy) you well know, it not being long since you experienced the winding up of matters...I have¹ my share of it in my department..."

Despite the hardships and limitations imposed by the Siege, the Loyalist community in Boston did what it could to carry through the social and other activities traditional upon the recall of a governor. Of greatest importance politically - as in the case of Thomas Hutchinson and his predecessors - were three documents presented in the form of public addresses. Col. Elisha Jones and his son

¹ Francis Hutcheson to Gen. Frederick Haldimand (second in command to Gage at Boston until May, 1775) Boston, Oct. 7, 1775. B. Mus., Haldimand Papers, ADD.MSS. 21680. On Nov. 28, 1775, Lord George Germain (who had recently succeeded Lord Dartmouth as Secretary of State for the American Department) wrote to Gage: "...If those returns or States (of stores &c.) have been delivered into the War Office, there will be no occasion to give you any further Trouble; if not, Lord George Germain would be glad to receive them as soon as possible." PRO. C.O. 5:92:765.

For the role of the Treasury, see: Norman Baker, Government and Contractors The British Treasury and War Supplies, 1775-1783, 1971, pp. 4-5; David Syrett, Shipping and the American War 1775-1783, 1970, p. 129.

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Stephen - the only one then in Boston - joined with 74 others in subscribing their names to the Address of the "Gentlemen who were Driven from their Habitations in the Country, to the Town of Boston." This Address was dated October 7, 1775, the day following that of the other two, entitled "The Members of His Majesty's Council," and "The Gentlemen and Principal Inhabitants of the Town of Boston."² The latter had the most signers - 98 - but a substantial proportion of these were in fact "Gentlemen Refugees" from the "Country" like Col. Jones. Two men, Henry Barnes, Col. Jones' cousin, the rich merchant from Marlborough, and David Phipps, Sheriff of Middlesex County, signed both the "Boston" and "Country" Addresses. It is notable, however, that Col. Jones was not among the "double-signers." One suspects that this was not for lack of zeal for the cause of legitimate government, but, in character, for reasons of political principle. Except for Lt. Governor Thomas Oliver, all three Loyalist Addresses appear to have been signed in no particular order. Col. Elisha Jones signed near the end, perhaps between friends who had accompanied him to the signing at Province House: before Henry Barnes and after the noted New Hampshire lawyer (a number of the most prominent New Hampshire Loyalists like Col. Jones own son Josiah, the lawyer from Hinsdale, Cheshire County, had made their way with Gov. John Wentworth to the British stronghold at Boston) the outspoken

¹ Josiah Jones, who escaped from Concord jail in September, did not arrive back at Boston from Newport (Rhode Island) until Oct. 22, 1775.

² The original documents of the three Addresses are now in the Gage MSS, William Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Tory leader Edward Goldstone Lutwyche. Elisha Jones and Lutwyche appear to have had much in common, not least similar political beliefs and experiences. Both men had risked much to fight the rebels with more than words: Lutwyche, colonel of a regiment of loyal New Hampshire militia had been forced to flee by rebel mobs after Lexington, and had reached Boston by July 5, 1775 when he was posted as First Lieutenant of Captain Adino Paddock's Third Company in Brig. Timothy Ruggles' provincial corps of Associated Loyalists.¹

There is no better gauge of "official" public opinion among the leading Loyalists remaining in Boston during the fall and winter of 1775 than the three Addresses presented to Governor Gage on his departure from Massachusetts which took place in the first part of October, 1775. The "Country" Address, signed by Col. Elisha Jones, is as follows:

ADDRESS of the Gentlemen who were Driven from their
Habitations in the Country, to the Town of Boston

To his excellency THOMAS GAGE, Esq; Captain General
and Commander in Chief, in and over his Majesty's
Province of Massachusetts-Bay, in New England, &c.

May it please Your Excellency,

WHEN we reflect on the surprising effects of that
enthusiasm and infatuation which are so generally prevalent
in this country, and the variety of dangers to which the loyal
and obedient have been exposed, we feel the most grateful
sensations towards your excellency, and are anxious to acknowledge
our obligations to your wisdom and prudence, we consider ourselves

¹ For sketches of Lutwyche, Joshua Atherton (friend and patron of Col. Jones' son-in-law, Asa Dunbar) and other prominent figures, including Tories, in New Hampshire during the period of the Revolution, and just afterward, see the MSS of William Plumer. New Hampshire Historical Society, Vol. IV. Lutwyche is mentioned briefly in Richard Francis Upton, Revolutionary New Hampshire, 2nd. edn. New York, 1971, p. 54. The roster of the Third Company of Associated Loyalists (July 5, 1775) is in the papers of Capt. Adino Paddock, PRO. A.O. 13:75. On July 15, 1784, Lutwyche testified for the Memorial of the Rev. William Walter, Rector of Trinity Church, Boston (1767-1776) as "late of New Hampshire where he commanded a regiment of Militia." Egerton, ed., The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783 to 1785... p. 154.

indebted for protection from the lawless fury and unbridled violence of our countrymen; and had not events taken place beyond what human wisdom could foresee, and contrary to any calculations, upon rational principles, we might in all probability have been further indebted to your Excellency for a reconciliation of the unhappy differences that subsist, and a restoration to harmony, happiness, and peace.

It is with regret we think of your Excellency's departure from this Province, but are relieved in some degree by a consideration of the very important services which you will render this country, by a just representation of its present state at the Court of Great Britain - by the confidence we repose in the abilities of your successors to the civil and military commands - the hopes of your speedy return - and the anticipation of an establishment of the rightful supremacy of Parliament over this part of his Majesty's dominions.

Justly meriting and possessed of the esteem and applause of the virtuous and good - happy in the pleasing reflections of an approving conscience, and blessed with the gracious plaudit of the best of Kings, your opportunities will be equal to the inclination you have ever discovered to restore and settle on the most lasting basis, that union of the interests of Great Britain and the colonies, so indispensably necessary to the happiness of both.

We sincerely lament, that the number of those who have dared to stem the torrent of rebellion and sedition in this province, is so small; but we trust that the cordial thanks even of a few (who have fled from oppression, who have sacrificed their properties, and every domestic enjoyment, and are now ready to risque their lives to manifest their loyalty to the best of Sovereigns) will not be unacceptable to your Excellency.

Be pleased, Sir, to accept the ardent wishes of these few faithful & grateful subjects - That your voyage may be prosperous and agreeable, and that your unwearied endeavours for the public service, may be crowned with success.

Boston, 7th October 1775.

Richard Saltonstall, John Bowen, Daniel Oliver

Thomas Danforth, Edward Winslow, junr, John

Sargent, Ward Chipman, David Phips, Thomas

Josselyn, Charles Curtis, Elkanah Cushman, Thomas

Easter, tert., James Putnam, John Ruggles, James Craige, Samuel Paine, Elisha Ford, Daniel Dunbar, Lemuel Goddard, Seth Williams, junr., Zebedee Terry, William Simmons, Luke Hall, Nathaniel Thomas, Ebenezer Whipple, Adam Walker, Abijah White, Sylvanus White, Benjamin Stockbridge, William Tyng, Peter Oliver, tert., Caleb Wheaton, Ebenezer Spooner, John Emerson, William Cowpir, John Tillden, Stephen Tillden, Joseph Tillden, Joseph Hall, James Budd, Adam Hall, Joseph Phillips, Samuel Goldsbury, William Campbell, Stephen Jones, John Chandler, Nathaniel Chandler, William Chandler, Ebenezer Cutler, James Putnam junr., Pelham Winslow, Daniel Thomas, Levi Ford, Joseph Ashley, Benjamin Grinnel, Peter Etter, Peter Etter junr., Franklyn Etter, Daniel Etter, Joseph House, Samuel Gilbert, John Walker, Nathaniel Dickinson, Jonathan Stearns, Jonathan Sowl, Edward G. Lutwyche, Elisha Jones, Henry Barnes, Nathaniel Phillips, F.B. Winthrop, Thomas Achinloss, Jonathan Dix, Benjamin Hart, John Cochran, Peter Oliver junr., Archibald Achinloss.¹

In his reply to the "Gentlemen from the Country"—the shortest to any of the three Addresses — Gage promised little but the assurance that he would represent their "loyalty and patriotism" to the sovereign, and the continued protection of the civil and military authorities in Boston:

Gentlemen,

YOUR kind address at this time gives me much pleasure, as it affords me an opportunity, before my departure from the Province, to acknowledge the steady attachment you have shown to the true interests of your King and Country in the worst of times; and the sacrifices you have made in support of both, are great.

¹ Gage MSS, William Clements Library, University of Michigan

It will be my duty to represent to our gracious Sovereign the distinguishing proofs you have given of your loyalty and patriotism; and you may be assured that during my absence, my successors in the civil and military command, will afford you every favour and protection.

Tho. Gage^{1.}

The rebel press outside Boston printed the text of the three Addresses and more or less complete lists of signers for their propaganda use in identifying political enemies. Indeed, so popular did these lists of "villains" become that the Gage Addresses were later brought out as a small pamphlet.²

Col. Elisha Jones, as one of the comparative few who was an "Addresser" of both Governors Hutchinson and Gage, in his lifetime achieved thereby the pinnacle of notoriety among the rebels designed by Sam Adams and his disciple Benjamin Edes the printer to brand him an outcast for all time. In fact, the names of the Addressers are a roster of the oldest and most distinguished families in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. To the Loyalists of that and later generations, the Addressers became a roll of honour for men of conviction in times of great adversity. This was particularly true of the Addressers of Gage, nearly all of them veterans of Ruggles' corps of Boston Associators, men who remained in that besieged town until the end and who then - and through the long years of the revolutionary struggle - disdained to leave the fighting to the British "regulars" and their hired mercenaries.

¹ Gage MSS, William Clements Library, University of Michigan

² Among the newspapers Benjamin Edes' Boston Gazette (Watertown) Oct. 30, 1775, p. 2. The three Gage Addresses were later printed as a pamphlet "An Address of the Gentlemen and Principal Inhabitants of / the Town of Boston to His Excellency Governor Gage. (On second leaf) The Address of His Majesty's Council. (and) The Address of the Gentlemen who were / driven from their Habitations in the Country, / to the Town of Boston. Copy at MHS. See: Massachusetts Broadides, MHS, No. 1784, p. 245.

The Gage Address of Oct.7,1775, for all its historic value as a record, is by no means a complete list of prominent Loyalists in Boston at that time, "Gentlemen from the Country." A number were temporarily absent from the town on private business or official duty, with the armed forces or on spying trips through the countryside, and their names do not appear. Among these "absentees," men known to have spent part at least of the winter of 1775-1776 in Boston, were probably three of the sons of Col. Jones. Josiah, who had succeeded in escaping from Concord jail the end of September, did not return (via Newport, Rhode Island) to Boston until October 22nd.¹ Elisha the Younger is thought to have been away on a foraging trip to Nova Scotia ports on the Bay of Fundy.² Although Stephen Jones' name appears on the Gage Address of Oct.7,1775, there is a family tradition that he was among the squad of Tories - including Brig. Ruggles' sons John and Richard - chosen for their knowledge of the Maine coast to act as guides and pilots for the punitive Naval expedition sent by Ad. Samuel Graves to put down rebellion in the New England coastal towns Downeast.³

1 Margaret Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette or Boston Weekly News Letter carried an account of the escape in its next issue of thursday, October 26,1775:

BOSTON October 26.

"Yesterday being the Anniversary of His Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, when he entered the 16th Year of his Reign, the same was observed here with the usual demonstrations of joy.

"Last Sunday arrived here from Newport, the Swan, Captain Ayscough, with several Prizes and Transports with Provisions. In the Swan came passengers Mr. Josiah Jones, Dr. Jonathan Hicks, and Captain William Likely, who were taken Prisoners some Time past by the Rebels and Confined in Concord Goal. They broke Goal and Luckily made their Escape to Newport, where they got on board Captain Wallace." (Wallace's vessel was HMS Rose)2/3.

The ships of the Royal Navy in Boston harbour fired 19-gun salutes as the Swan and her squadron came in. See Captain's Log, H.M. Sloop Swan, PRO. Adm. 51/960.

2 Memorandum of Mary Emma Robertson Jones, Jan.22,1901. MMR Jones MSS., Author's possession.

3 John Ruggles signed the Gage Address of Oct.7,1775, but not his brother Richard. This tradition was known to the historian of Harvard John Langdon Sibley. Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. IX, p.220.

Graves' orders to Lt. Henry Mowat of the Canceaux, commander of the squadron, were dated at Boston on Oct.6th, and Mowat's little fleet of 4 armed vessels and a store ship put to sea from Nantasket Road on Oct.8th.¹

Col. Elisha Jones may have been among those who watched Mowat's departure from Boston - a not well-kept secret - several days before. The spectators are known to have included the Rev. John Wiswall, rector of St. Paul's episcopal church at Falmouth, who with Mowat had been taken captive by the rebel mob in the so-called "Thompson's War" of May,1775, and who soon after fled the town for Boston aboard Mowat's ship Canceaux on May 16th. Mr. Wiswall's crime had been continuing to read the church offices including the prayers for the King:after his departure from Falmouth his wife and daughter were held under guard and starved by the rebels - a punishment commonly used against Tory prisoners, particularly women and children, as it left no visible signs of violence - and they died in a matter of days after their release to go to Boston in July,1775.²

¹ Graves' orders to Lt. Henry Mowat were dated aboard the flagship Preston in Boston harbour, Oct.6,1775. A copy, annotated later by Graves himself, is in his "Conduct of Admiral Graves," MSS. B. Mus. ADD.MSS 14038.

² Under the date Oct.3, Boston Selectman Timothy Newell noted in his "Journal": "This morning two bomb Ketches and several armed vessels, with some soldiers sailed on a secret expedition... MHS Collections, Ser.4, Vol.1,p.263.

On June 15,1775 the Rev.John Wiswall was appointed chaplain of the 63rd Regiment. He was a member of Harvard class of 1749. Shipton,ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol.VIII, pp.518-528. Shipton glossed over the real cause of the death of Wiswall's wife and daughter. More factual is the sketch of Wiswall by Rev.E.M. Saunders, The Life and Times of the Rev.John Wiswall, M.A. A Loyalist Clergyman in New England and Nova Scotia 1731-1821 in Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol.XIII, 1908, based upon the MSS of the Rev.Jacob Bailey (at Nova Scotia Hist.Soc.,Halifax) and the MSS Journal of Wiswall.

The Rev. John Wiswall, who from 1789 was rector of Wilmot, NS, was well known to the family of Col.Elisha Jones that settled nearby at Sissiboo (Weymouth) on St.Mary's Bay after the War.His son John Wiswall married a cousin, a daughter of Ebenezer Cutler of Annapolis Royal, while Peleg, a lawyer who settled at Digby, the County Seat, was succeeded as judge of the County Court by Col.Jones' grandson Cereno Upham Jones of Sissiboo, in 1816. W.A.Calneck, History of the County of Annapolis, edn.1972, pp.406-7.

The Loyalist papers of Rev.John Wiswall are in PRO. A.O.13:51; A.O.13:8 A.O. 12:10 ff.309-314; A.O. 12:99f.42.

The bombardment and burning of the Maine town of Falmouth by Mowat's naval squadron on October 18, 1775, however justified by the treasohable activities of its inhabitants and the barbarities of its mobs was - and has ever been - a great propaganda victory for the rebels.¹ It is a particular irony, moreover, that whether or not any of Col. Elisha Jones' sons were with the British fleet on that occasion, a leading part in the events which followed was taken by one of the few Whigs in the family, Col. Elisha Jones' cousin Pearson Jones, Selectman of Falmouth, a prominent merchant and shipowner, who had lost considerable property in Mowat's raid. Pearson Jones was chosen to draft an official account of what had happened, and to take it to Washington at Cambridge headquarters with all possible speed, together with the town's plea for aid and protection against what was believed to be the imminent return of a naval force to complete the destruction of Falmouth and to establish a military post at this strategic place on Casco Bay. To have been chosen thus to put the town's case before Washington Pearson Jones - not alone in a family of lawyers - must have had a considerable² reputation as a persuasive speaker.

Two days after the attack on Falmouth, on October 20, 1775, as recorded by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Samuel Deane of the First Church, all was ready. The weather was "Rainy. P. Jones set out for head quarters." He reached Cambridge by October 24th, a fast journey for the time of year, but the terrifying news of the bombardment of Falmouth had preceeded him, sped down the coast by rebel couriers in the service - like the famous Paul Revere - of the Committees of Correspondence and the fear that other ports, particularly Portsmouth (New Hampshire) were marked for Falmouth's destruction soon by the Royal Navy.

¹ Mowat's account, dated Oct. 19, 1775, in PRO. AD. 1:485:975ff.

The best American account is still Nathan Gould, Falmouth Neck in the Revolution, (Portland, 1897) pp. 32-46. See also: William Willis, History of Portland (Portland, 1833) with much material on the family of Pearson Jones and its prominent role in economic and public affairs in the 18th century.

² For the choice of Pearson Jones, Town Records of Falmouth (Portland) town archives; Willis, History of Portland, p. 522.

³ William Willis, ed., Journals of the Rev. Thomas Smith and the Rev. Samuel Deane, Pastors of the First Church in Portland (Portland, 1849) p. 340.

The only known account of Pearson Jones' meeting with Washington on October 24, 1775, is in Washington's letter of that date to the President of Congress, John Hancock, at Philadelphia:

To the President of Congress

Camp Cambridge
October 24, 1775

Sir:

My conjecture of the Destination of the late Squadron from Boston in my last, has been unhappily verified, by an outrage exceeding in Barbarity and cruelty every hostile Act practiced among civilized nations; I have enclosed the Account given me by Mr. (Pearson) Jones a Gentleman of the Town of Falmouth of the Destruction of that flourishing Village. He is a very great sufferer and informs me that the Time allowed for the removal of Effects was so small, that valuable Property of all kinds and to a great amount has been destroyed.

The Orders shewn by the Captain (Mowat) for this horrid procedure, by which it appears the same desolation is meditated upon all the Towns on the Coast, made it my Duty to communicate it as quickly and extensively as possible. As Portsmouth was the next place to which he proposed to go, General Sullivan was permitted to go up and give them his Assistance and Advice to ward off the Blow. I flatter myself the like Event will not happen there, as they have a Fortification of some strength and a Vessel has arrived at a place called Sheepscott with 1500 lb of Powder.

The Gentlemen of the Congress have nearly finished their Business, but as they write by this opportunity, I must beg leave¹ to refer you to their Letters for what concerns their Commission.

¹ George Washington to John Hancock, Camp Cambridge, Oct. 24, 1775. MMS in Continental Congress Papers, Library of Congress, Washington D.C. Printed in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington, Vol. 4 (Oct. 1775-April, 1776) 1931, pp. 40-1. The writing is that of Joseph Reed, Washington's Military Secretary. See John C. Fitzpatrick, Calendar of the Correspondence of George Washington Commander in Chief of the Continental Army with the Continental Congress (Washington D.C. 1906) p. 24. The "Gentlemen of the Congress" were a committee of the Continental Congress then meeting at Cambridge with representatives of New England colonies to work out new measures for joint defense and a reorganization of the Continental Army. From the Continental Congress were Benjamin Franklin (Pennsylvania), Thomas Lynch (South Carolina) and Benjamin Harrison (Virginia), who met Matthew Griswold and Nathaniel Jales (Connecticut), Nicholas Cooke (Rhode Island), and four Massachusetts Whigs: James Bowdoin, James Otis, William Sever, and Walter Spooner. For this joint Committee, see Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. 3, pp. 1037-8, 1155-1157. To what extent this Committee was influenced by Pearson Jones' Report of the British attack upon Falmouth apart from adding to the urgency of its deliberations is not known, but years later, at the Paris negotiations for a peace treaty, in November, 1782, Franklin resurrected the "wanton" bombardment of Falmouth in Oct., 1775, as an argument against compensation of the Loyalists by America for their property confiscated or destroyed.

The Pearson Jones Report was one of the most important writings by a member of the family in the opening years of the War. It was not only sent by George Washington to the Continental Congress and to Governors Nicholas Cooke of Rhode Island and Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut - colonies with coastal towns most exposed to naval attack - but was widely circulated both in the colonial and English press. It appeared in Rivington's New York Gazette on November 2, 1775, the same day as Howat's squadron returned from the Falmouth expedition to Boston, and on November 4th in the Whig Providence Gazette (Rhode Island). Both papers had a respectable circulation in besieged Boston, brought in by sea, and it is probable that Pearson Jones' Report of the Falmouth bombardment was seen in one or both of them by Col. Elisha Jones and his family. The Virginia Gazette at Williamsburg, (known as "Pinckney's Printer") carried the report in two issues, on November 9th and 16th.

The Pearson Jones Report, however, was perhaps most influential in England, where for some time it was the only available account of the naval attack upon Falmouth, the Rebels having seen to it - as after the Battle of Lexington - that their version of these events was received first. The editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, while refusing to comment until the report was, as he put it, "authenticated," wrote: "it cannot be true, or the reasons for this severe order are concealed," and, misgivings or not, printed Pearson Jones' account in the December issue.¹ In London Governor Hutchinson noted in his "Diary" that when Lord George Germain heard about the attack on Falmouth, he said that Graves, having been admonished

¹ Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1775. And see the Annual Register, 1776, pp. 34, 35.

about his "remissness," in failing to take action against the rebels, then "did run to the other extreme".¹

Hutchinson, political and social leader of the growing colony of Loyalist refugees in England, but as much an exile as any and as hungry for news of home, in mid-November heard at least the official account of the plans for the long-awaited naval offensive Downeast and the departure of Mowat's squadron from his successor in that vastly troubled office the Massachusetts governorship.² General Gage finally reached London on November 14th, having left Boston in the transport Pallas on October 10th, three days after receiving the Loyal Address from Col. Jones and the other "Gentlemen from the Country", and escorted past the Grand Banks by H.M.S. Mercury, a measure of the effective reach of the increasing numbers of Yankee freebooters and privateers.³

Col. Elisha Jones was not to see Gage again, and if he had any further correspondence with him, in England, the letters have been lost. However much a disappointment as a military commander in Boston to the Joneses and the other "fighting Tories" who remained to the end, particularly in view of his creditable record as a British soldier

¹ Peter Hutchinson, ed. The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. I, p. 583.

² For Hutchinson in exile: Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974), chapters VIII and IX. This book, the first biographical study since that of James K. Hosmer, The Life of Thomas Hutchinson (Boston, 1896) ignores the vital question of the confrontation between Hutchinson as Governor and as exile and that group of "fighting Tories," led by Col. Jones and Brig. Ruggles, who years before even the abortive Whig revolt at the time of the "Powder Alarm" of Sept. 1, 1774, refused to compromise away step by step - as had Hutchinson - the rule of law and with it the "sacred" Charter government, and who stayed fighting for the cause in Boston to the end.

³ Gage's sailing from Boston: Ad. Graves, "The Conduct of Admiral Graves," B. Mus. Add. MSS. 14038-9. Entries for Oct. 9-10, 1775; E. Dana, ed. The British in Boston ... the Diary of Lt. John Barker of the King's Own Regiment, ... Oct. 10, 1775, p. 65. Gage in London: Hutchinson to Thos. Hutchinson Jr., Nov. 17, 1775. P. Hutchinson, ed., The Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. I, pp. 558-9.

with the Colonial militia in the French Wars and his long and not unsuccessful experience as a Colonial administrator, Gage - unlike his predecessor as Governor of Massachusetts Bay, Thomas Hutchinson - was regarded by the widespread Jones family in later years as a friend and patron. There can be no doubt - as official records of Loyalist Claims in London alone testify - that Gage, as he promised before leaving New England in his reply to the "Gentlemen from the Country" did do all in his power through political unpopularity and even in illness and old age, to aid the loyal Colonials. To the sons of Col. Elisha Jones of Weston Gage's door was always open. Six years after he left Boston, in April, 1781, Gage received Stephen Jones at his London house in Portland Place, and wrote a handsome endorsement of the Memorial of Col. Elisha Jones and the seven of his sons who fought through the war as officers in the Provincial Corps and the Regular Army. Nearly three years later, on January 5, 1784, Gage, who died April 2, 1787, endorsed a second Jones Memorial put forward on behalf of the family by the Colonel's second youngest son, Lt. Jonas Jones of the Twentieth Foot (Lancashire Fusiliers) who for gallantry under fire had been commissioned Ensign in this regiment by Gen. John Burgoyne, and as a half-pay officer had settled and married in London after the War. ¹

¹ Col. Jones' seven sons who served as officers in the War were:
 Elisha, Junr.: Captain & Commissary to the Royal Artillery, New York;
 Josiah: Lt. in Ruggles Boston Associators, Wentworth's Volunteers,
 King's American Dragoons.
 Stephen: 2nd. Lt., Ruggles' Boston Associators; Wentworth's Volunteers,
 Cornet & Lt., King's American Dragoons.
 Jonas: Ensign & Fst. Lt., Lancashire Fusiliers
 Charles: Wentworth's Volunteers (aged 17); Jan. 1780, promoted Cornet in
 Queen's American Rangers, killed leading a charge at the battle of
 Spencer's Ordinary just before Yorktown, buried at Williamsburg.
 The only son to be killed in the War.
 Ephriam: Captain and Commissary under Burgoyne
 Simeon: Wentworth's Volunteers, Lt. in King's American Dragoons.
 Memorial of Stephen Jones et al, PRO. A.O. 13:47, April, 1781;
 Memorial of Lt. Jonas Jones, et al. PRO. A.O. 13:74, January, 1784.

WITH HOWE AND RUGGLES' REORGANIZED ASSOCIATORS

"The loss of the Surprising Man, for thought, Activity, Goodness of Temper, vertue, Religion, and undaunted Bravery— Lord Howe was the Loss — I had almost said of New England— I cant mention his name without Tears, those remembrances of the Curse, which I hope will one day be wiped from our Eyes..."

Col. Billy Williams of Pittsfield,
August 18, 1758

In adverse times a change of direction can bring new hope, and in Boston in October, 1775 there were many among the military, cramped with the inactivity of the long seige, and the Loyalists, whose very future and fortunes depended upon the putting down of rebellion, who looked to the new commander-in-chief, Sir William Howe, for effective leadership. Nor can many commanders have entered upon duty in the colonies with more in their favour. For the Loyalist veterans of the French Wars in Boston, among them Col. Elisha Jones, Sir William as the younger brother of Lord George Augustus Howe, killed leading a detachment of Roger's Rangers at Ticonderoga in July, 1758, was part of a legend of English heroism belonging to the Massachusetts frontier in its bloody, generations-long struggle with the French not exceeded by Wolfe's capture of Quebec. It was Col. Jones' great-nephew, born in Weston and a life-long friend, Col. Billy Williams, who settled in Pittsfield and, as acting commander of the Provincial troops at Ticonderoga on August 18, 1758 wrote the lament for the death of Lord Howe to (Col.) Dr. Thomas Williams at Deerfield.¹ Col. Billy had been left to bear the shame and burdens of retreat before a much smaller force of French and Indians ordered by the cowardly and incompetent Gen. James Abercromby, called ever after in Massachusetts "Mrs. Nabbycromby".²

¹ Col. Billy Williams to Col. Thomas Williams, Aug. 18, 1758. Williams MSS, New York Historical Society.

² In a letter to his father dated Aug. 7, 1758, Wolfe described Lord Howe as "the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the British Army". Wright, Life of Wolfe, p. 450.

The best biographic sketch of Col. Billy Williams is by Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. 1729, pp. 638-656.

Sir William Howe's own creditable record- and the man himself - in the French and Indian War and afterward were well known to the Loyalists in Boston, many of them ^{old} comrades in arms: Sir William had been at Louisburg in 1758, and the year following at Quebec where he led the small squad that forced the path by which Wolfe's army scaled the Heights of Abraham. More recently, under Gage, he led the troops at Bunker Hill. Sir William's appointment appears, moreover, to have been welcomed by the Regular army in Boston: Maj. Charles Stuart of the 43rd Regiment wrote to his father, Lord Bute, on Oct. 8, 1775, "General Howe, it is supposed, will be very active, but from what I know of him, I should fear imprudent..."¹ Howe had indeed a measure of respect for the colonials, whom he knew well, and accepted the command in America partly on condition that he might be peacemaker as well as the Government's instrument of chastisement. To his Parliamentary constituents Howe justified his departure by saying that he went to uphold the law - one of the main principles upon which Loyalists of the type of Col. Jones founded their case. Among the most far-seeing observers must be counted Israel Mauduit, a somewhat shadowy political figure and one-time Massachusetts Agent in London, but a trusted correspondent of Brig. Timothy Ruggles. Mauduit wrote that "A noble Duke who took the lead in opposition" had said, "I have no apprehensions from General Howe's taking the Command; he is one of us, and will do the Americans no harm."

¹ Maj. Charles Stuart to Lord Bute, Boston, Oct. 8, 1775. Wortley, ed., A British Prime Minister and His Son, (New York, 1925) p. 73.

The loyal family of Col. Elisha Jones in Boston, with an outstanding reputation for zeal, self-sacrifice, and willingness to risk danger to person and property for the cause of Government, was to enjoy no less patronage and influence under the new administration of Sir William Howe. As was customary the change of command in Boston was accompanied by a general survey of existing colonial appointments and commissions - both civil and military - many of which were valid only during the term in office of the Governor who had issued them. (Before Howe, the Governors of Massachusetts Bay had been both heads of the civil government and commanders-in-chief of the armed forces in the Colony.) Howe renewed Col. Elisha Jones' appointment as Forage Commissioner, a fact of vital importance for the income from this post - as his son Josiah Jones was later to testify - was the main support of his refugee family in Boston during the Siege.¹

As was done with the sons of other prominent Loyalists, Howe found a place as well for Col. Jones' son Josiah when, after escaping from the Middlesex County jail at Concord in September, he returned to Boston in HMS Swan out of Newport (Rhode Island) on October 22nd.² Before Lexington a rising lawyer with several years' experience at the Bar of Cheshire County, New Hampshire, Josiah Jones like his

¹ See the statements of Col. Jones' services by Gage and Howe, made after his death and in support of the Loyalist claims of his sons, PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:74.

² For the escape, see: John Boyle, "Journal of Occurrences in Boston," New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., Vol. LXXXV, (1931) p. 25. It was widely noticed in the press, Edes and Gill's Boston Gazette, Thomas' Massachusetts Spy, and other Whig papers carrying the advertisement by the Concord jailer offering a ten dollar reward for apprehending him in October, 1775.

Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette or Boston Weekly News Letter reported on Oct. 26, 1775:

"Last Sunday arrived here from Newport, the Swan, Captain Ayscough, with several Prizes and Transports with Provisions. In the Swan came passengers Mr. Josiah Jones, Dr. Jonathan Hicks, and Captain William Likely, who were taken Prisoners some Time past by the Rebels and Confined in Concord Goal. They broke Goal and Luckily made their Escape to Newport, where they got on board Captain Wallace." 2/3.

older brother Daniel (the first Chief Justice of Cheshire County Court)¹ and younger brother Simeon (Clerk of the Cheshire County Court)/^{was} a protege and political supporter of Governor John Wentworth, who, since his departure from Portsmouth in HMS Scarborough on August 24, 1775,² had been gathering about him in Boston that coterie of able young men which at New York in the coming Fall of 1776 he would form into the elite Provincial Corps "Wentworth's Volunteers" in which four of Col. Jones' sons - Josiah, Simeon, Stephen, and Charles - would later serve. At the beginning of November, 1775 Howe appointed Josiah Jones to a post of influence at the centre of affairs, Clerk to his Secretary, the genial and efficient Captain Robert Mackenzie, with offices at Headquarters in the Province House.³

¹ Judge Daniel Jones was disarmed by the Rebels and confined to his home farm, as his brothers were later to testify before the Loyalist Commissioners. Simeon Jones had been captured by the Rebels and put into Concord Jail for helping his brother Josiah escape, September, 1775. Judge Daniel Jones' public career is summarized in his long obituary, Massachusetts Centinel, March 11, 1786, p. 3, c. 1, and by Shipton in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIV, (Class of 1759) pp. 445-7. Loyalist activities of the Jones brothers, however, are found in the records of the War Office and in the Loyalist Claims Papers, principally PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:25; and A.O. 13:75.

² For Wentworth's departure from Portsmouth: New Hampshire Provincial Papers, Vol. VII, p. 390.

³ "Evidence on the Claim of Josiah, Simeon, Stephen and Jonas Jones late of Massachusetts," testimony of Josiah Jones given at Annapolis Royal (Nova Scotia) Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10; and "Further Evidence on the Claim of Josiah, Simeon, Stephen, and Jonas Jones..." Testimony given by Josiah Jones at St. John (New Brunswick) Dec. 20, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10.

Captain Robert Mackenzie was later, in New York, Paymaster to the Provincial troops.

Josiah Jones continued in the Secretary's office at Halifax, Nova Scotia, and for some time at New York when he was promoted to the staff of the "Inspector and Superintendant of the Provision Train of Horses and Waggon attending the Army" under Francis Rush Clarke. For Clarke's appointment, see PRO. T. 27:31.

In mid-October, taking advantage of the change-over in the British command, there was another of the recurrent scares in Boston that Washington's besieging army was about to launch their long promised attack to "drive the Tories and their friends into the sea". As on the earlier alarms it was believed by the military command as well as the Loyalists that the attack would be staged at the same time as rebel agents within fired the town - a threat carried out by the rebels when Washington's troops were forced to evacuate New York only a few months later, September 21, 1776.¹

Deacon Timothy Newell of the Brattle Street Church, waiting out the Siege, wrote in his "Journal": "Several nights past the whole army was ordered not to undress - the cannon all loaded with grape shot from a full apprehension the Provincials (as they liked to call themselves) would make an attack upon the town. The streets paraded all night by the Light Horse."² On Oct. 22nd Lt. John Barker of the King's Own (Fourth Regiment of Foot) noted: "The deserters say Genl. Washington threatens to take his winter Quarters in Boston," and, six days later, "Several Deserters lately come in all agree that it is intended to attack us; we have been expecting it three or four nights past; a Man come in to day says they'll attack to night." Judging by Lt. Barker's "Journal," however, the troops at least were little daunted by the rebel tactics. "We shall see if they mean to put their threats in execution," he added, "if they do they must in all probability get a severe beating," and consoled himself with the knowledge that

¹ Col. Elisha Jones' Great-Grandson, Frederick D.S. Jones of Weymouth (NS) married Abigail Hathaway Ryerson, a descendant of a number of prominent New York Tories, including Rem Rapelje, an Addresser both of Sir William Howe and his brother Admiral Lord Howe. His son George later wrote of the rebel threat to burn New York if it fell into British hands: "While my father was in banishment, one of my Mother's relations, a Whig, came to her, and told her that she had better remove with her children into the country, as in the event of the city being taken by the British, it would be burnt. My Mother replied, 'My dear Cousin, you have valuable property here and would not like to have it destroyed. What I should wish to see will not be a matter of consequence. I assure you it is the intention of General Washington to fire the city, if it fall into the hands of the British army,' and so it happened that soon after they got possession of the City, a fire commenced somewhere to the east of Broad Street..." George Rapelje, A Narrative of Excursions, Voyages, and Travels, (New York, 1834) p. 14.

² Timothy Newell, "A Journal Kept During the Time Yt Boston was Shut Up in 1775-6" M.H.S. Collections, Series 4, Vol. I, p. 269.

"The Deserters all say the Rebel Army is very tired, ill off for cloathing and most things; they are not paid what they are promised and most want to go home."¹

The attack never came. The British alert in Boston was based upon accurate information, but Washington's proposals to the Continental Congress in September for an assault before the summer enlistments of his troops ran out was rejected, although orders were given for militia reinforcements to be sent to Boston.²

For the British, however, both in London and in Boston, plans to withdraw from this strategically difficult position had been considered since the costly victory of Bunker Hill on June 17th.³ In a private letter to Lord Dartmouth of October 9th Howe wrote: "To attack the Rebels from Boston would be hazardous..."⁴ The following day in a letter to Lord North Burgoyne noted: "It is the decision of the military counsels here (the day Howe assumed command) to rest upon our arms till spring." There was not the shipping or supplies available for the removal which perforce would include such of the Loyalists in Boston as wished to remain under British military protection.⁵ How much

¹ Dana, ed., The British in Boston Being the Diary of Lt. John Barker of the King's Own... 1924, pp. 65-6.

² For Washington's Councils of War of Sept. 11th and Oct. 18, 1775, Force, American Archives, Ser. 4, Vol. 3, p. 760ff. and Ibid., p. 1153.

³ The pessimism in Gage's despatch to Lord Dartmouth of June 25 caused his recall. On August 20th Gage wrote: "...Nothing could justify the venturing an attack upon the Rebels, considering the strength of their Posts, and their great Numbers..." PRO. C.O. 5:92:525ff.

⁴ Howe to Lord Dartmouth, Oct. 9, 1775. PRO. C.O. 5:92:621ff.

⁵ Howe to Lord Dartmouth, November 26, 1775. The tonnage of shipping available was an estimated 11,600 short of the amount needed, which was gathered together in Boston harbour over the winter of 1775-6. PRO. C.O. 5:92:641.

Col. Jones and his sons knew of these plans, closely involved as they were with the military administration, can only be speculation.

By the beginning of 1776 at least, however, rumours of a military evacuation of Boston in the spring - although not the destination of the troops - had reached the ears of the Rev. Henry Caner, the venerable and much respected Rector of King's Chapel. In a letter dated Jan. 14th and sent by Sir William Pepperrell to the Bishop of London he wrote: "...I now find it is the Opinion of most Gent of the Army that the Troops will evacuate this Town & burn it some time in Mr. or Ap. What will become of 6 or 7000 Inhab in that case I cannot imagine..."¹ True or not, such stories can only have bred anxiety in an already harassed civilian population.

At the end of October, meanwhile, Howe ordered a census of the Loyalists remaining in Boston in a Proclamation dated the 28th:

"By his Exc. William Howe....

"Whereas it has become the indispensable duty of every loyal and faithful citizen to contribute all in his power for the preservation of order and good government within the Town of Boston, I do hereby recommend that the inhabitants do immediately associate themselves, to be formed into Companies, under proper officers, selected by me from among the Associators, to be solely employed within the precincts of the Town, and for the purposes above mentioned.

"That this Association be opened in the Council Chamber, under the direction of the Hon. Peter Oliver, Foster Hutchinson, and William Browne, Esquires, on Monday, the 30th day of October, 1775, and continued for four days following, that no one may plead ignorance of the same.

¹ The Rev. Henry Caner to the Bishop of London, Jan. 14, 1776. Henry Caner Letterbook, Caner MSS, University of Bristol Library (England) Caner had been Rector of King's Chapel since 1747. See his Memorial, PRO. A.O. 13:73, and Dexter, Biographic Sketches of Graduates of Yale College, (1885) pp. 296-299. Caner graduated in 1724.

"Out of the number of persons voluntarily entering into the association all such as are liable to discharge the duty required of them shall be properly armed, and an allowance of fuel and provisions be made to those requiring the same, equal to what is issued to His Majesty's troops within the garrison.

"Given at Head-Quarters at Boston, October 28, 1775."¹

Howe's purpose was well summarized by Richard Reeve, an experienced observer, since 1767 Secretary to the Board of Customs at Boston, in a letter to Sir Grey Cooper in London: "...You will observe by the General's Proclamation that all the inhabitants are required to sign an Association and to bear Arms in defense of the Town, so that all those who remain in it will become Military and be considered as part of the Garrison."² It is significant that none of the official correspondence by Howe or others at this time makes any mention of the first Association Paper signed by the Loyalists in Boston - both refugees from outside the town, including other parts of Massachusetts, and other New England colonies, and Boston residents - during the Governorship of Gen. Gage and on the night after the Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775, which was used as the basis for setting up the alphabetical roster of five companies of Loyal Associators under Brig. Timothy Ruggles on July 5, 1775, ~~subscribed~~ who performed active service in Boston (and by special volunteers elsewhere) under Gage's commissions until the Governor's departure for London on October 10th.³ It has never been the practice of generals or other public officials to give recognition to the acts of their predecessors, particularly if they are controversial: Howe had little regard for Gage or his conduct of the "war against the rebels," and, of great importance for the future of the conflict, Howe had come to regard Brig. Timothy Ruggles, with Col. Jones and the other loyal refugee militia colonels in Boston, the prime mover in projects for the military organization of the Loyalists both with the military command in Boston and with Tory leaders such as

¹ Howe's Proclamation of Oct. 28, 1775, printed in Force, American Archives, Ser. 4, Vol. 3, p. 1247.

² Richard Reeve to Sir Grey Cooper (at the Treasury) Nov. 15, 1775. Reeve MSS, Buckinghamshire County Record Office, Aylesbury.

³ For the signing of the first Loyalist Association Paper in Boston, April 19, 1775, see above, Chapter

Lord George Germain in London, as "dangerous" and "unreliable". By ordering the new enrollment of Loyalists in Boston in October, 1775, Howe asserted his own authority over them, civilians as well as Ruggles' corps of militia, the Loyal American Associators, as commander-in-chief.¹

¹ Howe's criticism of Gage: see esp. Howe to Adjutant-General Harvey, June 12, 1775. Dartmouth MSS, Vol. II, p. 315.

Howe and Ruggles: Ruggles papers for the period of the Revolution, have been nearly all lost or destroyed. It cannot be established from the remaining papers of Lord George Germain (now in the Clements Library, University of Michigan) just when his correspondence with Timothy Ruggles began. It is not surprising, however, that Ruggles was friendly with Col. Benjamin Thompson, the brilliant young Loyalist refugee from Concord, New Hampshire, (also a protege of Gov. John Wentworth) who had sailed from Boston to England with despatches soon after Lexington and was appointed by Germain Secretary of the Province of Georgia in his own department.

For Ruggles as a friend of Benjamin Thompson: Diary of Dr. John Jeffries, MSS. Vol. I, pp. 156-158. Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston. Dr. Jeffries, who signed the farewell Address to Gage, was a leading physician in Boston through the Siege, and afterward was appointed chief of the military surgical staff in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Jeffries noted later that it was because of Ruggles' correspondence and friendship with Lord George Germain that Sir Henry Clinton, commanding in New York, blocked Ruggles' project - supported by Germain - for raising a Loyalist cavalry corps. The best sketch of Dr. John Jeffries is by Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1763, Vol. XV, 1970, pp. 420-1.

The signing of the second, or "Howe" Loyalist Association took place - as in April, 1775 - in the Council Chamber, the grandest room in the Province House, and under the solemn direction of the three most senior Massachusetts judges remaining in the colony, all members of the Governor's Council.¹ These, as stipulated in Howe's Proclamation of October 28th, were Chief Justice Peter Oliver, appointed in 1772 and a judicial officer since his commission as a magistrate in 1744;² and two judges of the Massachusetts Superior Court: Foster Hutchinson, a brother of former Governor Thomas Hutchinson, judge of Probate for Suffolk County,³ and William Browne of Salem, one of the largest landowners in New England, who, it was said, had been offered the Governorship of Massachusetts by the rebel Committee of Safety.⁴

Among the Loyalists signing the new Association were Col. Elisha Jones and his sons who were then in Boston: Elisha the Younger, Josiah, and Stephen.

"An ASSOCIATION proposed to the loyal Citizens, agreeable to the Proclamation issued by his Excellency the Honourable Major General William Howe, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces &c....

"We, His Majesty's loyal subjects of the Town of Boston, being sensible of the duty incumbent on us, 'to do every thing in our Power to support Order and good Government, as well as to contribute our aid to the internal security of the Town,' now take this opportunity to profess our firm Allegiance to His Majesty, and entire obedience to his Government and Laws. From a disposition to continue quiet and obedient Subjects, we have generally neglected the use of Arms, while those of different characters and sentiments have been diligently endeavouring to improve themselves in that art. Upon these principles, we have remained in or fled to this Town; neither do we wish or design to leave it.

¹ The best account of the signing of the first Association by the Loyalists on the night of April 19, 1775, is in the Memorials of Andrew Ritchie, a Scot who settled as a merchant in Boston: PRO. A.O. 13:51; A.O. 13:92; A.O. 12:10, ff. 157-64. See above, Chapter

² Peter Oliver: PRO. A.O. 13:48; C.O. 5:154, f. 198. Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. V (1730)

³ Foster Hutchinson: PRO. A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:96; A.O. 13:137; A.O. 12:10, ff. 148-155; A.O. 12:105, f. 37. Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XI (1743), pp. 237-241.

⁴ William Browne: PRO. A.O. 13:43; A.O. 13:90; A.O. 13:50. Browne's (cont.)

"We consider it as our strongest duty to contribute our aid in promoting the peace, order, and security of the Town, and are willing to be employed to these good purposes, in the ways and means suited to our capacities. To that end, we cheerfully accept the offers of his Excellency, and now Voluntarily Associate for the purposes mentioned in his Proclamation; hereby promising, that such of us as he shall think proper or able to perform the duties therein required will be formed into Companies, as therein mentioned, and will, to the utmost of our power, faithfully perform those services, and punctually discharge the trust reposed in us; and that such as are not able to go through those duties will freely contribute our proportions, according to our abilities, to raise a sum of money for promoting this salutary purpose, to be applied to the use of those who are able, in such manner as the General, or those he may appoint, may think proper." ¹

4 cont.: grandfather was an associate of the famous Muscongus Patent, one of the largest colonial land-grants in Maine. See: York Deeds, X, p. 245 for names of the Patentees, and Burrage, Beginnings of Colonial Maine, p. 204. Although not themselves original owners of the Muscongus Patent, the family of Col. Elisha Jones - particularly his eldest son, Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay, and his cousin, Captain Ichabod Jones' rebel son John Coffin Jones (Harvard, 1768) - over several generations had an important part in the sale and disposition of this vast property.

For Rebel overtures to William Browne, see the diary of his old friend Judge Samuel Curwen of the Salem Admiralty Court: The Journal and Letters of Samuel Curwen, 1775-1783, p. 505.

¹ Force, American Archives, Series IV, Vol. 3, pp. 1247-8.

Howe's Loyalist Association of October, 1775, must have been signed by many of the Loyalists with misgivings, however much they agreed with its objectives. That influential group, the "fighting Tory Colonels," including Col. Elisha Jones (Weston) Brig. Timothy Ruggles (Hardwick) Col. Thomas Gilbert (Taunton) ^{Edward Winslow (Plymouth)} and Nathaniel Ray Thomas (Marshfield), who despite the threats of rebel mobs had enlisted loyal companies of militia and worked to arm and organize the Loyalists living in the country, would have had reservations about that part of the Association which makes no mention of the very real Loyalist military effort both prior to Lexington, and in Boston under Gage thereafter - and, indeed, charges the Loyalists with military "neglect":

"...From a disposition to continue quiet and obedient Subjects, we have generally neglected the use of Arms, while those of different characters and sentiments have been diligently endeavouring to improve themselves in that art..."

From such misleading evidence as Howe's Association of October 30, 1775, has grown the myth - spread by the Whigs in America and in England, only very recently to be questioned by historians - that the Loyalists in Massachusetts (and in other colonies) made no real effort to organize for their own defense and the protection of the established government,¹ Gage's reforms of the Massachusetts Militia in the summer of 1774 - long advocated by Col. Elisha Jones and other "Men of Government" - late as they were politically, had nevertheless been built upon by the loyal militia leaders such as Col. Jones of the Third Middlesex Regiment who, on Nov. 14, 1774 in his own town of Weston only a few miles up Charles River from Boston, ~~was~~ enlisted a loyal company of 55 men "To learn Military Skill to defend His Majesty's Authority." That the success of the Loyal Massachusetts Militia before

1 There is no study of the loyal regiments and town companies in Massachusetts before Lexington, or of the services of Brig. Ruggles' corps of Associators in Boston from April, 1775 until the Evacuation, March 17, 1776. The best discussions are those of Clifford Shipton (who was able to make only a very limited use of British records) brief though they are, in his sketches of Tory Harvard Graduates.

Ruggles' Associators are dismissed as of little account even in such recent works as those of Paul H. Smith: "The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organization and Strength," William & Mary Quarterly, Vol. XXV, 1968, pp. 259-277; and his Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy, 1964.

Lexington was not greater than it was derives much from the years of neglect of the militia and governmental practice of Thomas Hutchinson. It was Hutchinson who, exercising the powers of governor through political maneuver, political compromise, and an excess - even for Massachusetts - of political patronage, avoided shows of force at any cost - which ended by depriving the civil power, represented in the towns by the magistrate and the constable, of their final sanction - the local militia - in upholding the law.¹ So long as Col. Elisha Jones, sitting as a magistrate, had had the protection of the Weston Company of Loyal Militia, he had been able to maintain order in the town and to prosecute members of a Whig mob who wrecked the Golden Ball Tavern belonging to his cousin Isaac Jones in March, 1774.

The creation by the Tories of an effective military organization - whether militia or provincial forces ("colonial regulars" "on the Establishment") was the great fear of the rebels through the war, as the hatred of Tory units and the harsh treatment reserved for Tory prisoners from Washington downward - as experienced by Col. Jones' sons Josiah and Simeon at Concord Jail in 1775 - was to demonstrate. Howe's reorganization of Brig. Ruggles' corps of Boston Associates in October, 1775 was watched by rebel observers, civilian as well as military, including Deacon Timothy Newell of the Brattle Street Church,² and the journalist John Boyle who recorded it in his famous "Journal of Occurrences..."³

¹ Hutchinson, moreover, was later to dissociate himself from any attempts to raise Loyal militia or efforts by towns to seek the protection of regular troops, as in the case of Col. Nathaniel Ray Thomas of Marshfield, who, after Hutchinson's recall, had asked Gage for the detachment of troops under Capt. Balfour which, together with Col. Thomas' loyal militia, kept the peace in Plymouth County until they were recalled to Boston after Lexington. In London Hutchinson heard Lord Camden, speaking for the opposition against the Restraining Bill, charge that Hutchinson had so packed the town of Marshfield with Justices of the Peace of his own choice that the town was able to mislead Gage and the Ministry that people in the interior (sic) of Massachusetts welcomed the aid of regular troops. "Upon mentioning my name most of the bishops and many lords who sat with their backs to me turned about and looked in my face," Hutchinson recorded in his diary. "But alas!" he continued, Marshfield "appears by the map to be a town upon the sea coast...(and) it happened that I never made a justice in that town whilst I was in the government..." Diary and Letters, I, pp. 409-410.

² Journal of Timothy Newell, MHS Collections, 4 Ser., Vol. 1, p. 269.

³ John Boyle, "Journal of Occurrences in Boston," NEHGR, Vol. LXXXV, 1931, p. 26.

HOWE'S LOYAL ASSOCIATORS

"After the nineteenth of April when the Blockade of Boston commenced, your Memorialist was requested to do military duty in the Town, and was commissioned by General Gage the 5th July 1775 to command a company of Associated Loyalists and did duty with them in the Town till General Gage left Boston, and the command of the Army fell to General Howe who on 31st October 1775 thought fit to make out a new Commission to your Memorialist for the like purpose..."

Captain James Putnam, of Worcester¹

For the sons of Col. Elisha Jones in Boston, as for other members of that small but zealous group of young Tory refugees, most of them only a few years out of Harvard, army service, at least for the duration of the rebellion, offered the best prospect of a career. As in the long struggle known in Massachusetts as the French-and-Indian Wars - the last of which, it is important to note, had ended not a generation before - the hope of the Tory colonial of good family bent upon soldiering was to gain a commission in a regular regiment. Failing that (usually for lack of vacancies, or, most often for Tory refugees in Boston, out of it as so many were from their usual sources of income, for the money needed to purchase) the goal was a provincial regiment "upon the establishment" where financial rewards were greater, and in Massachusetts like the other American colonies chronically short of specie, officers had the much sought after advantage of half-pay at the end of their active service.²

¹ Memorial of James Putnam. PRO. A.O.13:49.pt.II. Putnam's commissions as an Associated Loyalist, however, are not with his Loyalist papers.

² For Billy Williams and others in Col. Jones' family who lived on the exposed western frontier in Berkshire County, and who made a career of the army in the French Wars, half-pay was an important consideration. A captain in Sir William Pepperrell's (his wife's uncle) Fifty-First Regiment (on the establishment with half-pay) Billy passed on to his cousin Ephriam Williams (Col. Jones' nephew) a captain-lieutenant's commission offered by Gov. Shirley in Feb. 1755 for the ill-fated Crown Point expedition. It was on this campaign that Ephriam (who gave his name and fortune to Williams College) was killed at the Bloody Morning Scout at Lake George on Sept. 8th. Israel Williams MSS, MHS, Vol. I, p. 113.

For more than three years, and at least since the "Powder Alarm" of September 1, 1774, Brig. Timothy Ruggles had pressed both the military command in Boston and the government in England for authority to raise in Massachusetts a provincial regiment of Loyalists "to be upon the establishment." In September and October, 1775 (as in April and July, 1775) these negotiations were once again rumoured in Boston to have been successful.¹ The views and expectations of Col. Jones' sons in Boston - who were to follow the fortunes of the army through the war - were doubtless reflected in the enthusiastic letter written by another member of the "Harvard Circle," Samuel Paine, son of the old family friend Judge Timothy Paine of Worcester, who had escaped to Boston just before the battle of Bunker Hill on June 17th. On October 2nd Samuel Paine wrote to his brother Dr. William Paine the Worcester physician and apothecary and soon himself to become a Loyalist refugee in Boston: "Four new Regiments are Raising, and to be Raised in America one of which Colonel Ruggles is to have the Command of, and with the Appointment of the Officers perhaps I may stand a Very Good Chance for a Commission and it will be a pretty affair, as all the Officers will Continue upon half Pay, when disbanded they are to be upon the British Establishment."²

¹ Ruggles to Israel Mauduit, Oct. 16, 1774. Dartmouth MSS. In April, 1775, before Lexington, news that in Jan. 1775 the Cabinet had approved Ruggles' proposals "to raise a corps of irregulars" had reached Boston, and with knowledge of this government support Ruggles had laid before Gage his plans for raising a regiment of 1,500 Loyalists. Ruggles to John Pownall, April 18, 1775. See above, Chapter

² For Judge Timothy Paine, see sketch in Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1748, Vol. XII.

On Oct. 30, 1775, Samuel Paine was commissioned Second Lieutenant in Captain Abijah Willard's First Company of Associated Loyalists. Abijah Willard Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:51. Samuel's letter to his brother William, dated Oct. 2, 1775, is in the William Paine MSS., Vol. I, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. For Samuel Paine, see: Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1771, Vol. XVII, pp. 580-583.

Dr. William Paine was in London in October, 1775. With James Putnam he was author of the "Worcester Protest" of 52 Tories there against the dumping of tea in Boston Harbour, and after the mobbing of his father sailed for England in Sept., 1774. In Oct. 1775 Paine was appointed apothecary to the "Detached Hospital, North America," and he served through the war as a military doctor. See Kemble Papers, New York Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. I, p. 362; Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, 1768, Vol. XVII, pp. 67-75.

Once again, however, the young "fighting Tories" in Boston were to be disappointed. Brig. Ruggles' Loyal Associators, although re-commissioned and reorganized by Howe at the end of October, 1775, remained throughout the siege of Boston what they had been under Gage: a corps of militia. The explanation made later by Edward Winslow of Plymouth, appointed by Gage in May, 1775 Collector for the Port of Boston and Register of Probate for Suffolk County, who served in the Associators as a Lieutenant, and often quoted, however, is less than candid. Winslow, more the politician and less the man of principle than Timothy Ruggles, later glossed over the important but narrow considerations of military policy that set Howe against Ruggles' proposals for a regiment of Provincials on their merits, and, of great significance in the later conduct of the war, Winslow wrote nothing at all about Howe's continuing personal animus against Ruggles for his close connections in London with Lord George Germain and other Tories in the government:

"I have not forgotten with what alacrity the idea was adopted by many of the most respectable characters among the refugees. Such, however, was the situation of the British Army, their distress for provisions and other perplexing circumstances, than an effort to raise Recruits there would have been impolitic and must have proved ineffectual..."¹

¹ W.O. Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, (New Brunswick Hist. Soc., 1901) p. 42.

At New York on July 30, 1776, Edward Winslow was appointed "Muster-Master General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the Colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida," with the rank of lieutenant colonel. This commission was signed by Stephen Kemble, Deputy Adjutant General. "General Orders by Maj. Gen. the Hon. William Howe" Kemble Papers, New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p.

After the War Winslow settled in New Brunswick where he became a judge of the Supreme Court. He died at Frederickton May 13, 1815. See Stockton and Lawrence, The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times, pp. 119-148; and Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XVI, pp. 274-9. Class of 1765.

Lord George Germain, who was to become an important patron of Col. Elisha Jones' soldier sons, and who favoured a vigorous prosecution of the war against the rebels, did not finally succeed the dilatory Lord Dartmouth as Secretary of State for the American Colonies until Dec. 10, 1775 - too late to have a decisive influence upon the conduct of affairs in Boston before the evacuation in the spring.¹ From the standpoint of Col. Elisha Jones and his loyal family it is of the greatest importance that Germain, who would bear the main burden in directing the war in America for more than the next six years, took office with the respect and trust of such "fighting Tories" in Massachusetts² - and experienced veterans of the French wars - as Brig. Timothy Ruggles, who corresponded with him to the end of the conflict, and for all that the Whig generals, Howe in command at Boston, and his aide, Henry Clinton, so noisily and continually fulminated against him for alleged cowardice at Minden.³

¹ In London Thomas Hutchinson wrote on Jan. 27, 1776, that Germain "...has the character of a great man, and I verily believe is a true friend of both countries." Hutchinson to _____. Jan. 27, 1776. Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS 2661, p. 171.

² In one of his last despatches, to Clinton in New York and just before leaving office, in February, 1782, Germain gave Clinton authority to hand over command to Gen. Robertson, and once more urged that the safety of Loyalists in places of refuge in the south - at Charleston (SC) and Savannah (Ga.) should not be sacrificed to over-protection of the influential Loyalist colony at New York. Germain left office Feb. 9, 1782. PRO. CO 5:104, f. 181.

³ The "Ghost" of Germain's alleged cowardice at Minden was to hang over the remainder of his public career. His slowness to attack with the cavalry of the right wing - on orders from Ferdinand of Brunswick - resulted in Germain's severe rebuke in General Orders and later dismissal from the service. Political "collusion" to bring about Germain's downfall - at the instigation of Field Marshal Lord Ligonier some believe - has never been established. It is interesting to note, however, the antipathy of Henry Clinton, later to command at New York, for Germain and all connected with him, including Timothy Ruggles. Clinton had been aide-de-camp to Ferdinand of Brunswick during the Seven Years War.

The assessment of Germain made by Gen. John Burgoyne early in 1775 shows how solidly based were the hopes of Ruggles and the Boston Tories who, after the ineptitude of Lexington and the folly of military blood-letting at Bunker Hill, set out for everyone to see from Boston, looked to Germain among Lord North's coterie of politicians in England for effective leadership in putting an end to rebellion and civil chaos. Burgoyne met with Germain while canvassing for appointment to succeed William Tryon - unpopular and suspected of secret dealings with the rebels - as governor of New York,¹ and he later wrote that Germain "...had more information about the subject, more enlarged sentiments, and more spirit than any of the Ministers with whom I had conversed...He acknowledged that he was in all consultations upon American measures; that indeed his (warm interest) had led him almost to offer himself to Lord North..."²

From the beginning of armed resistance to government in Massachusetts, and at least as early as the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1, 1774, Germain had regarded the arming of the Loyalists and their organization into provincial corps - as in the plans put forward to the North Ministry in the fall of 1774 by Brig. Timothy Ruggles - as a better answer to

¹In August, 1775, Governor Tryon ~~had~~ advised Dartmouth to withdraw the claim of Parliament to tax the American colonies in order to rally support for the Loyalists. Brit. Mus., ADD. MSS. 38650A, ff. 1-2. (miscellaneous);

²Memorandum by Burgoyne of how he was chosen to be sent to Boston (with Generals Howe and Clinton on the Cerberus that sailed from Portsmouth April 18, 1775) printed in De Fonblanque, ...John Burgoyne, 1876, pp. 120-32. Germain and Burgoyne "got on" well at this time: his "Reflections upon the War in America," written during his voyage to England in December, 1775, were used by Germain in planning the next year's campaign strategy, and his idea for an advance southward from Canada was material in his being given command of the fateful expedition that led to Saratoga in 1777. See De Fonblanque, ...John Burgoyne, 1876, p. 209.

As might be expected, Burgoyne was a notable patron of New England Tories who were active soldiers: Ephraim Jones (during the Siege of Boston a rebel prisoner in Great Barrington jail, and who later escaped to Canada) served as a commissary with Burgoyne, while his younger brother Jonas - perhaps the most able soldier of all Col. Jones' sons, and a veteran "of eleven actions" - was given an ensign's commission by Burgoyne in the 20th Regiment of Foot for gallantry in battle during the Saratoga campaign. PRO. A. O. 13:47; A. O. 13:50; A. O. 13:74.

the rebels than armies of regular troops that had to be transported with inevitable long delay across the Atlantic, and - as Germain all too clearly foresaw - with staggering problems of supply unthought of even in the last French war that had taxed government facilities to the limit.¹ Throughout his term of office as Secretary of State for the American Colonies in the North government, which began December 10, 1775, Germain regarded the strength and extent of popular loyalty to government as a critical factor in the conflict. Germain actively encouraged the raising of provincial corps, both military and to man the provincial privateer fleets, despite opposition and obstruction from the War Office and Admiralty and from prejudiced field commanders,² including notably Howe and Clinton, distrustful of colonial loyalties. The better to be informed, Germain, too, appointed colonials to posts of influence in England:³ Benjamin Thompson of Concord, colonel of New Hampshire militia and like Col. Jones' sons at Hinsdale (Judge Daniel, Josiah, and Simeon) a protege of Governor John Wentworth, who at the time of the Boston evacuation in March, 1776, sailed for London with despatches and intelligence reports of the strength and organization of Washington's army (prepared by Thompson himself) was promptly appointed by Germain to his own department as Secretary of the Province

¹ Stopford-Sackville Papers (Hist. MSS Commission) Vol. I, pp. 135-6.

² This is well illustrated in Germain's correspondence with "fighting Tories" such as Brig. Timothy Ruggles, and with field commanders in America. Clinton in particular was hostile both to Ruggles and Germain. When, after the occupation of New York Ruggles tried to see Clinton about his project for raising a Loyalist cavalry troop, he was abruptly refused an interview, and Ruggles wrote afterward to Germain that he would try again when there was a new commander-in-chief. Germain's letter approving and recommending Ruggles' project is still in MSS of Sir Henry Clinton, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

The Secretary at War in North's Cabinet until March, 1778, was Lord Barrington, an old antagonist of Germain, who had arranged his court-martial after Minden. On March 19, however, Lord Amherst, a friend of Germain's from childhood, was put in charge of the army with a seat in the Cabinet. Amherst was much respected by the Massachusetts Tories - and by Ruggles, - who soldiered with him among other places at the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point in 1759, where Ruggles commanded the Massachusetts troops. Ruggles referred to the "Noble spirit of General Amherst" in a letter of July 26, 1759. Chamberlain MSS, Boston Public Library, E 10.94. From Crown Point Amherst wrote to Gov. Thomas Pownall, Nov. 19, 1759, that Ruggles had done everything he could for the good of the service and that he was "a zealous, diligent, good man, and I should not do him justice if I did not mention him to you as such." Jones, Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1930, p. 251.

³ Germain had little time for Colonials who preferred to sit-out the
cont.

of Georgia.¹ It was Thompson, promoted to be Under Secretary of State in the American Department in September, 1780, who in particular was to recommend the outstanding services of Col. Elisha Jones and his sons to Lord George Germain.²

3 cont. fighting in London. Expatriate loyalists there of the type of Judge Samuel Curwen of Salem (thought by some to be more than half a rebel) disliked Germain and belittled his appointment of Benjamin Thompson. "This young man," Curwen wrote in his Journal, May 24, 1781, "is native of Massachusetts, was shop lad to J.A. my next neighbour ever appeared active, good natured, and sensible; by a strange concurrence of Evils is now under Secretary to American Secretary of State..." Andrew Oliver, ed., The Journal of Samuel Curwen, 1972, p. 758.

¹ Thompson's "Observations" on the army of Washington, dated Nov. 4, 1775, are in Stopford-Sackville Papers (Hist. MSS. Commission) Vol. II, pp. 13-18. Thompson's career is summarized in Jones, The Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1930, pp. 275-6. See also: George Edward Ellis, Memoir of Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford, 1871, 104ff. (The Ellis MSS relating to Thompson are in the Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston); and Lewis Einstein, Divided Loyalties, 1933.

² Benjamin Thompson to Sir Grey Cooper, Whitehall, April 10, 1781. PRO: A.O. 13:47; Lord George Germain to Sir Grey Cooper, Whitehall, May 29, 1781. PRO: A.O. 13:47.

Germain wrote: "Mr Jones (Stephen, then in London) has been so strongly recommended to me by Persons well acquainted with the Services and Sufferings of himself and his family, and he has procured such respectable testimonials in his favour, (which are annexed to his Memorial to the Lords of the Treasury) that I cannot refuse to comply with the request he has made to me to recommend him to your protection. This case appears to me to be very deserving of their Lordships attention and I should be much obliged to you if you would assist him by bringing forward his Memorial."

Stephen Jones' Memorial, dated London, April 2, 1781, is in PRO: A.O. 13:47

Resigning his office under Germain in October, 1781, to take command (as Lt. Col. Commandant) of the newly-raised provincial regiment the King's American Dragoons (of which Prince William Henry - later William IV - was made Colonel) at New York, Thompson took Stephen Jones, commissioned Cornet in this corps, with him on his staff from London when he sailed soon afterward for America. See also: PRO. H.O. 42:2 and H.O. 42:3.

Howe's reorganization of the Loyalist military corps in Boston in October-November, 1775, with more than a century of New England Militia experience to draw upon, was to set the pattern for later use of the Loyalists - usually referred to as "Provincials" - in the American colonies until the end of the war. Thenceforth and wherever practicable the colonial-born were formed into separate corps, sometimes with colonials as officers, often with a "mix" of regulars or "old country" men. Under Howe's reorganization of the Fall of 1775, Brig. Timothy Ruggles' corps of Loyal Associators of Boston - in which Col. Elisha Jones' sons were to serve throughout the Siege - were reduced in number from five companies to three to allow for the formation of two new and separate ethnic companies under direct British command. These were the Loyal North British Volunteers, mainly Scots

¹ Ruggles' five companies of Associators and their officers are listed in the roster dated July 5, 1775 in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

The captains of the two new companies (the Loyal North British Volunteers and the Loyal Irish Volunteers) had both served as officers in Ruggles' Loyal Associators under Gage: James Anderson as 2nd Lieut. in Capt. Adino Paddock's Third Company, and James Forrest as 1st Lieut. in Ruggles' own First Company.

² First Lieutenant David Black of the Loyal North British Volunteers claimed that this "...was the first Company raised in America in defence of the Constitution..." which was misleading. It was the first of the Loyalist Corps in Boston under Howe to appear in the General Orders - October 29, 1775 - followed by Ruggles' Loyal Associators on November 17 and the Loyal Irish Volunteers on December 7th. See the Memorial of David Black, PRO. A.O.13:50.

merchants settled in Boston, under Captain James Anderson,¹ and the Loyal Irish Volunteers, commanded by Captain James Forrest.² The duties, organization, rations, arms and equipment were comparable to those of Brigadier Timothy Ruggles' Loyal American Associates.

With the reorganization of Ruggles' corps of Loyalists and the creation of three distinct Loyalist commands, however, some form of distinction for each became necessary. In addition

¹ According to Howe's Orders of Oct. 29, 1775 this corps was organized as follows: "Some North British Merchants residing here with their adherents having offered their services for the defense of the place, the Commander-in-Chief had order'd them to be armed and directed them to be formed into a company called the 'Loyal North British Volunteers. They will be distinguished by a blue bonnet with St. Andrews Cross upon it. Mr. James Anderson to be Captain, William Blair and John Fleming Lieutenants. The Guard Room and Alarm Post to be near Fennel (Faneuil) Hall. The Company will mount a Guard at gunfiring (tap-to was at 8p.m.) and patrol the streets within a certain district and will take into custody any suspicious or disorderly persons found in the streets at improper hours. "See also Howe's Orders of Nov. 13, 1775, relating to service of this and the other Loyalist corps at fires in the town of Boston. Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 254. The best account of the activities of the Loyal North British Volunteers is to be found in the papers of a Loyalist who was later commissioned in it as a Lieutenant, Boston merchant David Black, who like several of Col. Jones' sons settled after the War in Nova Scotia. PRO. A.O. 13:50; A.O. 12:10, ff. 262-70.

² Howe's Orders of Dec. 7, 1775, are as follows: "Some Irish Merchants residing in Town, with their Adherents, having offered their Service for the Defense of the Place, the Commander-in-Chief has ordered them to be armed, and directs their being formed into a Company, and to be called the Loyal Irish Volunteers. They will be distinguished by a White Cockade.

"Mr. James Forrest, Captain; 1st. Lieuts. William Granville Hoare, John Brandon; 2nd. Lieuts. John Ramage, Jonathan Sterns, Ralph Cunningham.

"Their Guard Room and Alarm Post to be near Mill Bridge. This Company will mount a Guard every Evening and Patrol the Streets, and will take into Custody all Suspicious and Disorderly Persons found in the Streets at Improper hours. The Commissary General will issue Rations of Provisions to this Company according to the Returns signed by Capt. Forrest." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, 270-1.

Capt. James Forrest's MSS show that his company numbered 97 men and 6 officers, including himself. Forrest was born in Ireland and settled in Boston as a merchant in 1761. PRO. A.O. 12:74, ff. 319-324; A.O. 12:101, ff. 183, 273; A.O. 13:73; A.O. 13:100.

to the basic green Loyalist uniform - for those who had it - worn at least as early as mid-August, 1775,¹ the Loyal North British Volunteers wore a blue bonnet with a St. Andrews cross upon it,² and the Loyal Irish Volunteers a white cockade in their (cocked) hats, the old Jacobite badge of Prince Charles Edward Stuart.³

Col. Elisha Jones' sons, who served as officers with Ruggles' Loyal Associators under Howe, would have worn their badge, a white scarf around the left arm. In his orders of November 15, 1775 to Captain Francis Green, in whose Third Company Josiah Jones was First Lieutenant, Brig. Timothy Ruggles stipulated that "Upon all duty" they were "to wear a white scarf round the left arm to prevent accident."⁴ The Associator Companies were also subject to the further uniform order made by Howe on November 17th (the same day as the formation of the Loyal American Associators was posted in Howe's General Orders) for all "Guards to mount in leggings or cloth gaiters...The Corps that are not provided with them to provide themselves as soon as possible."⁵

¹ For the uniforms of Brig. Timothy Ruggles' Loyal Associators under Gage, see above, Chapter Joseph Reed (Washington's Military Secretary) to Thomas Bradford, Cambridge, August 24, 1775. William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Vol. I, p. 120.

In 1776 the basic Loyalist uniform was a green coat, white waistcoat and breeches, a cocked hat, dark brown gaiters, with accoutrements of regular army design. Clothing and equipment was sent to the American colonies for 8,000 Provincial troops in 1776. See Report of John Robinson (Treasury) to William Knox, July 30, 1777. PRO. T.27:31.

² Howe, "General Orders..." Oct. 29, 1775. New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 254.

³ Howe, "General Orders..." Dec. 7, 1775. Ibid., p. 270.

⁴ Brig. Timothy Ruggles to Francis Green, Nov. 15, 1775. Francis Green MSS., PRO. A.O. 13:45

⁵ Howe, "General Orders..." Nov. 17, 1775. New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 252-253.

No mention has been found of drummers and fifers with Ruggles' or the other Loyalist Corps during the Siege of Boston, but a rebel bandsman, Benjamin Smith of Needham (Mass.) in 1853, aged 93 recalled the air "The White Cockade" - like "Yankee Doodle" - were among the tunes learned "from hearing the British play them in the distance." Boston Historical Magazine, (July, 1859) p. 220.

As under Gage, Brig. Timothy Ruggles' corps of Loyal Associators was placed under the direct orders of Lord Percy, who later was to write a glowing endorsement of the military services of Col. Jones and his sons during the siege of Boston.¹ Two of the captains of the three companies had held this rank in the Associators under Gage: Abijah Willard of Lancaster, appointed Captain of the new First Company, and James Putnam of Worcester, Captain of the new Second Company.² Captain of the Third Company was Francis Green, a Bostonian and Harvard graduate with a record of distinguished service as an officer in the 40th Regiment of Foot at Louisburg, Martinique, and Havanna, and who had settled in his native town as a merchant after the French Wars.³ The Chaplain, as before, was the Rev. John Troutbeck, assistant to the Rev. Henry Caner at King's Chapel on Tremont Street.⁴

Col. Elisha Jones, probably because of his duties as Forage Commissioner, held no command in the Associators under Howe, but of the total of 19 officers in Ruggles' corps (each company had a complement of two first lieutenants and three second lieutenants) however, two were his sons: Josiah, First Lieutenant in Captain Francis Green's Third Company, and Stephen, Second Lieutenant in Captain

¹ Memorandum by Lord Percy dated Grosvenor Square, April 8, 1781. Memorial of Stephen, Josiah, Jonas, and Simeon Jones, PRO. A. O. 13:47.

² Roster of Ruggles' Five Companies of Associators, Gage Papers, dated July 5, 1775. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

³ Sketches of Francis Green are in Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, (class of 1760) Vol. XIV, pp. 610-617; and Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution (1864) Vol. I, pp. 492-3. Green wrote his memoirs, which Sabine used, but which Clifford Shipton writing a century later could not find. For Green's Commission and other papers relating to his activities in Boston see PRO. A. O. 13:45 and A. O. 13:73.

⁴ For the Rev. John Troutbeck, see petitions and memorials of his widow Sarah, daughter of the prosperous distiller John Gould of Boston: PRO. A. O. 13:24; A. O. 13:49; A. O. 13:74; A. O. 13:137.

James Putnam's Second Company.

THE LOYAL AMERICAN ASSOCIATORS OF BOSTON as reorganized
by Howe, November, 1775. 1

First Company Commander: Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick *

Captain: Abijah Willard of Lancaster

First Lieutenants: Thomas Beaman of Petersham
George Leonard of Boston

Second Lieutenants: Samuel Paine of Worcester *
James Putnam, Jr. of Worcester *
Thomas Danforth of Cambridge

Second Company

Captain: James Putnam of Worcester *

First Lieutenants: John Sargent of Salem *
Daniel Oliver of Hardwick *

Second Lieutenants: Jeremiah Dummer Rogers of Littleton *
John Ruggles of Hardwick
Stephen Jones * of Weston

Third Company

Captain: Francis Green * of Boston

First Lieutenants: Josiah Jones of Hinsdale (New Hampshire)
Ebenemzer Spooner

Second Lieutenants: Abraham Savage of Boston
William Chandler * of Worcester
Nathaniel Coffin of Boston

* Harvard Graduates

¹ This roster was published in Howe's General Orders on Nov. 17, 1775. Howe, "General Orders..." New York Historical Society Collections, 1883, p. 252. A roster of the First Company is in the Loyalist papers of Captain Abijah Willard, PRO.A.O. 13:51; and of the Third Company in the Loyalist papers of Captain Francis Green, PRO.A.O. 13:45.

The Loyal American Associators, as under Gage, were led by Colonial veterans of the French Wars. With the Howe reorganization, however, the officer posts were dominated by three families, each of which, like the Joneses of Weston, gave two officers to the Corps. The others were the Ruggleses of Hardwick, Brigadier Timothy as Commandant and his son John (who on the night after the Battle of Lexington escaped from Weston to Boston with Josiah Jones) a second Lieutenant with Stephen Jones in Capt. James Putnam's Second Company; and the Putnam's of Worcester, James Putnam, Captain of the Second Company, and his son James, barely a year out of Harvard (1774), second lieutenant in the First Company of Captain Abijah Willard. The services of Col. Elisha Jones' sons with the Boston Associators were to be the foundation of an outstanding military record by a single Colonial Loyalist family that was to last out the Revolution.¹ Lord Percy, who with Brigadier Ruggles, and Generals Gage and Howe, among others, supported the Joneses Loyalist claims, later wrote that Col. Jones' sons "...voluntarily entered as officers in a special corps formed at Boston during the Blockade under the command of General Ruggles; and which corps was placed under my Orders; and that during that time, I had frequent occasion of remarking & highly approving their Zeal & Services."²

Although Ruggles' Loyal American Associators was not gazetted in Howe's General Orders until Nov. 17, 1775, reorganization of the Corps appears to have been largely completed some time before, as the dates of two of the three known surviving company commissions

¹ See Benjamin Thompson (Under Secretary of State in the American Department) to Sir Grey Cooper, Whitehall, April 10, 1781; Lord George Germain to Sir Grey Cooper, Whitehall, May 29, 1781. PRO.A.O.13/47.

² Testimonial of Lord Percy, April 8, 1781. Memorial of Stephen Jones, PRO.A.O.13/47.

show. One of these was for Captain Abijah Willard and the junior officers of the First Company, dated Oct. 30, 1775¹, and the other for Captain Francis Green and the officers of the Third Company, dated November 1st, in which Josiah Jones was commissioned one of two first lieutenants. These commissions, now with the Loyalist papers of the company captains (that of Captain James Putnam and the Second Company is missing) were signed and sealed by Howe and countersigned by his Secretary, Captain Robert Mackenzie, in whose office Josiah Jones after his escape from Concord jail had been appointed clerk.

SEAL By His Excellency The Honourable William Howe
Major General and Commander in Chief of all His
Majesty's Forces within the Colonies laying on the
Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida
inclusive &c &c

2

I do hereby appoint you Francis Green Esquire to be Captain, Ebenezer Spooner and Josiah Jones Gentlemen to be First Lieutenants, Abraham Savage, William Chandler, and Nathaniel Coffin to be Second Lieutenants of the Third Company of Loyal Associated Volunteers for His Majesty's Service in this Town, to be commanded by the Hon. Brigadier General Ruggles, subject to my Orders, or to the Officer Commanding in Boston for the time being, and they are required to obey you according to the Terms of their Association.

Given under my Hand and Seal at
Head Quarters in Boston this 1st Day of November, 1775

W. Howe

By His Excellency's Command
Robert Mackenzie "

¹ Loyalist Papers of Capt. Abijah Willard, PRO. A.O. 13:51.

² Loyalist Papers of Capt. Francis Green, PRO. A.O. 13:45.

Apart from publishing the roster of officers, Howe's official notice of Ruggles' Loyal Associators, dated Head Quarters, Boston, Nov. 17th, 1775, was brief, and like the General's Loyalist Proclamation of October 28th, and the Loyalist Association Paper itself, made no reference to the earlier history of this volunteer corps under Gage. "Many of His Majesty's Loyal American Subjects," the announcement read, "residing in Boston with their Adherents, having offered their Service for the Defence of the Place, the Commander in Chief has ordered them to be armed, and directed their being formed into three Companies under the Command of the Hon. Timothy Ruggles, to be called the Loyal American Associators; they will be Distinguished by a white sash round the left arm." As under Gage Ruggles' Associators were unpaid, but, as Howe's notice concluded, "The Commissary General will give rations of Provisions to those Companies according to the returns signed by the Commandant."¹ These soldiers' rations of food and fuel, both in ever shorter supply as the New England winter drew on, and priced in the market out of reach of refugees who had been forced to leave most of their property behind them, were to be the saving of many a Loyalist family in the besieged Boston of the winter of 1775.

The various units of British regular troops were stationed and barracked at strategic points around Boston, and guard rooms and alarm posts were appointed as well for the three companies of Loyal Associators by Brig. Ruggles under orders from Howe as commander in chief, although their locations in the case of the Associators were never published in Howe's General Orders.² While the posting of only one of the

¹ Howe, "General Orders..." New York Historical Society Collections, 1883, pp. 252-3.

² The assignments of the two new companies of Volunteers, however, appear in Howe's Orders of Dec. 28, 1775: "In case of the alarm Guns being fired, the Corps first to form on their Regimental Parades... North British Volunteers, Long Wharf; Irish Company, Storehouses near the Dock..." Ibid., pp. 283, 284.

Richard Frothingham's The Siege of Boston (1849), still the best account and notable for its careful detail and lack of political bias, gives little more than a paragraph to the Loyalist corps in Boston under Howe, and his only source for the Associators was Howe's "formation" order of Nov. 17th. Loyalists and especially their military organizations, a political liability to the rebels during the War, were "forbidden" subjects when Frothingham wrote, and the opportunity then still to record first-hand accounts of the Loyalist activities in Boston during the siege was missed. See The Siege of Boston, p. 279.

Associator companies is positively known, this one, however, is of great importance to the history of Col. Elisha Jones and his family during the latter months of the Siege, for it was that of Capt. Francis Green's Third Company in which Josiah Jones was First Lieutenant. "I have it in mind to acquaint you," wrote Brig. Ruggles to Capt. Green on Nov. 15th, "that the General expects for the (present) you can take charge of the District about Liberty Tree and the Lanes and Alleys and Wharves adjacent..."¹

This was in the "South End" (Boston then had three main parts, the other two called the "Middle District" and the "North End") which adjoined Boston Neck and was most exposed to rebel cannon fire from Roxbury Heights. The South End district, which took in the 12th, 11th, and 10th Wards of Boston (going northward) extended from the Town Gates on Boston Neck, heavily fortified at the beginning of the Siege by Gage, and strengthened and reinforced by Howe in the fall of 1775, thence around Boston harbour to just beyond Griffin's Wharf, and northward to Boston Common. The "South End" was then the most rural and in many ways attractive part of the town, with fields and orchards and meadows between the houses, many of them elegant and spacious, the homes of rich merchants like the famous diarist, churchwarden of Trinity, and Grand Master of the Masons, John Rowe.² If, as seems probable, the stationing of the other two Associator companies followed sequence, the Second Company of Capt. James Putnam - in which Stephen Jones was one of the second lieutenants - was in the "Middle District," and that of Capt. Abijah Willard's First Company in the seaward and teeming crooked maze of streets and ancient houses that was the "North End."

¹ Brig. Ruggles to Capt. Francis Green, Nov. 15, 1775. Francis Green MSS., PRO. A. 0. 13:45.

² For the political divisions of Boston at this time see: Richard Frothingham, History of the Siege of Boston, 1849, pp. 29-32; and the best topographical description, by Annie Haven Thwing, The Crooked and Narrow Streets of Boston (1920), with maps facing pages 26, 78, 152. The Diary of John Rowe gives much detail of the South End before and during the Siege as does the "Introduction" to the published edition by Edward Pierce, Anne Rowe Cunningham. Letters and Diary of John Rowe, 1903.

Each Associator company was assigned a Guard Room, which served as the command post for those on duty, and an Alarm Post, the rendezvous of all in the company at the signal of a rebel attack upon the town, fire, or other emergency, and given by the firing of the three Alarm Guns on Beacon Hill. (These fired the daily "Morning" and "Evening" (curfew) signal guns.)¹ In his instructions to Captain Green of the Third Company on Nov. 15th, Brig. Ruggles wrote: "I am commanded to signify it to you that the General had order'd, that you take a Room for the comfortable reception of your Company as near as may be to the centre of your District," that is, the Liberty Tree, "without interfering with any buildings appropriated for the Quarters of the officers of the Army or Barracks for the Troops..."² Ruggles referred here to the 52nd Regiment, which, after its arrival at Boston from Quebec the end of October, 1774, had been "quartered in some distillery houses near Liberty Tree..."³

Symbolically enough, when Lt. Josiah Jones' Third Company of Loyal Associators took up quarters there in November, 1775, the notorious "Liberty Tree", since the riotous Whig opposition to the Stamp Act the meeting place of the Boston "Sons of Liberty", was but a stump. "Liberty Tree" had been a giant and venerable elm, the largest of a group which stood in an enclosure at Deacon Elliot's Corner, at the junction of Orange (now Washington) Street, ^{Essex Street,} Newbury Street, and Frog Lane (Boylston Street), just over half a mile from the Town House. Beneath the spreading branches of this grove there was space and cool

¹ For the Alarm Guns, see Howe's General Orders of Dec. 11, 1775. Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 272.

² Brig. Timothy Ruggles to Capt. Francis Green, ^{Nov. 15, 1775,} Green MSS. PRO. A.O. 13:45.

³ Diary kept by Lt. Martin Hunter of the 52nd Regiment, published as the Journal of General Sir Martin Hunter... (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 7-8. It is particularly unfortunate that Hunter made no direct reference (in the printed version of his diary) to the Third Company of Associators with whom night patrols and other duties in the district of "Liberty Tree" were shared. Hunter mentions, among others, service with the "Neck Guard" at nearby Boston Neck on the fortifications adjoining the Boston town gates.

Howe's General Orders of Dec. 28, 1775, directed, on the alarm guns being fired, units to muster on their Regimental Parades: "...52nd Liberty Tree." Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 284.

summer shade for comfortable gatherings of hundreds if ¹not thousands, and this place was known as "Liberty Hall".

It was the Massachusetts Loyalists who had cut down the Liberty Tree: for revenge and fire-wood. Of Col. Elisha Jones' sons, only Stephen is known to have been in Boston in August, 1775, when a First Lieutenant of Capt. James Putnam's Fourth Company of Associators, the lawyer Job Williams, a refugee from Taunton, earned his opprobrious place in Boston history by leading a squad of Loyalists that did the deed. If these included only men from the Fourth Company then Stephen Jones at best could only have been a spectator, however, for Loyalists were assigned to the Company rosters alphabetically, and the Fourth Company included only names beginning with the letters "M" to "R". It was perhaps because of this spirit of enterprise that, under Howe, Williams was given command of the 4-gun Boston Customs House Schooner which, during ²the siege, was used as a naval auxiliary against rebel shipping.

As had been the case since they were first raised after the Battle of Lexington, the principal duty of the Loyal Associators under Howe was to relieve the Regular troops of the onerous and fatiguing burden of night duty. In his orders to Capt. Green on Nov. 15, 1775, Brig. Ruggles affirmed "...the General expects...that by a constant patrolling party from Sunset to Sunrise, you prevent all Disorders within the District by either Signals, Fires, Thieves,

¹ Forbes, Paul Revere, (1942) pp. 101-102, 306, 371.

² Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. III, p. 472. For Job Williams, see the Memorial of Daniel Leonard, a fellow Loyalist and townsman of Taunton, in PRO. A.O. 13:47; Frothingham, Siege of Boston (1849) p. 278, note 1. The roster of the Loyal Associators' officers and five companies of rank-and file, dated July 5, 1775, is in the Gage MSS, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

Robbers, Housebreakers, or Rioters..."¹ For the Third Company of First Lieutenant Josiah Jones responsibility included "the District about Liberty Tree and the Lanes and Alleys and Wharves adjacent..."² For the most part rosters appear to have appointed duty for the men once every fifth night through the winter of 1775-6.

The Associators were armed while on regular duty. In his orders of November 15th Brig. Ruggles directed that, after he had set up the Third Company Guard Room, Capt. Green was "to apply to the Town Major for as many arms as may be necessary for carrying on the Service..."³ Town Major since his appointment July 10, 1775 was Capt. James Urquhart of the 14th Regiment of Foot (he was to serve for the remainder of the British stay in Boston). Like many a regular officer stationed in New England, too, he had married into a well-to-do colonial family: Urquhart's wife Hannah was a daughter of the Province Secretary of Massachusetts, Thomas Flucker of Charlestown, a Loyalist refugee in Boston.⁴

¹ There are many references to performing this night patrol duty in the Memorials of Loyalists who served in Ruggles' Associators during the siege of Boston: to name only a few, see Memorial of Stephen Jones, PRO.A.O.13:47; Adino Paddock, PRO.A.O.13:49; Walter Barrell (who by day worked in the Office of the Inspector of Imports and Exports), PRO.A.O.13:43.

Brig. Ruggles' orders of Nov. 15, 1775 to Capt. Green of the Third Company are in the Green MSS, PRO.A.O.13:45.

² Loc. Cit.

Howe's orders of Dec. 30, 1775 to the 52nd Regiment, stationed at Liberty Tree with the Third Company of Associators, directed their patrols "to visit Achmuty's Lane from Short Street to Liberty Tree, and all the Lanes leading to the Water." Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 285, 287.

³ Brig. Ruggles to Capt. Green, Nov. 15, 1775. Green MSS. PRO.A.O.13:45.

⁴ For Capt. James Urquhart's appointment as Town Major (in succession to Capt. Edward Cane) see "List of Warrants Granted by Gen. Gage and Maj. Gen. Howe for the Payment of Extraordinaries for the use of His Majesty's Forces serving in America between 9th of March and 31st Dec. 1775." PRO. T.1:513. The post was an "extra duty" for which additional pay was made. Among the Town Major's duties was the authorization of, and signing, of passes to enter and leave Boston: See Henry Pelham to Susanna Copley, July 23, 1775. Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham, 1739-1776 (1914) p. 346 Cont.

Standard equipment in the Army at this time was the smooth-bore "Brown Bess" musket: the so-called Short Land pattern with a 42-inch barrel, that in 1768 had replaced the heavier Long Land musket with a 46-inch barrel. At the beginning of the War, particularly, the Loyalists were armed with surplus weapons, and these were often the older models. For Loyalists pioneering the rifle at the Siege of Boston (before Ferguson's N.Y. trials) see above.

The Loyal Associators, though armed while carrying out regular duties, in the case of fire in the town were ordered to join the civilian population as fire-fighters without weapons. Throughout the siege the threat of incendiarism by rebels inside Boston, timed to coincide with an attack from without, was regarded by the British command as a danger of the first importance. Howe's General Orders of Nov. 18th set forth detailed procedures to be followed both by the military and civilians in case of fire:

"Upon the discovery of fire, notice is to be given as usual by the Ringing of Bells and cry of Fire in the streets, at which time the Regiments will immediately get under arms on their Regimental Parades, and wait there for further orders, unless when a fire may break out in the Quarters of a Regiment; and in that case the Corps is to quit the place to make room for the inhabitants, who are to repair to the fire with all the buckets in their possession, to give their assistance; Every householder putting up a light in a front window - A caution to be observed upon all alarms whatever. All persons failing to do so will be punished in a most exemplary manner. The Bells are not to ring more than one quarter of an hour..." ¹

The directions given in Howe's orders at this time specifically for the colonials in the Loyal Associators, however, suggest that in such emergencies they were not to be trusted with arms:

"All the Associated Companies, from the essential service they may be of are to attend the fires without arms, the Royal North British Volunteers excepted, who have been already appointed to a particular duty with arms..." ²

The other "ethnic" volunteer company, the Loyal Irish Volunteers, did not appear in Howe's Orders until December 7th. Three days before, on November 15th, Brig. Ruggles had instructed Capt. Green

¹ cont. Another of Capt. Urquhart's wife's sisters, however, Lucy, was married to Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller, just sent by Washington to arrange for transporting the heavy guns at Ft. Ticonderoga to Boston. (See below, Chapter) Knox later made what Urquhart's widow Hannah considered to be "unjust demands" upon her father Thomas Flucker's estate. See Flucker MSS. PRO.A.O.13:45.

¹ Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 254.

² Loc.Cit.

of Lt. Josiah Jones' Third Company: "In case of fires your Company Officers and Privates, to repair immediately to ye place without Arms to assist in extinguishing it..."¹

It must be said, nevertheless, that certain prominent Loyalists were given important responsibilities in the direction of fire-fighting, one of the civilian functions taken over by the military command from control by the Boston Selectmen. Appointed Chief Fireward (on Nov. 24, 1775) was the Boston merchant, veteran officer in the French Wars, corps commander in the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Boston, Adino Paddock, whom Gage had commissioned² Captain of the Third Company of Loyal Associators on July 5, 1775. Among Paddock's assistants as³ firewards were two more successful Boston merchants: Lewis Deblois and Samuel Rogers, a partner in the firm of Amory, Taylor, and Rogers.⁴ By Howe's orders of Nov. 18th

"The Firewards, the Engine men, and men acting under them, are not to be interrupted by any Officer or Soldier in the execution of their duty. The Firewards, known by red-painted staffs with the heads of brass, are to have the whole management and conduct of the Engines and People assembled to extinguish a fire. Neither are the inhabitants to be stopped or impeded in times of fires by the Military, unless they are armed, in which case they are to be taken into custody." ⁵

¹ Brig. Ruggles to Capt. Green, Green Papers. Nov. 15, 1775. PRO. A. O. 13:45.

² Paddock's commissions as Fireward (Nov. 24, 1775) and as Captain in Ruggles' Associators (July 5, 1775) are with his Loyalist papers. PRO. A. O. 13:75. The fullest biographic sketch of Adino Paddock is in Oliver A. Roberts, History of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, Vol. II, pp. 112-114.

³ Lewis Deblois Loyalist papers are in PRO. A. O. 13:44. See also Arthur W. H. Eaton, "The DeBlois Family" Old Boston Families (1913) pp. 3-7.

⁴ In his Memorial Samuel Rogers, who had done duty with Ruggles' Associators, referred to the "...confidence reposed in him by the Commander-in-Chief, who, at a time when there was great apprehension that the Town of Boston would be fired by the Enemy which invested it, appointed your Memorialist one of the few persons who were to have the whole Conduct and management of the Engines and People..." Rogers MSS. PRO. A. O. 13:48.

⁵ Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 254.

THE TORY JONESES RETURN TO HARVARD,
OCTOBER, 1775

"After God had carried us safe to New England,
and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries
for our liveli-hood, rear'd convenient places for
Gods worship, and setld the Civill Government: One
of the next things we longed for, and looked after
was to advance Learning, and perpetuate it to
Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry
to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall
lie in the dust ... the Colledge was, by common
consent, appointed to be at Cambridge, (a place
very pleasant and accomodate) and is called
(according to the name of the first founder)
Harvard Colledge. "

New England's First Fruits, 1643

Six days before Gage left Boston on October 10, 1775,
and three before Col. Elisha Jones and the other "Gentlemen
who were Driven from their Habitations in the Country" signed
his farewell Address,¹ Harvard College, closed for spring vacation
at the time of the Lexington Fight, and whose buildings at
Cambridge were occupied afterward for barracks by the rebel
troops, reopened in makeshift accomodation at Concord. Nothing
in the long history of Harvard Hollege has been more in keeping
with the ideals of the founders: "Veritas". Nor that among those
students asked by the College to return to their books - within
sound of the Siege guns at Boston on October 4, 1775 - were a
number of Tory's sons, and even of refugee Tories such as Colonel
Elisha Jones, widely known as leaders of the men who had taken
arms for Government and King in the country and at Boston.²

¹ Gage MSS., Clements Library, University of Michigan.

² For students who returned to Harvard in Oct., 1775, see "Faculty
Records," Vol. III, Harvard College Archives. For the reopening of
the College, the best account is Samuel Eliot Morison, Three
Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936, (Cambridge, H.U.P. 1936)

It is a measure of Col. Elisha Jones' regard for higher, or "liberal education" as it was called in his time, that he¹ not only sent three of his family of eleven sons through Harvard- Daniel (1759) Stephen (1775) and Charles, who with his grandson Nahum (son of Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay) were members of the class of 1778 - but that, with Col. Israel Williams, (Hatfield) the Rev. Jonathan Ashley (Deerfield) and Col. John Worthington (Springfield) in the 1760's he had given active support to the project for founding a second Massachusetts College, to be called Queen's, in the western county of Hampshire.² It was undoubtedly a political risk for Col. Jones to send Charles, his youngest son then aged fifteen (Nahum who went with him was eighteen), a sophomore, back to Harvard in October, 1775. And to Concord, so long a centre of rebel Whig activity, and where his son Josiah, held prisoner there in the Middlesex County jail since June, 1775 for the Tory crime of bringing supplies into Boston by sea, only succeeded in making his escape at the end of September. By this time, however, the violence and uncertainties of civil war had engulfed all of Massachusetts, and Colonel Jones, in the event, considered Charles' return to College worth the dangers - as did a significant number of other leading Tory families, including Tory refugees in Boston like the Joneses, at that time.³

¹ Col. Elisha and his wife Mary Allen Jones had 14 sons in all: Silas (b. Nov. 7, 1746, d. Dec. 9, 1754) and two infants, Phillemore and another unbaptized, who only lived a short time. See Bond, Watertown, 1860, pp. 315-317.

² Queen's College: H. Lefavour, "The Proposed College in Hampshire County in 1762," M.H.S. Proceedings, (Boston, 1942) Vol. LXVI, pp. 63-70. Rev. Jonathan Ashley to Mrs. Elizabeth (Williams) Smith (widow of Col. Israel Williams' brother Elisha, wife of Judge William Smith of New York who had advised Col. Israel in the drafting of the College Charter of 1761) Jan. 29, 1763, and Mrs. E. Smith to Israel Williams, Sept. 28, 1764. MSS. Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

³ For students who returned to College in Oct., 1775, see: "Faculty Records," Vol. III, Harvard College Archives. With Charles & Nahum Jones in the class of 1778 were Adino Paddock the Younger, whose father, the prominent Boston merchant, was Captain of Ruggles' Loyal Associators (July 5, 1775) Third Company and by Howe made Chief Fire-Ward of Boston, Nov. 24, 1775. PRO. A.O. 13:49; A.O. 13:75.

It is thought that Charles and his nephew Nahum Jones spent part at least of that prolonged Harvard spring-and-summer recess of 1775 at the family mansion of Col. Elisha Jones at Weston, and as it happened only a few convenient miles from the new temporary quarters of the College at Concord. There his daughter Mary and her husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar - who had "fitted" both Charles and Nahum Jones for Harvard - had been living since May, 1775, to escape the expected Naval attacks upon Salem, and were looking after Col. Jones' estate. Weston at this time was no place of political refuge, however, and local suspicions of the Jones family for Tory activities had continued unabated through the summer, unavoidably encouraged - as Mary Dunbar later told her grandson Henry Thoreau - by her daily expeditions through the winding lanes to Concord to the Middlesex County Jail with baskets of food for her brother Josiah Jones (who like many imprisoned Tories feared poisoning by the rebel jailer) and the political difficulties of the Rev. Asa Dunbar himself.¹ Despite his efforts to get along with the Weston "Committeemen", they accused Dunbar of being an "enemy to American Liberty" for the manner of his keeping the rebel "Fast Day" of July 20, 1775, and Dunbar was not finally "cleared" until his "Recantation" was printed by the rebel press in the second week of September - the very time when President Langdon was advertising for the return of the Harvard students and the reopening of the College at Concord.

¹ See the Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary", 1774-1775, Am. Antiq. Soc.; The exodus from Salem, see also George Francis Dow, ed., The Holyoke Diaries 1709-1856. (Salem, 1911) April-June, 1775, pp. 86-88.

F.B. Sanborn, Thoreau's biographer, wrote: "The family tradition concerning these imprisonments was written down by Henry in one of the Journals before 1846, since destroyed..." Frank Sanborn, Henry David Thoreau, (New York, 1917) pp. 13-14.

There can be no better illustration of the climate of rebel extremism, intolerance, and political bigotry in Massachusetts during the Fall of 1775 that the columns of "Recantations" - forced from prominent men as the price of safety for family and property - which appeared for the manipulation of public opinion week by week in the rebel-controlled press outside Boston. Dunbar's "Recantation", dated at Weston on September 8, 1775, was printed at the head of the column in the New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette of September 21st:

RECANTATIONS

To the PUBLIC

Having been acquainted by the gentlemen, the committee of Correspondence in Weston, with some uneasiness arising in the minds of people from the conduct of myself and family upon fast day, the 20th of last July; and having a desire to live in good fellowship with every friend to American liberty, I beg leave publicly to declare, that the part I bore in these transactions that gave offence was dictated solely by the principles of religion and humanity, with no design of displeasing any one; and that I am sorry it was in the eyes of one of my fellow countrymen, attended with any disgusting circumstances. As it has been suspected that I despised the day, and the authority that appointed it, I must in justice to myself and from the love of truth affirm, that I very highly respect and revere that authority, and, were it not for the appearance of boasting, could add, that I believe no person observed it with greater sincerity than

ASA DUNBAR

Weston, Sept. 8th, 1775. 1.

Printed below was the following endorsement by Benjamin Peirce, keeper of a rival tavern to that of Col. Elisha Jones' cousin Isaac at the sign of the Golden Ball on the Post Road, a Selectman of Weston and Moderator of the now rebel-controlled Town Meeting:

The gentlemen, the committee of correspondence of Weston and Sudbury having taken into consideration the above declarations of the Rev'd Asa Dunbar, and questioned him respecting the transaction he refers to, receives it as satisfactory, and think it ought to release him from any

1 New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette, Sept. 21, 1775. 2/1.
Boston Gazette, Sept. 18, 1775, 3/2.

unfavourable suspicions that have arisen to his disadvantage.

BENJ. PEIRCE, Moderator ¹

However Dunbar reconciled the above statement about the Fast Day observance with his conscience, and there is no mention of the "Recantation" in his "Diary," we do not know. But scarcely eight months later, in May, 1776, Dunbar was again to become the outspoken leader of the famous ^{Harvard} "Butter Rebellion" of 1766 when he was one of the few public men in Massachusetts to denounce the rebel Test Act as treason - and from that most public of New England places the Meeting House Pulpit (at Salem).²

In the fall of 1775, meanwhile, President Samuel Langdon to gather his student flock, dispersed by the Lexington Fight, advertised in the press in a notice dated at Cambridge on September 6th:

"The Students of Harvard College are hereby advertised, that the Town of Concord, in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, is pitched upon by the Hon. and Reverend Corporation and Overseers of said College, as a proper Place for convening the Members of said public Seminary of Learning; and that by Vote of the Corporation, said Students are required to come together at the Town aforesaid, on the first Wednesday of October next, where all necessary Provision is made for their Reception, and they will have Boarding and Chamber Furniture at a reasonable Rate. At the aforesaid Time and Place, the President, Professors and Tutors, will attend to the usual Instruction and Business of said College.

N.B. There is not to be a Fall Vacation in the present Year.

SAMUEL LANGDON, President

Cambridge, September 6, 1775. ³

¹ Boston Gazette, September 18, 1775, 3/2; New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette, Sept. 21, 1775. 2/1.

² The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," May, 1776. MSS. Am. Antiq. Soc.; By the Fall of 1778, however, Dunbar like many conservative Whigs, had become finally reconciled to the rebellion: his old friend at Salem, Dr. Joseph Orne wrote to Col. Timothy Pickering (later Secretary of State) cont.

It is a matter of record that President Samuel Langdon had more concern for his students, for the cause of learning, and the survival of Harvard College than for politics. Following the long established policy of the Massachusetts Bay government during the French and Indian Wars to exempt college students, Langdon wrote even to George Washington (not a college man) begging release of men "called up" for military service with the rebel army besieging Boston. These included one Whig militiaman well known to Col. Jones' sons, Samuel Woodward the Younger, of the class of 1776, son of the Weston Minister.¹

It was in the great Harvard tradition of "Old Light" (and even Arminian) liberalism, however, that Charles and Nahum Jones, and other sons of "notorious Tories", were not debarred from returning to College in October, 1775 — and even more, perhaps, that Charles and Nahum were able to remain there, as they did, for two academic years, until the operation of the Test Act, requiring an oath of allegiance to the rebel government, forced them to leave (part of the general exodus of Tory students at last imposed upon the College by the civil authority²) and to make their way secretly to the British Lines at New York. The numbers of Tory alumni, substantial in classes even for the War years until 1779, are a measure of the survival of liberal thought

Cont. — on October 21, 1778 that if one set aside "the Fears and Qualms of those Whom our Friend Dunbar calls the Feeble Minded, the people tho they lament some very capital Distress under which we suffer yet agree heartily in the Necessity and Resolution of defending the Cause." Dr. Joseph Orne to Col. Timothy Pickering, Oct. 21, 1778. Pickering MSS., Mass. Hist. Soc.

3 New England Chronicle or Essex Gazette, Sept. 21, 1775, 2/2.

¹ President Langdon to George Washington, Sept. 18, 1775. Washington Papers, Library of Congress. See also Langdon's letters of Sept. 18 on behalf of John Child (1776) and Edmund Foster, "a candidate for admission," of Oct. 28, 1775. Loc. Cit.

² For Charles and Nahum's departure, see the minutes of the Faculty Meeting of Nov. 3, 1777, "Faculty Records," Vol. IV, Harvard College Archives; PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50.

and academic independence at the Harvard of President Langdon -- preserved, moreover, in the face of strong pressures by rebel leaders headed by the Harvard Treasurer (and President of the Continental Congress) John Hancock.¹

The rebel Third Provincial Congress at Watertown ordered Langdon to make certain of the "political Principles" of any new members of the Faculty, to "inquire into the Principles" of those already at the College, and to "dismiss those who by their past or present Conduct" appeared "unfriendly to the Liberties and Privileges of the Colonies."² On April 23, 1776 the Overseers (composed of rebel politicians) were compelled to act to enforce political uniformity: Tutor Caleb Gannett described the affair in his "Diary":

"The Governors and Instructors of the College having been cited to appear before the Board of Overseers to be enquired of and examined as to their political principles, we went to Watertown this Morning, and waited upon the Board, where it was determined that we should subscribe some Creed of our own Draught, which we did, presented P.M. and being dismissed it was voted by a Majority acceptable."³

That this "Creed" was sufficiently ambiguous is shown by the fact that such as Tutors Gannett (Mathematics and Natural Philosophy) and John Wadsworth (Logic and Metaphysics), political conservatives

¹ No definitive list has yet been made of Harvard Alumni who were Loyalists -- or even refugee Loyalists -- in the Revolution. There is a high proportion of refugee Loyalists among those described in Harvard records as "Temporary Students" (i.e. those who did not for one reason and another receive their degrees); the numbers of Temporary Students from 1775-1778 are three and four times those of non-war years, and many of these students are known to have been refugees who, like Charles and Nahum Jones (a class of 1778), served in the Royal Army.

² Printed in Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (Boston, 1869-1922), Vol. XIX, p. 103.

³ Caleb Gannett, "Diary" April 23, 1776. MSS. Harvard College Library. The Rev. Samuel Cooper, who was there, wrote: "April 23. Went with Mrs C. a.m. to Watertown Corporation and Overseer's Meeting. I din'd with Corporation at Learned's Tavern. Instructors of College gave in a written Declaration to the Overseers of their political Principles..." Rev. Samuel Cooper, "Diary," American Historical Review, Vol. VI (Jan. 1901) pp. 340-1.

and philosophical if not by martyrdom refugee Tories, put their names to it. Diversity in political opinion among the teachers and the Corporation, where there were Tories after Lexington as well as before it, outlasted rebel persecution and the War - to the undoubted credit of the College.¹ Charles and Nahum Jones were still at Harvard in September, 1776, when Tutor John Wadsworth (described as one of the most popular instructors in the history of the University) and still arguing the Tory case in public, was reelected Tutor (for a third term): it was taken to be "unexpected" evidence that Treasurer John Hancock "and his Croney Jimmy Winthrop" (the Librarian) "were not absolute in the Government of the College."²

¹ As the War went on rebel pressure upon the College increased. When, for example, Steward Jonathan Hastings, in part because of the terrible problems of war-bred inflation, felt compelled to resign (Nov. 3, 1778) the Corporation appointed William Kneeland (A.B. 1751) "an eminently qualified man against whom the Overseers, who were largely politicians, raised the cry that he was unfriendly to American Independence." On Dec. 7th the Corporation, however, had no choice but to ask Hastings to remain in office until it could find a Steward "politically satisfactory to the Overseers." Corporation Records, Vol. III, p. 22, Harvard University Archives; Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, "Jonathan Hastings," Vol. VIII, pp. 722-3. More important, perhaps, was the 1780 conspiracy of Treasurer John Hancock, who, pressed for a financial accounting by President Langdon, enlisted the Librarian James Winthrop in a plot - exposed by the honest testimony of the Rev. William Gordon of the Third Church at Roxbury - to destroy Langdon's reputation and force his resignation. Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, "James Winthrop" Vol. XVII, p. 320.

² Colonial Society of Massachusetts Publications, VIII, p. 320. Hancock and James Winthrop had tried to block Wadsworth's reappointment in the Corporation; when it came to the vote, Hancock and Professor John Winthrop (father of Librarian James) voted against Wadsworth, but the venerable Dr. Nathaniel Appleton and Dr. Andrew Eliot, a liberal, voted for, and President Langdon cast the deciding vote for Wadsworth. It was a great loss to the College when Wadsworth, however, died of smallpox the following summer, July 12, 1777. Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, "John Wadsworth," Vol. XV, p. 330.

If the rebel Whigs were never able to impose political conformity upon instructors or students (who in many cases appear to have valued education more than oaths taken under duress) they did succeed, through their control of the Board of Overseers, in preventing active Tories - particularly refugees and those known to have been "in arms" for Government at Lexington and later - including Col. Elisha Jones' son Stephen, of the Class of 1775, from receiving their degrees. The rebel Third Provincial Congress meeting at Watertown (May 31-July 19, 1775) which had usurped many governmental functions outside Boston, sought as well to exercise the authority of the General Court over the College, and on June 21, 1775 it had recommended to the Overseers that Commencement be held, and voted £100 to President Langdon for expenses.

Harvard Corporation, however, taking a cautious view in dangerous times, voted on July 31st to follow the same policy as the year before:¹ to hold no Commencement, and to grant degrees by general diploma. Because of "The Distress & Confusion occasioned by the present War, of which Cambridge has been one principal Seat ever since the 19th day of April last, having render'd it impracticable to hold a public Commencement, or make the necessary preparation for conferring Degrees at the Stated Season," Corporation decreed "that the Candidates whose names are in the List annexed & which being also presented to the Hon^b & Rev^d Board of Overseers, sitting this day in the Council Chamber, may be by them approved, shall receive their Degrees in a general Diploma, signed by the Corporation." There were three further conditions which refugee Tories, including Stephen Jones, men marked for rebel vengeance outside Boston, could not have fulfilled: "Provided that within one week from this day they pay the President the stated Fee for a Degree, & likewise

¹ "College Book," Vol. VII, p. 273; Approved by the Overseers on June 2, 1774. "Overseers' Records, Vol. III, p. 73. A notice that there would not be a public Commencement appeared in the Boston Gazette, June 6, 1774.

bring him a Certificate from the Steward that they have discharged all College dues required by Law, except for the public Dinner on Commencement Day; also a Certificate from the Librarian that they have returned in good Order or replaced all the Books they have borrowed from the Library." ¹

On Oct. 2, 1775, two days before classes were resumed in temporary quarters at Concord, the Corporation voted that the general diploma "sign'd by the several Members of the Corporation to whom it could be conveniently presented, be published as soon as possible in the weekly Papers," and this notice appeared in the Boston Gazette (Watertown) on October 16th:

"BY the present War, into which the American Colonies have been driven, to save themselves from Oppression and Despotism, Harvard College, in Cambridge, has been several Months in an interrupted and dispersed State, so that the annual COMMENCEMENT could not be held, nor Degrees given, at the usual Season:

But, by the good Providence of GOD, that Society which, from the first Settlement of New-England has been so great a Blessing to the Public, is at last restored to Order, and now collected in the Town of Concord. And the Candidates for their respective Degrees the present Year, have had Academical Honors conferred upon them by a general Diploma-- a Copy of which follows."

That, despite the bitterness of the long₂ war (in which he was a "fighting soldier" to the end) Stephen Jones valued his student days at Harvard more than most is shown by his effort, more than thirty years later, to obtain both his Bachelor and Master of Arts diplomas at last, and to have his name restored to its rightful place in the class list of 1775. A magistrate, prosperous merchant, and landowner living on his Royal Grant at Sissiboo (Weymouth),

1 "College Book," Vol. VII, pp. 290-1; approved by the Overseers July 31 also, see "Overseers' Records," Vol. III, p. 80. Harvard Archives.

2 For Stephen Jones' military service see: Roster of Brig. Ruggles' Loyal American Associators of Boston, July 5, 1775, Gage MSS; Howe's "General Orders" of Nov. 17, 1775, in New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 252; Stephen Jones' Loyalist Papers, PRO. A.O. 12:10, ff. 360-72, A.O. 13:47, A.O. 13:50, and A.O. 13:74.

Nova Scotia, Stephen Jones made his formal application to the College (which was successful) through an old friend and fellow-classmate the Hon. Edward Hutchinson Robbins, a prominent lawyer and influential member of the Massachusetts General Court, who after the War did much to further the just claims to recovery of debts, land, and other property taken (in many cases illegally) from refugee Tories.¹ In his letter to Harvard dated July 27, 1807, Stephen Jones was careful to give no cause for offense regarding his activities in 1775 and later which might have prejudiced consideration of his claim:

Digby, Nova Scotia
27th July 1807

Hon. Sir (to Samuel Webster)

Not having the Honour to be acquainted with you, and it not being in my Power to make a personal application to you, must therefore do it through my Friend, the Hon^{le} Edward H. (utchinson) Robbins, to whom I beg Leave to refer you for any Information you may want upon the Subject of my application.

I should have graduated in the year 1775, had not the unfortunate disputes (Between Great Britain and the Colonies) happened But the preceeding April Vacation when Hostilities Commenced, I was in Boston and never having returned to the Country since, and having been some part of the time in Europe, I have been prevented from applying for my Degrees; I intended to have applyed to the late President Doctor Willard, who was a Tutor when I was in College, but neglected it. This will be delivered you by my Friend and Class Mate Mr. Robins, and through him I wish you to have the Goodness to send me a Diploma for my Degrees as Batchelor and Master of Arts and to cause my Name to be inserted in proper Place with the Class in the Catalogue and Mr Robins will remunerate you For the Expense.

I have the Honour to be Sir,
Your¹ most obedient and very
Humb¹ Servant

STEPHEN JONES 2

¹ These included Sir John Bernard's rights to Mount Desert Island (much of it surveyed for his father, Governor Sir Francis Bernard of Massachusetts by Stephen Jones' oldest brother, Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay: see Publications of the Colonial Soc. of Mass., Vol. XXIV, pp. 197-254.) Sir John Bernard MSS., P.R.O., A.O. 13:74.

² Stephen Jones to Samuel Webster, July 27, 1807. MSS, Stephen Jones MSS., Harvard University Archives. (cont.)

There were many links between the Joneses of Weston and the Willards, and some reference at least was in order for Stephen's "neglect" to approach President Joseph Willard - who had succeeded Samuel Langdon (resigned in 1780) and held the office until his death in September, 1804. Willard was Senior Tutor (Greek) at Harvard during Stephen Jones' freshman and part of his sophomore years; he resigned December 7, 1772 to become minister of the First Church of Beverly.¹ There, against the opposition of the Calvinists, Stephen's brother-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, secured Willard's admission to the Salem Association of Ministers, and often exchanged pulpits with him.² After the War, too, Stephen's elder brother Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale (New Hampshire) corresponded with Willard with some candour on political as well as scientific subjects: Willard was first Secretary of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and for him shortly before his death/^{in 1786} Judge Jones wrote a paper on the extinct West-River volcano which appeared in Volume I of the Academy's Memoirs.³

But the Willards of Lancaster, with whom Col. Elisha Jones for many years had close political and business associations, were Tories, and Abijah Willard a refugee in Boston, a Mandamus Councillor, and - with Col. Jones' sons - an officer in Ruggles' Corps of Loyal American Associators.⁴ The circumstances suggest that Stephen Jones regarded President Willard somewhat as had the Rev. Asa Dunbar when,

1 For President Willard, see Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1765, Vol. XVI, pp. 253-265.

2 William Bentley, Diary (Salem, 1905) Vol. I, p. 141.

3 American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Memoirs, Vol. I, pp. 312-315. 1785. This article was also printed in the Massachusetts Centinel, July 15, 1786, 1/1-2.

4 Col. Elisha Jones' accounts with Daniel Willard for 1750-1755 are in his ledger now at the Golden Ball Tavern (owned by his cousin Capt. Isaac Jones) on the Boston Post Road at Weston.

Levi Willard, a Tory, was a member of Stephen Jones' class of 1775. PRO. A.O. 13:75; for Abijah Willard, see also A.O. 13:49, and A.O. 13:79.

after Willard had preached Dunbar's mid-week Lecture at Salem, July 28, 1773, the latter wrote in his "Diary": "Let no man pretend to perfection, for brother Willard and I cannot think alike."¹

Stephen Jones was one of the few "fighting Loyalists" of the finally politically divided and dismembered Harvard classes of the War Years who later obtained his degrees. His petition for reinstatement of July, 1807, in the event, worked as much for its author as for posterity: Stephen Jones lived for many years thereafter, until August 19, 1830, one of the oldest members of his class.²

¹ The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," July 29, 1773. MSS. American Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

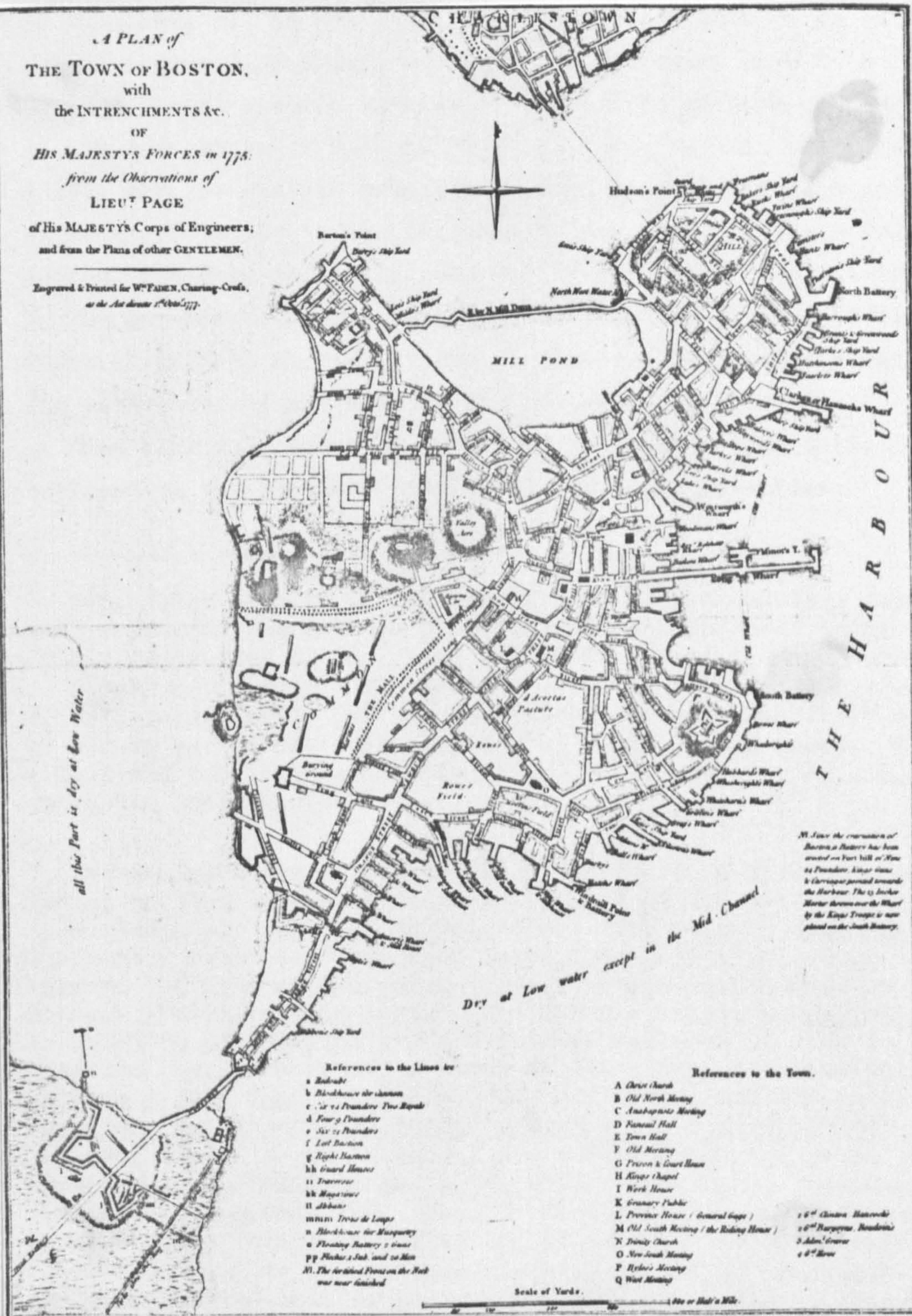
² Stephen Jones was born March 5, 1754 at Weston. See his obituary in The Acadian Recorder (published at Halifax, Nova Scotia), August 28, 1830. This newspaper also carried the obituary of Stephen's only sister, and the grandmother of Henry David Thoreau, Mary Jones Dunbar, the widow of Capt. Jonas Minot, who died at Concord (Mass.) twelve days before him, August 7, 1830.

Stephen's widow Sarah, daughter of Captain Samuel and Eunice Goldsbury of Wrentham (Mass.) died at Weymouth (Nova Scotia) on March 4, 1863, aged 93.

The largest collection of Stephen Jones' papers is now with those of his grandson, the Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, born at Weymouth in 1824, and who died in office as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia in 1906, in the P.A.N.S., Halifax.

A PLAN of
THE TOWN OF BOSTON,
 with
 the INTRENCHMENTS &c.
 OF
HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES in 1775:
from the Observations of
LIEUT PAGE
 of His MAJESTY'S Corps of Engineers;
 and from the Plans of other GENTLEMEN.

Engraved & Printed for Wth FADEN, Charing-Cross,
 as the Act directs 1st Decr 1777.



SUPPLIES FOR BOSTON

The greatest contribution of Col. Elisha Jones and the other Loyalists who remained to the defense of Boston during the winter of 1775-6 was probably made in the vital procurement of supplies, all in shortage: food, forage, and fuel. None of Col. Jones' accounts or papers as Forage Commissioner have been found (many official records were destroyed by the British at the time of the Evacuation of Boston, March 17, 1776, or left behind and lost).¹ Nor, as was the practice of most British military and civilian officials in the American Colonies during the Revolutionary period, did Howe in his largely routine reports of administration to the government in England (most of these to the War Office, the Colonial Office, and the Treasury) make reference specifically to the activities of the undoubtedly numerous loyal colonials - many of them like Col. Jones in positions of great responsibility - employed in the various departments under his direction.²

¹ Col. Jones died in Boston Feb. 12, 1776, and it may have been that his government accounts were settled and any balances owing delivered to his widow, Mary Allen Jones, before the Evacuation on March 17th. No record now survives of financial claims for British government debts outstanding to Col. Jones having been made on behalf of his estate by any of his sons in their Loyalist Claims papers. PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:74; A.O. 12:10, ff. 360-72, 389, 412, 441. being the most important.

² The contribution of the American Loyalists to British administration during the Revolution, both in England and in the Colonies, has never been adequately studied. Attempts have been made to count the Tories who served with the Provincial Corps (the best of these are: W.O. Raymond - editor of the papers of Master-General Edward Winslow - "Loyalists in Arms," New Brunswick Hist. Soc. Collections, No. 15, 1904. pp. 189-215; and the more recent work of Paul Smith, "The American Loyalists Notes on Their Organization and Numerical Strength" William & Mary Quarterly, XXV, 1968, pp. 259-277, and his earlier Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy, 1964.) but probably at least as many loyal colonials served as well in the departments of military and civil administration in America, while in England, to name only two, Benjamin Thompson was appointed to office under Germain (Secretary of the Province of Georgia, 1776-1780 when he was advanced to Under Secretary of State in the American Department) and John Nutting, builder and engineer, who built the military barracks at Boston (1774) Halifax (1776) and after petitioning Germain "for useful employment" was in 1778 appointed "Overseer of His Majesty's Works" at Landguard Fort, in the county of Essex (England). S.F. Batchelder, The Life of... John Nutting Cambridge Loyalist... Cambridge Mass., 1912.

These supplies of forage, wrote Howe in his letter to John Robinson at the Treasury on Dec.1,1775, "...I hope may be sufficient until more can be procured from Nova Scotia in the Spring, and that we flatter ourselves we shall be able to accomplish."¹ Howe's forecast, however, proved optimistic, and there was a shortfall in forage as well as in supplies of food and fuel in Boston during the winter of 1775-6.

The immediate hazard was the safe return to Boston of the eleven vessels shown as "out for forage" in Howe's "Return of Transports" dated November 27th, four of them, moreover, listed as shorthanded:³

<u>Ships</u>	<u>Tonnage</u>	<u>Compl. Men</u>	<u>Needed</u>	
Thomas & Richard	387	26	4	
Lively	245	16	2	At Quebec for Forage
Hope	213	14	-	
Isabella & Dorothy	244	17	-	
Dorothy & Catherine	327	23	-	
<hr/>				
Hunter	311	21	2	
Countess of Darlington	260	17	4	
Royal George	344	24	-	At Nova Scotia for Forage
William & Mary	393	28	-	
Isabella	362	24	-	
Lawrel	367	25	-	

¹ Howe to John Robinson, Dec.1,1775. PRO. T. 1:518.

² In his letter to Robinson of Dec.1st, Howe warned "that I am in great pain for the small quantity of Provisions now in store," and added that "If victualling ships should not arrive by the latter end of this month, nor the Navy be able to afford assistance, I shall be obliged to put the troops upon short allowance..." Loc. Cit.

³ "Return of Transports, Boston, Nov.27,1775" Enclosure No.3, Howe to John Robinson, Dec.1,1775. PRO. T. 1:518.

Another forage vessel, the Jupiter (319 tons, crew of 20) was listed separately in Howe's "Return of Transports" dated Nov. 27th as having been "burnt with forage near this harbour (sic.) by Lightning."¹ Her end was indeed spectacular, as befitted a vessel named for the supreme Roman god of the heavens. But it was characteristic of the journalism of the rebel satirist Benjamin Edes in his gleeful account of the affair in the Boston Gazette (published at Watertown) on December 4th to refer to the vessel as Juno, goddess of war:

"Yesterday se'night a large ship being near the Light off Cape Ann was struck with lightning, which set her on fire, and burnt to the water's edge, 'till she sunk. A number of cannon were heard to go off, (while) she was on fire, and 'twas thought (first that she was) at least a 20 (gun) ship; but we have an account from Boston, that it was the Juno transport ship from London, laden only with hay for Burgoyne's heavy horse at Boston, which will (soon become) light, if forage fails at this rate."²

It is significant that nowhere in Howe's series of supply reports (dated Nov. 27, 1775) is there mention of Maine as a source of fodder³ - or wood - profitable "exports" to other colonies in peacetime, whether as port-of-call for transports expected or to be sent out in the spring. After the summer of 1775 few of Howe's transports were sent "Downeast" to^{the} Maine coast because of the risks of capture by rebel freebooters which preyed in ever larger numbers upon loyal shipping, and in highly effective hit-and-run sea raids made savage reprisal against the persons and property of loyalists such as Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay (eldest son of Col. Elisha Jones of Weston) who continued to supply

¹ "Return of Transports, Boston, Nov. 27, 1775" Enclosure No. 3, Howe to John Robinson, Dec. 1, 1775. PRO. T. 1:518.

² Boston Gazette, Dec. 4, 1775. 1/2. The use of parenthetical remarks was typical of Edes' style. The Marblehead merchant, shipowner, and mariner recorded in his Journal on Nov. 25, 1775: "...This night much wind at SE. Rain, some thunder and some cannon. Tis said a ship blew up in our Bay..." Philip C.F. Smith, ed., The Journals of Ashley Bowen (1728-1813) of Marblehead... Col. Soc. of Mass. Publications, 1973, p. 464.

³ Maine logging towns like Machias, however, were importers of hay as well as foodstuffs from Nova Scotia before the Revolution. Judge Stephen Jones, "Historical Account of Machias," MSS. Maine Hist. Soc., Portland, Maine.

Boston during the siege, in the latter months particularly using their own vessels protected, however, by papers with false destinations and manifests. That these were not always effective Col. Nathan Jones' own experience shows: when on August 30th the "Independent Sons of Liberty" of Deer Island with a fleet of rebel vessels sailed into Jones' Cove on Frenchman's Bay they refused to accept Col. Nathan's assurance that his schooner Sally, loading at his wharf with a cargo of lumber, was bound for Ireland - rather than Boston - and made off home with the vessel. Col. Nathan Jones, never the man to be done out of his property, protested to the rebel House of Representatives at Watertown that the seizure was illegal, but the House, in a resolve of Oct. 12th which can only have been taken on grounds of political expediency, directed the Deer Island "Committee of Safety" to keep the vessel, to take "Proper care of said sloop Sally until further Order of this Court."¹ It is not surprising that many less enterprising Maine Loyalists laid up their ships until "quieter times," but through the War Col. Nathan Jones, more or less successfully, continued his business as a merchant, trading with the British in Boston and then New York and other places on both sides of the Atlantic, doing spells in rebel jails when he was caught, escaping, trading again with the Yankees for profit while acting as a British agent.²

¹ "Resolve Directing the Committee of Safety to Detain the Sloop Sally." Oct. 12, 1775. Province Laws, Chapter 247, p. 102.

² Col. Nathan Jones, years later, was allowed to sue in the courts for the return of the Sally, and finally won his case, though the vessel was not fit for sea when it was returned. See Petition of Jonathan Tracy Jr. and 28 others to the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Gouldsborough, Oct. 2, 1778, on behalf of Col. Nathan Jones. Documentary History of the State of Maine, Maine Hist. Soc. Collections, 2nd Series, Vol. pp. 88-92.

Sheriff William Greenleaf's accounts to the Massachusetts Board of War dated June, 1777 show one of Col. Nathan Jones' times of difficulty:

"To searching two days for Nathan Jones, taking him & Committing him to Gaol, 4 attendants - £2 - 8s. - 0d."

Massachusetts Archives, Vol. CLVII, p. 540.

One of the last Loyalist vessels to be captured by the rebels bringing supplies from Maine up to Boston - on March 2, 1776 - was the schooner Neptune, commanded by Capt. Philip Goldthwait of Woolwich, on the Kennebec River, a relation of Col. Elisha Jones. Capt. Goldthwait was under orders to deliver a cargo of lumber and firewood to his older brother, Major Joseph Goldthwait, Barrack-Master at Boston.¹ Before the investment of Boston by the rebels after Lexington, Major Joseph Goldthwait had rented as a country house the farm at Weston belonging to Col. Nathan Jones, who for more than a decade had made his home in Maine at Frenchman's Bay.² In a sworn statement made after the War to the Loyalist Commissioners Capt. Philip Goldthwait said that General James Sullivan of Biddeford (Maine), appointed Judge of Admiralty for the Eastern District by the rebel government of Massachusetts in November, 1775, had "ill-treated him as a prisoner, and put him into irons before committing him to Fort Kittery."³

¹ Col. Thomas Goldthwait, appointed commander of Fort Pownall on the Penobscot River in 1763, married as his second wife Catherine Barnes, niece and adopted heir of Henry Barnes "the Tory" of Marlborough (Mass.) See Chamberlain, Documentary History of Chelsea, Massachusetts, 1908, Vol. II, pp. 602-9.

Major Joseph Goldthwait, born at Boston Oct. 5, 1730, in Oct., 1768 had been appointed Commissary to the British troops quartered at Boston, and later Barrack-Master. He was an Addresser of Hutchinson, and later accompanied the Army to Halifax. Maj. Goldthwait died at New York Oct. 3, 1779. See the Memorial of Capt. Philip Goldthwait, PRO. A. O. 13:84.

² "American Vouchers relative to the Estate of Elisha Jones Esqr late of Weston in the County of Middlesex and Province of Massachusetts Bay," signed by John Hancock. PRO. A. O. 13:74.

³ Memorials and papers of Capt. Philip Goldthwait. PRO. A. O. 13:73; A. O. 13:84; Testimony before Loyalist Commissioner Coke, Sept. 11, 1784. Egerton, ed. The Royal Commission..., p. 196.
For Gen. James Sullivan as Judge of Admiralty: Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XV, pp. 301-2.

As under Gage, much of the work of procuring supplies of forage, food, and fuel for the Boston Loyalists as well as the military from places in the Colonies and as far afield as England and Ireland was carried out through the organization of Brig. Timothy Ruggles' three companies of Loyal Associators. Many of the senior officers and "other ranks" were merchants and mariners of wide experience who were to give notable service during the Revolutionary War: Captain Francis Green of the Third Company - in which Josiah Jones was First Lieutenant ¹ and George Leonard, First Lieutenant of Captain Abijah Willard's First Company. ² Loyalists who, as under Gage, volunteered for special duties outside Boston were used as captains and other officers, as supercargoes (Josiah Jones' assignment when captured on the Polly in June, 1775) and as crews of trading vessels.

Where possible these Loyalist merchantmen were rigged for speed Yankee fashion as brigantines, carrying a large spanker with a square, instead of a gaff, topsail on the main mast. ³ A brigantine belonging to Harrison Gray the Younger, Deputy Treasurer of Massachusetts, on a return voyage from Ireland with a cargo of provisions in charge of his younger brother John Gray, a volunteer with the Associated Loyalists, was captured within six hours' sail of Boston, having the ill-luck to fall in with a rebel privateer. ⁴

¹ For Francis Green, see: PRO. A.O. 13:45; A.O. 13:73.

² Abijah Willard's Loyalist Memorial is in: PRO. A.O. 13:49.

³ Octavius Howe, "Beverly Privateers in the American Revolution," Colonial Soc. of Mass. Transactions, Vol. XXIV, 1923, p. 335.

A number of Loyalist vessels were what was called "topsail schooners," carrying a topsail on the mainmast. An illustration from the Atlantic Neptune (1779) chart of Grand Passage, at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy, shows (right to left) an engraving of a ship, a sloop, a brigantine with a square main topsail, and a schooner rigged with jib, gaff foresail and mainsail, no fore topmast, and a square topsail on the main topmast. Reprinted in C.A. Armour and T. Lackey, Sailing Ships of the Maritimes, (Ryerson, 1975) p. 15.

⁴ He was the son of Massachusetts Treasurer Harrison Gray. See: PRO. A.O. 13:45; A.O. 13:73.

After Lexington, Tory merchantmen had been generally sent out of Boston for provisions, fuel, and other supplies under escort of naval vessels or armed naval auxiliaries. But even now little is known to history of these Tory merchantmen and their voyages during the Seige¹ - and not much more that is reliable of the only two Tory trading vessels belonging to Massachusetts to achieve a measure of fame, the sloops Unity and Polly, and this for their involvement in the Lexington-of-the-sea engagement with their naval tender escort, the schooner Margaretta, at Machias on June 12, 1775. The Unity and the Polly were the property of Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, the Boston merchant Captain Ichabod Jones: how much of a financial interest Col. Elisha had in the Tory merchantmen bringing supplies to Boston, owing to the loss of his accounts for this period, is not now known.

¹ The Loyalist Claims Papers have scattered references to Tory merchantmen fitted out during the Siege of Boston - and lost to rebel freebooters, cast away, &c. See the papers of Francis Green (captain of Josiah Jones' Third Company of Associated Loyalists) PRO.A.O.13:45; A.O.13:73; Philip Dumaesq, PRO.A.O.13:59; and George Erving, PRO.A.O.13:44.

Admiral Graves' papers seldom referred to Tory vessels by name. Graves' orders to Mr. Jas. Moore, appointed to command the armed schooner "Margueritta" (sic) which was to escort Capt. Ichabod Jones' vessels to Machias on the fateful voyage of June, 1775, is all too representative: "...you are therefore hereby required and directed to take under your Convoy the five vessels belonging to Mr. Ichabod Jones, and any others bound to the Eastward, and proceed with them to Machias, where you are to remain for their protection while they are loading, and as soon as they are ready to come away again you are to return with them to Boston..." Graves to Moore, May 26, 1775. "The Conduct of Admiral Graves," Vol. II, ADD.MSS 14039, Brit. Mus.

² See the accounts of Capt. Ichabod Jones, losses of property taken by the rebels at Machias, in the papers of his son, John Coffin Jones the Boston shipowner and merchant, now at the Harvard Business School. Clifford Shipton does not appear to have used these papers in his sketch of John Coffin Jones, Harvard class of 1768, a strange omission. Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XVII, pp. 49-54.

After his capture by the rebels as supercargo of the forage supply vessel Polly in June, 1775, Josiah Jones, who was kept a prisoner in Concord jail until his escape at the end of September and return to Boston (Oct. 22nd), does not appear to have gone to sea again during the Siege. His brother Stephen, the second youngest son of Col. Elisha Jones, however, a lieutenant in Ruggles' Loyal Legion, "was employed by his Father in the Command of a Foraging Party from Boston."¹ He would thus have served with the Tory fleet of forage transports that brought in these vital supplies on the ever more hazardous voyages from Maine and the Fundy Ports of Nova Scotia running the gauntlet of rebel freebooters. Quick-thinking, daring, and resourceful, Stephen Jones had already distinguished himself at Lexington as a Tory Volunteer with Lord Percy - and while in England in 1781 was chosen a member of his staff by Benjamin Thompson who had just resigned as Under Secretary of the American Department under Lord George Germain to become Lt. Col. Commandant of the King's American Dragoons (Prince William Henry was Colonel). Stephen Jones sailed with Thompson to South Carolina where he served as adjutant to the cavalry and was several times commended for bravery.² For "fighting Tories" like these sons of Col. Jones, who saw active military service through the more than eight years of warfare, the routine and uneventful was generally overlaid in record and memory by hazardous adventure. Stephen Jones' duty as commander of a forage party at Boston - and later in the Commissary Department at New York - was successful if inevitably humdrum compared with such as Stephen's later swashbuckling adventures with Ben Thompson and his Tories in pursuit of the notorious rebel, the "Swamp-Fox" (Gen. Francis Marion) along the Santee River.³

1

PRO.A.O.12:10,f.390. "Evidence on the Claim of Stephen Jones," Testimony given at Digby, N.S. Oct. 24, 1786.

2 Sir Guy Carleton (later Lord Dorchester), appointed Commander-in-Chief in America in 1781 gave Stephen Jones his commission as Cornet in the King's American Dragoons. Stephen named his second son after him (called in the family Carleton), and it was his son, born at Weymouth N.S. in Sept. 1824, the Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, who died in Halifax as Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia in March, 1906. See obituary in The Times (London) March 16, 1906. 10/2.

3 Stephen Jones' Loyalist papers are in: PRO:A.O.12:10, ff. 360-372; 389; 412; 441; A.O.13:47; A.O.13:50.

The activities of the Tory Letters of Marque and Privateers throughout the Revolutionary War, for the most part, have yet to be chronicled. But these vessels that were financed, armed, and fought by the Tories during the Siege of Boston are historically important as the beginning of what in the next two years was to grow into the so-called "Refugee Fleet," operating mainly from bases at New port (Rhode Island) Martha's Vineyard, and New York (Long Island) under the able command of George Leonard, Francis Green, and other Massachusetts Yankees that had served in Ruggles' Associators and which took so effective a part in convoying and transporting supplies and waging war upon rebel shipping.¹

Nor was the service of the volunteers with Ruggles' corps of Associators in Boston - the loyal remnant of the Massachusetts militia - aboard armed vessels a new departure in the colonial experience. The tradition of sea-going militia in Massachusetts, service on Province vessels such as the 20-gun King George fitted out by Governor Thomas Pownall in 1758, and the Province sloop Massachusetts used by Governor Francis Bernard, was as old as privateering in England's wars against the Dutch and the French.² Col. Elisha Jones had not done sea-duty during the French Wars (at one time he commanded a Minute-Man Company) but his cousin, Ichabod Jones of Boston was captain of a hospital ship manned by Massachusetts militia at the Siege of Louisburg in 1745.³

¹ Nucleus of the "Refugee Fleet" were the vessels of George Leonard, who was a First Lieutenant in Capt. Abijah Willard's First Company of Associators in Boston under Howe. His fleet of 7 armed vessels and 3 transports at one time operated from Newport (R.I.) and among others captured 11 rebel vessels in a raid upon Martha's Vineyard. See Treasury In Letters, PRO.T. 1:553, and Leonard's Loyalist Claims papers, which give detailed descriptions of the activities of the "Refugee Fleet": PRO. A.O. 13:51; A.O. 12:10, ff. 394-409, 438-9.

² Charles Pownall, Thomas Pownall M.P., F.R.S., Governor of Massachusetts Bay... (London, 1908) pp. 100-101, 136-7, for an account of the King George and the Massachusetts.

³ For the service of Ichabod Jones, see: Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 118, p. 319. The tradition of the Massachusetts Sea-going Militia is a long and honourable one: Col. Elisha Jones' grandson in the 5th generation, who was later to design the first United States nuclear submarine, Cereno St. Clair Jones, served as a volunteer in the Massachusetts Sea Militia during the First World War.

While during the Siege the Royal Navy at Boston went short-handed¹ (the rewards being small and the discipline savage even by the harsh and exacting customs of life at sea on the commercial vessels of the time) there seems to have been no lack of volunteers among Brig. Timothy Ruggles' Loyal Associators for service aboard the Tory Letters of Marque and Privateers fitted out by the loyal merchants of Boston.² Samuel Paine, only a few years out of Harvard and cooped up since before Bunker Hill by the Siege, wrote to his brother Dr. William Paine at Worcester on Oct. 2, 1775:

"I sail to Morrow upon a Short Cruize (to touch at New York) being Entred on board a Letter of Marque, as an adventurer Commissioned, to Distress the Trade of the Province, and bring all American Vessels into this Port. My money is Exhausted, but I am in Good Spirits..."³

Samuel Paine was then a volunteer in Capt. James Putnam's Fourth Company of Loyal Associators, and soon afterward as part of the Howe reorganization of the Loyalist corps was commissioned on Oct. 30th a Second Lieutenant in Capt. Abijah Willard's First Company.⁴

¹ Graves' despatches to the Admiralty are full of complaints of short-manning of his vessels (PRO. Ad.1:485) and see "The Conduct of Admiral Graves, Vol. II, Add. Mss. 14039, Brit. Mus. pp. 216-7.

² There can be no doubt that the Yankees - loyal and rebel - found the well-established colonial habit of privateering both congenial and rewarding. As Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison put it in his classic Maritime History of Massachusetts 1783-1860 (1st. edn. 1921) "Massachusetts enjoyed peace for three-quarters of the period from 1713 to the Revolution. In war-time her fishing fleet was dismantled, but the fishermen found exciting employment on armed merchantmen bearing letters of marque and reprisal... So congenial, in fact, did our provincial seamen find privateering, that many could not bear to give it up when peace was concluded. In consequence, not a few were hanged in chains on Bird Island or Nix's Mate, whereby every passing seaman might gain a moral lesson..." p. 20.

³ Samuel Paine to Dr. William Paine, Oct. 2, 1775. William Paine MSS, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

⁴ Roster of Ruggles' "Five Companies of Associators," July 5, 1775, Gage MSS., Clements Library, University of Michigan; Howe's joint commission to Capt. Abijah Willard of the First Company is in the Willard MSS., PRO. A.O. 13:51.

Tory activities on the sea during the last winter of the Siege of Boston (and later), whether connected with merchantmen, letters of marque, or privateers, however, suffer no less from obscurantism than those on land, and for much the same reasons. As was done to vilify the character of Col. Elisha Jones and his cousin Captain Ichabod Jones, whose sloop Unity was used in the first sea-fight with a naval vessel at Machias, political enemies made propaganda in the press of their failures - the only public record intended by the rebels to survive. The rebels made much of their captures of Tory vessels, Tory misadventures at sea were represented as objects of divine retribution, accusations were made against Tories for atrocities or destruction of property done by the rebels themselves.¹

At sea as on land the Tories were caught between failure and the extinction of the triumph of rebellion, and their successes which to a corresponding degree menaced and thus earned the hostility of an array of powerful, well-entrenched British interests. The most important of these were the Royal Navy and the Treasury, concerned with the protection and supply of the military and loyal colonial population, and the money-men of the City of London, who with their clients, the jobbers, were "cut out" by the enterprise of Tory Yankees from profits that made the great fortunes of such as Sir William Baker (1743-1824), an outspoken opponent of Lord North's Tory government who supplied regular and colonial troops in Nova Scotia and was paymaster during the French War.² To the end of the conflict the Royal Navy, Admiral Graves at Boston and his

¹ See the Boston Gazette, Dec. 4, 1775, 1/2. The Essex Gazette of Dec. 14th rejoiced in the capture of the loyal brig Little Hannah bound from Antigua to Boston, Robert Adams, Master, with a cargo of "about 130 puncheons of rum, 100 cases of gin, some cocoa, sugar, and a cask of oranges to please the delicate appetite of my Lord Howe." The brig, "wanting a pilot, and seeing the ship and privateer (Capt. Manley of Marblehead in the Lee) together, supposed the latter could help her to one; she accordingly made for them. She soon came up, when Capt. Manley readily afforded her a pilot, and conducted her together with the ship, very safely into Beverly harbour."

² Sir William Baker's father bought the Bayford estate in Hertfordshire from the profits of supply contracts in the French War in Canada and Nova Scotia. DNB. The best study of procurement is: Norman Baker, Government and Contractors The British Treasury and War Supplies 1775-1783. (1971) pp. 216-240; 247-8.

successors, (and generals such as Clinton who were political enemies of Lord George Germain) were opposed to the granting to Tories of letters of marque and privateering commissions, and to the creation and operation of a "Refugee Fleet."¹

From the time of his arrival as commander of the North American Squadron at Boston, June 30, 1774, there was as little mention as possible of Tory maritime activities in the official reports of Admiral Graves. Notable by their absence were the contributions made by Tory pilots and other volunteers belonging to Ruggles' corps of Associators with the punitive expedition finally sent by Graves in October, 1775 against Falmouth, Machias, and other rebellious towns along the coast of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine under Henry Mowat - at a time when Graves' every communication to England complained of his ships being short-handed. Nor in the list of captures made of more than 70 rebel vessels between June and December, 1775, did Graves indicate which had been taken by Tory letters of marque and privateers, manned and commanded by Ruggles' Associators sailing out of Boston under commissions given by Gage as Royal Governor of Massachusetts, and his military successor, William Howe.³

¹ After much prodding by Germain, who wrote Clinton at New York in a despatch dated April 21, 1780, to use "the zeal of his faithful refugee subjects within the British lines in annoying the seacoasts of the revolted provinces and distressing their trade..." the Board of Associated Loyalists (including Brig. Timothy Ruggles) was finally set up at New York to coordinate the activities - along the coast and elsewhere - in January 1781, of the various Tory corps. The efficiency of the Tory war-vessels, and particularly of the whaleboats of Col. Benjamin Thompson's King's American Dragoons (in which Stephen and Simeon Jones served as officers) in clearing the waters around Long Island of rebel privateers brought Naval and other pressure upon Clinton to curtail their activities. See: Germain to Clinton, April 21, 1780. Stopford-Sackville Papers, Hist. MSS. Comm. Report, Vol. II, p. 237. For the opposition of Sir Richard Howe to Tory letters of marque and privateers, see: Historical Anecdotes, Civil and Military in a Series of Letters Written from America in the Years 1777 and 1778 to Different Persons in England. By a Loyalist. London, 1779, p. 69.

² See above, Chapter

³ For the list of captures, Graves, "Conduct..." Vol. II. ADD. MSS. 14039, Brit. Mus.

More than this, through the autumn and into the winter of 1775 Graves' conduct of the naval command - as from the beginning - operated to hamper and restrict, rather than to facilitate, the shipping of supplies in Tory and other vessels into Boston. And at the same time, as in his despatch to Sandwich at the Admiralty dated August 19th, where Graves wrote : "Our entire dependence for Supplies in future must be on Great Britain..." the Admiral said nothing, or reduced to a minimum the contribution, actual and potential, made by Tories in procuring, shipping, and protecting the shipment of supplies of all kinds, whether originating in the American colonies - including Nova Scotia - or elsewhere. 1

Sandwich, taxed in the Cabinet by Germain for naval ineffectiveness, prodded Graves to act and to use the vessels and sources of supply immediately available to him. Sandwich wrote on September 17, 1775:

"In the letters I have lately troubled you with I have pointed out to you that the eyes of the whole Nation are upon you, that much is expected of the operations of the great naval force you will have under your command towards suppressing the unnatural rebellion now existing almost in every part of America; I have told you that you may be found fault with for doing too little, but there is no danger of blame for vigorous exertion of your strength. I cannot now conceal from you that I find the world in general full of complaints that the fleet does nothing, and that in particular Boston wants provisions which the ships have it in their power to procure. They say that you do not seem to consider America as a country you are actually at war with; and though the rebels take every advantage in their power to starve the army and navy, you seem to have delicacies about taking possession of whatever is wanted for your subsistence or your operations.

"I have always understood that Rhode Island and other places in rebellion are open to the sea and have plenty of cattle and stock. I think if I wanted provisions and had a fleet under my direction, I should find means to force them to supply me..."

1 Graves to Admiralty, August 19, 1775. PRO. AD. 1:485.

2 Sandwich's reference to the expected "great naval force" was to the large reinforcements in vessels envisaged by the estimates made at the Admiralty in July by Ad. Sir Hugh Palliser. In June, 1775 Graves had 30 vessels, and 10 more by the end of the year. Palliser estimated 50 vessels: five 50-gun ships, two 44s, 21 frigates, 14 sloops & 8 schooners. G.R. Barnes and J.H. Owens, The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich... Vol. 1, pp. 41, 64-66.

In September, 1775, Graves, however, even preparing at long last a punitive expedition against the rebellious towns Downeast,¹ and expecting reinforcements, showed no greater concern for the vital sea supply of the Boston Loyalist population from the still loyal colony of Nova Scotia even when that province was threatened by rebel invasion. And Tory fears that the rebels meant at last to strangle Boston by occupying and destroying supply bases in Nova Scotia and "captivating the Tories" there, many of them transplanted New Englanders engaged in the lucrative supply trade to Boston, were real enough.

On August 11th Washington in a letter to the rebel General Court at Watertown had shelved the so-called Thompson (or Machias) plan for an army of a thousand men to cross the Bay of Fundy in 4 armed vessels and 8 transports from Machias to capture Windsor and the Tories there and to use that town as a base for capturing the most strategic point in the maritime province, Halifax, with its naval base, arsenal, and great harbour.² But if official plans for an expedition to Nova Scotia were for a time thus suspended, Downeast rebels in Maine, at Machias and other places, whose forays as freebooters against loyal shipping and loyal supply bases along the New England coast and in the Bay of Fundy had greatly multiplied through the summer of 1775, took matters into their own hands.

¹ The sloop Raven which carried Admiralty orders dated July 6th for Graves to take the offensive in suppressing rebellion did not reach Boston until Oct. 4th, when Capt. Mowat's squadron to punish rebellious towns Downeast was nearly ready to sail (Oct. 8th). There is a copy of the orders of July 6th in the Germain Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan, (but none in the Admiralty Out-Letters in the PRO).

² The text of the Thompson Plan (named for Col. Samuel Thompson of Brunswick, leader of the "Brunswick Radicals" and the man chiefly responsible for the capture of Capt. Mowat of the Canceaux at Falmouth and the mob rule in the town - May, 1775 - known as "Thompson's War") and of Washington's reply to the Committee of the General Court are both printed in Force, American Archives, 4th Series, Vol. III, p. 31. The best discussion of the Thompson (Machias) Plan and Washington's attitude toward it is still that of John Bartlett Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia (1937), chapter 10, which correctly stresses the importance of the Fundy-Boston supply trade.

It was the piratical voyage to the mouth of the St. John River at the end of August of Captain Ichabod Jones' ubiquitous sloop Unity, without doubt a splendid sailer, that, captured by the rebels had vanquished, among others, the naval schooner Margaretta in the first¹ sea-fight in Machias Bay (June 12th) and renamed Machias Liberty had been added to the rebel freebooter fleet, that pointed the threat of armed Yankee invasion to the loyal province of Nova Scotia. She was commanded then by Stephen Smith, whose provision store at Machias, trading under the name of Smith and Stillman was prospering - as were other rebel firms Downeast - from the booty of captured Loyal vessels and their cargoes and the engrossed stock and business of its former and much larger Tory rival, forced to close down by the Committee of Safety of which partner George Stillman was Clerk,² and owned as a joint partnership by Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, Capt. Ichabod Jones, his son, John Coffin Jones, and nephew, Judge Stephen Jones of Machias.³ Stephen Smith in the Unity (Machias Liberty) carried out the attack on Fort Frederick, planned by the Machias Committee of Safety at least as early as July, bombarding and burning the military installations there - after first, with an eye to the profitability of the voyage, taking the valuable Tory supply vessel out of Boston, the 120 ton brig Loyal Briton, just loaded with a cargo of oxen, sheep, and swine, as she was winding up her anchor. The Loyal Briton, commanded by John Semple, a Boston merchant, was manned and owned by volunteers in Brig. Ruggles' Loyal Associators including James Anderson, soon to be commissioned Captain of the

¹ For the conversion of Ichabod Jones' sloop Unity, see: Judge Stephen Jones (of Machias) "Historical Account of Machias" 1822, Williamson MSS, Maine Historical Society, p. 21. The following year, July 25, 1776, the sloop Machias Liberty was bonded and commissioned as a Massachusetts privateer: her bond was £2,000, and the bonders the commander, Jeremiah O'Brien, "mariner" of Machias, Benjamin Balch, of Danvers, and Francis Shaw of Gouldsborough (father-in-law of Col. Nathan Jones' daughter Sarah, who married John Shaw - d. at Gouldsborough Oct. 25, 1780) With the schooner Diligent the Machias Liberty formed the beginning of the rebel Massachusetts State Navy. Allen, Massachusetts Privateers... pp. 113, 213, 313.

² The account book of Stephen Smith, for the years 1762-1777, and of the firm of Smith and Stillman, "Ledger A", are at the Maine Historical Society, Portland.

³ For the history of the firm of Stephen Jones and partners at Machias, see: Stephen Jones, "Historical Account of Machias," 1822, pp. 3-5, 14-15; Stephen Jones, "Autobiography" Sprague's Journal of Maine History, Vol. III, April, 1916. pp. 211-212; and the papers of John Coffin Jones, Harvard Business School.

Loyal North British Volunteers.

In his letter to the rebel General Court at Watertown of August 11th pointing out the "reasons against" implementing the Machias, or Thompson, Plan for an invasion of Nova Scotia, Washington had argued that "such an enterprise" was "inconsistent with the general principle upon which the colonies have proceeded," that Nova Scotia "has not commenced hostilities...nor are any to be apprehended. To attack it, therefore, is a measure of conquest, rather than defense, and may be attended with very dangerous consequences. It might, perhaps, be easy with the force proposed to make an incursion, into the province and overawe those of the inhabitants, who are inimical to our cause, and, for a short time, prevent their supplying the enemy with provisions; but to produce any lasting effects, the same force must continue."²

There can be no doubt, however, that the destruction of the strategically located Fort Frederick was part of a rebel plan for the occupation of Nova Scotia begun at least as early as July, when Col. Phineas Lovett, travelling passenger in a vessel from Salem to Machias, was asked by Stephen Smith about the state of the forts at the mouth of the St. John River (Fort Frederick), and across the Bay of Fundy at Annapolis Royal, and the probable actions of the local people should an attempt be made by the Yankees to invade. No sooner

¹ For the raising of the Loyal North British Volunteers, see above, Chapter . At the time of the raid at Fort Frederick John Semple was a volunteer in Captain Richard Saltonstall's Fifth Company of Ruggles' Associators. Roster, dated July 5, 1775. Gage Papers.

² Washington to the General Court, August 11, 1775. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington, Vol. III

In November, 1775, however, after rebel sympathizers from Nova Scotia pressed the Continental Congress at Philadelphia for an invasion to foment a rising against the administration of Governor Legge, Washington was directed to send two spies to Nova Scotia to gather information, on the basis of which, "in case he should judge it practicable and expedient" to send a force to Nova Scotia to seize war materials, destroy forts and docks, and capture Tory and British vessels. It well served the interests of the Tories in Boston that the two spies, Moses Child and Aaron Willard, were unable to cross the Bay of Fundy. The documents relating to this incident are printed in Force, American Archives, 4th Ser., Vol. IV, pp. 1148-9, and Ford, Journals of the Continental Congress, Vol. III, p. 348.

did Stephen Smith and the Unity(Machias Liberty) return from the burning of Fort Frederick in August with the "prize" vessel Loyal Briton, than she was renamed the Infidel and added to the Machias rebel squadron,¹ while the Committee of Safety lost no time in letting it be known that the next objectives in Nova Scotia to be attacked would be the two most important Tory supply bases in the Bay of Fundy, the ports of Annapolis Royal and Windsor.² Shipmasters and others coming from Machias testified in Halifax before Governor Legge and the Nova Scotia Council of the war preparations being made there. According to William Shey "the people at Mechias declar'd, that they only waited untill the Hay and Corn in Nova Scotia, were cut down & collected and then they would come and carry it off."³

1

2 Col. Phineas Lovett, a member of the Nova Scotia Assembly, informed the local authorities at Annapolis of his conversation at Machias with Stephen Smith, and a petition asking the Governor for a supply of arms and ammunition was signed by the leading citizens of Annapolis, including the Rev. Thomas Wood, Commissary and Ordnance Storekeeper Thomas Williams (who married Ann, only daughter of Captain Edward Amherst of the 40th Regiment, was grandfather to Sir William Penwick Williams, Bt. (see D.N.B.) and a direct ancestor of the author) Colonel William Shaw, and John Ritchie, with supporting letter from Matthew Winniett. After Lovett's testimony before the Council at Halifax, an order was made on July 24, 1775 for a supply to be sent to the forts at Annapolis Royal and Granville, but all that could be spared was six barrels of gunpowder, ball in proportion, and four six-pounders. After the burning of Fort Frederick a light-infantry company of fifty men was ordered to be formed (August 26, 1775) at Annapolis.

See Thomas Williams' letter from Annapolis Royal dated August 31, 1775 to William Shirreff, Deputy Quartermaster General at Boston. Gage MSS., Clements Library. For the testimony of Phineas Lovett before the Council, see: Nova Scotia Council Minutes, July 15, 1775. P.A.N.S. 212:325.

3 Deposition of William Shey, August 16, 1775. Nova Scotia Council Minutes, Aug. 16, 1775. P.A.N.S. 212:338. This was further confirmed by the testimony that same day of Mrs. Susannah Shepherd, passenger on a vessel from Philadelphia that had run aground and, having been got off by Stephen Smith on patrol in Machias Bay, was "forced...into Machias." She heard of plans to attack Nova Scotia with a force of two thousand men that would make prisoners of the Tories and the Governor after the harvest was in, and that orders were awaited from Congress to carry out these plans. Ibid., p. 340.

Admiral Graves, in an exchange of letters with Governor Francis Legge at Halifax, discussed the advisability of limiting the quantity of supplies that Tory vessels from Boston should be allowed to take away from the Province. Graves' letter of Sept. 30th was hostile to the Tory interest both in Nova Scotia and in Boston:

"I am particularly obliged to Your Excellency for pointing out so clearly the scarcity likely to happen in the Province of Nova Scotia by our drawing from thence too large supplies of Cattle and other Stock. Many of the Inhabitants of Boston have fitted out Vessels and entreated permission to go to Nova Scotia to procure fresh provisions. Hitherto they have not been refused, and it would have the appearance of cruelty to deny them, but as they have all been wanting in that respect due to Your Excellency, and, under pretence of furnishing the Navy, have perhaps obtained indulgence they were otherwise not intitled (sic) to, I beg leave to assure you that although the Tenor of Passes hath been generally to procure fresh stock for the Army and Navy, they have been granted under a supposition that Nova Scotia was benefitted by the Trade and with a view to supply our Market, and not for the particular use of the Fleet. Whatever we may wish to have in future for the Fleet I will make particular application for to Your Excellency, and I suppose the General will do the same for the Army; and with respect to all those who now have my pass, Your Excellency will be the best judge how far they can be indulged, but no part is for the Fleet..."¹

¹ Ad. Graves to Gov. Legge, Boston, Sept. 30, 1775. "The Conduct of Admiral Graves," Vol. II, Add. MSS. 14039, Brit. Mus.

The vital provision trade across the Bay of Fundy in which Col. Elisha Jones, as Forage Commissioner, and the Boston Tories had so large an interest, continued however encumbered by official restrictions - and harrassed by armed rebel raiders - throughout the Siege. It was a great loss to the cause of Loyalism in Nova Scotia and in Boston - and symbolic of their common identity - however, when in December, 1775 the great leader of the Nova Scotia Loyalists, John Day, senior partner in the Halifax firm of Day & Scott, was killed when his ship, carrying supplies to Boston, was struck by lightning. It was John Day who had written and managed the passage through a turbulent session of the Nova Scotia Assembly the politically crucial Loyal Address to the Crown of June 24, 1775. A man whose fearless patriotism would have recommended him to Col. Elisha Jones, Day had been the principal supplier of forage in Nova Scotia to Loyal Boston: it was to the office of Day and Scott at Windsor that Josiah Jones, supercargo of the sloop Polly, had been directed on the fateful voyage of June, 1775 that ended in his imprisonment at Concord.¹

¹ William Shirreff (Deputy Quartermaster General at Boston) to Messrs. Day & Scott at Windsor, May 30, 1775. Doc. Hist. of the State of Maine, Vol. XIV, pp. 264-5. William Shirreff's letter to Thomas Williams Ordnance Storekeeper at Annapolis Royal, dated Boston, May 29, 1775, gives further information regarding the procurement of forage by Day & Scott at Halifax, a letter carried on the Polly by Josiah Jones, and captured with his other papers by the rebels. Printed in Force, American Archives, Series IV, Vol. 2, p. 902. For sketches of John Day, see the Memorials of John Day Jr., April 26, 1784, and his mother Henrietta Maria, of July 29, 1784. P.A.N.S.

At the beginning of September Governor Legge and the Council had put in hand what measures they could for the defense of Halifax and other parts of the Province, some of which, notably Cape Sable and the South Shore (south-west from Chester and Lunenburg) were substantially neutralist and even pro-rebel.¹ At the beginning of October, Gage, as Commander-in-Chief, reinforced the small Halifax garrison, sending from Boston two companies of the Fourteenth Regiment and a detachment of 70 Royal Fencible Americans; in November one fifth of the Militia was raised, and martial law finally declared throughout Nova Scotia on December 5th.² Under the direction of the Province Chief Justice, moreover, some 700 inhabitants of Halifax, and King's and Annapolis Counties, took the oath of allegiance and signed a Loyal Association paper similar to that circulated earlier to the towns in Massachusetts by Brig. Timothy Ruggles, Col. Elisha Jones, Col. Thomas Gilbert, and the other Tory leaders.³

¹ Nova Scotia Council Minutes, Sept. 4, 1775. P.A.N.S., 212:352. For public attitudes toward the rebellion, see: E.D. Poole, Annals of Yarmouth and Barrington in the Revolutionary War, Yarmouth, N.S., 1899; and the Diary of Simeon Perkins (Liverpool shipmaster and merchant) 1766-1780, H.A. Innis, ed., Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1948; G.A. Rawlyk, "The American Revolution and Nova Scotia Reconsidered," Dalhousie Review, Vol. XLIII (Fall, 1963) pp. 379-94; Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, pp. 274-279.

² On Oct. 16, 1775, Lord Suffolk authorized Gov. Legge to raise a force of a thousand volunteers for the defense of the Province. Suffolk to Legge, Oct. 16, 1775. P.A.N.S., 32:32. See: D.C. Harvey, "Machias and the Invasion of Nova Scotia," Canadian Historical Association Report, 1932, p. 18; Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, p. 270.

³ Chief Justice (and Lieutenant Governor) Jonathan Belcher Jr. (son of the Governor of Massachusetts, 1731-41, and of New Jersey, 1747-57) Belcher's Association read in part: "...and though the Realms of Scotland, Ireland & all the Dominions in America were unrepresented in the English Parliament, yet they are, and have ever been deem'd to be incontestably bound by the Act of Succession to the Crown, to the Strictest Allegiance and Fidelity to his Majesty's most Sacred Person, & his Royal & Supreme Government, as visited on his Majesty by Parliament." Gov. Legge to Lord Dartmouth, Nov. 27, 1775. PRO. C.O. 217/51.

Buttressed by Tory Associations and Tory volunteer¹ companies in Halifax, Annapolis, Windsor, and other towns, Loyalism in Nova Scotia passed through its severest trials of the War during the fall and winter of 1775-6, gathering the strength, however, to keep the support of the great majority of the population, including the predominantly neutralist French peasantry and some among the immigrant Yankees for whom the struggle was a civil war - contrary to the experience of neighbouring Massachusetts and the other New England colonies - to retain political control under the crown.² Although none of Col. Elisha Jones' family sought political asylum in Nova Scotia until the Evacuation of Boston, there were many New England Tories who, before the spring of 1776 fled from rebel persecution Downeast to the St. John River valley and across the Bay of Fundy to the Nova Scotia peninsula - where they joined with local Tories to become the real founders of Nova Scotia nationalism.³

To no small degree Loyalism in Nova Scotia was forged - before 1776 and after- by rebel Yankee sea-raiding and pillage, the brunt of it along the Fundy Shore and Cape Sable,⁴ eight long years and more of terror and hardship that cast shadows in families without

1 The government later armed two schooners, the 60 ton Buckram and the Insulter under Captain John Shepherd which carried arms and ammunition to the militia and acted as convoys between port towns, and fitted out a small 50 ton schooner with 8 guns and a crew of 28 as a coast guard, called The Loyal Nova Scotian.

2 The only serious attempt by the rebels to invade Nova Scotia during the War was the unsuccessful attack made upon Ft. Cumberland in Nov., 1776 by Jonathan Eddy and a force of "militia" from Machias. Few Nova Scotians joined his call for rebellion. See Brebner, The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia, pp.282-5.

3 For the Jones family and the Evacuation, see below, Chapter Whig and Neo-Whig historians have generally minimized or ignored the question of Loyalism in Nova Scotia at the beginning of the War: See W.S. MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces... 1712-1857 (1965) where in Chapter 4, "Revolution and Reorganization 1775-1785" little is said of Nova Scotian Loyalism, and overmuch of the "neutrality" of the local population.

4 There is no adequate study of loyal or rebel privateering during the War, in Nova Scotian waters. Scattered incidents, notably after 1775, appear in the Diary of Simeon Perkins the merchant and shipowner of Liverpool, Harold A. Innis, ed., Vol. I, 1766-1780. Toronto, 1948. The rebel privateer raids are still remembered - and have passed into folklore. Harrison Jones of Weymouth to author, August, 1952.

number outlasting two centuries, and profoundly influenced the shape of Nova Scotia political history: it was Col. Elisha Jones' great-grandson, the Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, of Weymouth (Digby County) and Halifax, who for some years in the 1860's was leader¹ of the Anti-Confederation party in Nova Scotia. Nor were the rebel Yankee raids on Nova Scotia the work only of freebooters - called pirates by the Loyalists - that to the end of the war continued to operate without commissions, or even Letters of Marque and Privateers. There was no more blatant demonstration of the rebel threat to Nova Scotia than the notorious raid upon the Island of St. John (Prince Edward Island) in the Gulf of St. Lawrence by two commissioned armed vessels of "George Washington's Navy", the schooners Franklin and Hancock, commanded by John Selman, a captain in Gen. John Glover's 21st (Marblehead) regiment, and Nicholson Broughton, formerly commander of the ill-fated schooner Hannah, the first to be commissioned by Washington. The Franklin and Hancock left Beverly on Oct. 22, 1775, but failing to intercept two ordnance brigs from England with cargoes of powder and munitions, they "turned pirate" and sailing to the Island of St. John fell upon the principal settlement (Charlottetown), plundering warehouses and homes, carrying off jewelry and other personal effects besides the records of the Supreme Court, and abducting the acting governor, Phillips Callbeck, and surveyor-general Thomas Wright,

¹ This party favoured continued self-government under the Crown. Alfred Gilpin Jones, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia from 19 served as President of the United Empire Loyalist Association of Nova Scotia and as Lt. Col. commanding the First Brigade Halifax Garrison Artillery. He was grandson of Lt. Stephen Jones (Harvard, 1775) of the King's American Dragoons, who after the War settled at Weymouth (Sissiboo) with his brothers Josiah, Simeon, and nephew Cereno Upham Jones. Alfred Gilpin Jones was born at Weymouth in September, 1824, was educated at Yarmouth Academy, and went into business at Halifax where for many years he was head of the large West Indian importing firm of A.G. Jones & Co. Member of the Nova Scotia and Canadian Parliaments for Halifax for a number of years, Alfred Gilpin Jones was Minister of Militia in the Mackenzie Cabinet in 1878, and in 1896 was Canadian representative at the Imperial Trade Congress and Pacific Cable Conference in London. Printed sketches are in Henry James Morgan, The Canadian Men and Women of the Time, Toronto, 1898, pp. 512-3; Sir Bernard Burke, History of the Colonial Gentry, Vol. II, 1895, pp. 737-8.

Gov. Jones' official papers are in the Nova Scotia Provincial Archives; family papers with the Jones MSS., Dalhousie University, Halifax.

who were taken prisoner to Watertown.¹

The frustration and anger of the Loyalists in Boston - and the Army - at the failure of Admiral Graves and the Navy to protect the supply vessels, however, reached the uttermost limit with the capture of the ordnance brig Nancy from Woolwich Arsenal. On Dec. 8,th Dr. Peter Oliver Jr. wrote to his Father-in-law Governor Thomas Hutchinson in London: "The Ordinance Brigg was taken the 1st Instant, by one of their pirates, and carried into Cape Ann. To send an Ordinance Brigg of such a value out so poorly mann'd and arm'd looks very odd. We have 8 or 10 Pirate vessels out between the Capes, and yet our Men-of-Warr are chiefly in the Harbour. Two thirds of the troop and provision vessells are out, yet we expect they will be taken, many of them..."² Charles Stuart, then commanding the 43rd Regiment, was no less pessimistic. "We are almost buried here," he wrote to Lord Bute on December 14th, "and get no intelligence but the most melancholy news - such as our ships loaded with stores have been taken, several with provisions and fuel; notwithstanding near 14 Men of War were cruising off, and others in the Harbour (Boston).

"All we have done since my last is taking one Privateer of the Enemy with 70 men on board, and 19 guns, a miserable old ship.

"The Enemy's works augment every day; there is not the smallest hillock without a post, and we expect soon to see the town afire with the Mortar and Shells they took from our stores..."³

¹ Washington was officially "embarrassed" by this incident, a clear case of piracy by the laws of the time: he freed the prisoners, and never gave another command to Captains Broughton or Selman. In a later "Memorial," however, Broughton alleged that he had not contravened his orders. Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. II, pp. 1319, 1322.

² P.O. Hutchinson, ed. The Diary and Letters of... Thomas Hutchinson, Vol. II

³ Charles Stuart to Lord Bute, Boston, Dec. 14, 1775. Hon. Mrs. E. Stuart Wortley, ed., A Prime Minister and his Son, p. 73.

Probably there were few in Boston who did not share the views of Lord Rawdon in a letter to his uncle, the Earl of Huntingdon, dated at Boston on December 13th: "...If you do not send us a strong reinforcement and a new Admiral, you have nothing to expect from us. Indeed, ¹Graves deserves to be made an example of much more than Byng did." They had not long to wait. Admiral Molyneux Shuldham and a small squadron arrived at Boston the end of December with orders for Graves' recall.²

To the Tories Admiral Graves was - and was to remain - the great villain of the Siege of Boston. They in their vulnerable position of dependence upon Government suffered at first hand from Graves' corruption (which reached so low as even to the sale of passes to near-bankrupt and half-starved Tories for the "privilege" of fishing in Boston harbour)³ personal cowardice (of the sort that led him to draw his sword upon an unarmed Tory with a grievance in the street) and avarice (Graves used his official position to take hay belonging to refugee Tories from islands in Boston harbour). Graves' was the failure to use what ships and manpower he had to advantage in supporting the military defense of Government under Gage and Howe, and to protect the vital supply routes into besieged Boston - that drove the refugee Tories under Brigadier Ruggles to sea in such as Col. Elisha Jones' forage transports, and letters of marque and privateers, in a fight for survival against rebel freebooters that in ever greater numbers and in every kind of vessel from whaleboats to brigantines preyed upon loyal shipping.

¹ Major Francis Hucheson wrote to Gen. Haldimand on Dec. 23, 1775: "The White flag at the foretop Masthead is Old, Dirty, and unfit for Service, if the Ministry expects it should fly with Luster, they must send a New One, Clean and Firm." Haldimand Papers, ADD MSS 21680, Brit. Mus.

² For the recall of Graves, see: PRO. Ad. 2:100:138ff.

³ William Eden, comparing Gage and Graves to Lord George Germain, wrote: "A worthy general with parts inferior to his station and a corrupt admiral without any shadow of capacity..." Stopford-Sackville Papers Hist. Mss. Comm., 1910, Vol. II, p. 10. A letter written by a Loyalist in Boston in Dec., 1775 put it in more detail:

"All the summer while the sick and wounded were dying daily for want of fresh provisions, not a boat was permitted to fish in the harbour till Mr. — (Jefferina) the Admiral's secretary, was softened down by a dollar for each boat. You may be sure we were not silent at this exaction, which was both impudent and (cont.)

For the Tories in New England, Nova Scotia, and the growing refugee colony in England itself during the War, Graves was the symbol of all that was bad in British administration;¹ their later verdict was for the most part that of the soldier sons of Col. Elisha Jones who in preparing their Loyalist Memorials ignored Admiral Graves (given regular promotion to the rank of Admiral of the White in 1782) and solicited testimonials from Gage and Howe in support of their services during the Siege of Boston.²

Cont. barbarous, and after a long time got it abolished. But after this we found ourselves in a worse situation. As no dollars were paid, fishing passports were with difficulty procured; the Admiral was never to be seen, and his secretary was always busy; so that it often cost many days attendance before a single boat could have leave to fish. You may guess what execrations were poured forth against them by all sorts of people, the sick, the wounded, and the well, the army and the inhabitants..." Margaret Wheeler Willard, ed., Letters on the American Revolution, Boston, 1925, pp. 238-9.

⁴ Graves' cowardice and avarice are chronicled in Allen French, "The Hallowell-Graves Fisticuffs, (August 11) 1775," MHS Proceedings, LXIII, pp. 41-46.

¹ In London Jonathan Sewall wrote to Edward Winslow (appointed by Howe Collector of Customs at Boston and Register of Probate for Suffolk County) Jan. 10-20, 1776: "...What excuse can be form'd for a British Admiral, who, with 30 or 40 Ships under his Command, Suffers a Garrison to starve, tho' surrounded with plenty of every Necessary within reach of his Ships!" and "tamely & supinely... (watch) Fishing Schooners, Whale boats and Canoes riding triumphantly under the Muzzles of his Guns, & carrying off every Supply..." Graves, he added, "is cursed as hard upon this Side of the Water as he can be on yours." Edward Winslow Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa. Sewall had written to Ward Chipman in Boston somewhat earlier, Nov. 25, 1775-Jan. 14, 1776, "...It minds me of Voltair's Observation, in his Candid—viz. 'that the English find it necessary to shoot an Admiral now and then, to make the rest fight.' Sure I am this Admiral deserves shooting infinitely more richly than poor Byng did, if the one half that is told of his unpardonable Neglect, be true." Ward Chipman Papers, Loc. Cit.

² PRO., A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:74.

THE STARVELING WINTER OF '75

"I am well in health, thank God, and have been so the whole of the time, but have liv'd at the rate of six or seven hundred sterling a year —for I was determined to eat fresh provisions, while it was to be got, let it cost what it would; that since October (1775) I have scarce eat three meals of salt meat, but supply'd my family with fresh at the rate of one shilling to one shilling and sixpence sterling the pound... Though you may think we had plenty of cheese and porter, yet we were oblig'd to give from fifteen pence to two shillings a pound for all we eat of the former, and a loaf of bread of the size we formerly gave three pence for thought ourselves well off to get for a shilling. Butter at two shillings. Milk, for months without tasting any. Potatoes, from nine shillings to ten shillings and sixpence (a) bushel, and everything else in the same strain..."

John Andrews, Whig merchant, Boston, April 11, 1776¹

How well Col. Elisha Jones, his wife Mary, and sons were able to afford these wildly inflated prices — or those somewhat lower for the health-destroying salt provisions — we do not know: for all but the very rich, like the Whig merchant John Andrews, the last months of 1775 and 1776 in Boston were a hard, sometimes desperate, struggle to live. With shortages of food at times acute, Howe by proclamation of November 6th gave the poorest exit permits and transport from Boston.² Tories with means and little taste for fighting made a final exodus before winter in available vessels to England. It speaks much that the Loyalist refugees who remained in Boston, even those such as the Colonel's family who, as officials and serving-soldiers in the Loyal Associators, wrote little of the domestic trials of this period, which they — and their descendants —

¹ John Andrews to William Barrell, April 11, 1776. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. 8, 1865, pp. 410-411.

² This Proclamation began: "Whereas the present and approaching distresses of many of the inhabitants in the town of Boston, from the scarcity and high prices of provisions, fuel, and other necessary articles of life, can only be avoided by permitting them to go where they may hope to procure easier means of subsistence..." Mass. Hist. Soc., Broad-sides.

remembered as the "starveling winter of '75".¹

By contrast, with the continuing exodus of people from Boston, housing was apparently the least of problems for the Loyalist refugees. The difficulty was rather for landowners - Tory and Whig - to find reliable occupiers who would guard properties, houses, and places of business from thieves and vandals. "The only cheap thing here is house rent," wrote Henry Hulton on January 22, 1776, "and the dwellers therein frequently changing. Many people are glad to get a family into their houses with the furniture standing whilst they flee from fear or to join the Rebels. I am going to remove to my friends Sir William Pepperrell's house that has a large garden and pasture adjoining so that we hope to have all kinds of vegetables and food for our cow within ourselves during the summer which are gt objects in our situation..."² This was a letter of anticipation: Sir William Pepperrell and his family sailed from Boston in the transport Trident for England February 1, 1776, nearly a fortnight later.³

1

On Nov. 27, 1775, the Boston Gazette at Watertown, 1/2, reported: "On Friday last General Howe sent three hundred men, women, and children, poor of the town of Boston, over to Chelsea, without anything to subsist on, at this inclement season of the year, having, it is reported, only six cattle left in the town for Shubael Hewes, butcher-master-general, to kill." Howe's Orderly Book (Nov. 29, 1775) reported theft of "the meat intended for the sick in the General Hospital... is frequently purloined". Even that important personage, the Boston Town Bull, was stolen - and a savage punishment meted out to the culprit; Howe's Orderly Book relates: "Winifred McCowan, retainer to the Camp tryed by General Court Martial for having stolen the Town Bull and Causing him to be killed and is found Guilty of the Same & Sentenced to be Tyed to a Cart's Tail, and thereto to receive 100 Lashes on her bare Back in different portions of the most Public parts of the Town and Camp, and to be imprison'd three months..." Howe, "General Orders..." New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 266.

² Hulton, one of the Commissioners of Customs, had a house at Brookline, not far from Boston. Henry Hulton to _____, Jan. 22, 1776. MSS. Letterbook, Shepherd Manuscripts, Manchester College Library, Oxford.

³ John Rowe, Diary, Feb. 1, 1776. Cunningham, ed. Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 298.

For the Loyalists, as in the first winter of the Siege, the greatest problem of survival after food, and forage for their horses, cows, and other beasts for those fortunate enough to have them, was fuel. Even in the mildest of years Boston, standing exposed on the coast, has weather for weeks at a time bitterly cold and damp, a chill most often wind-driven and more penetrating even than the drier, if more severe, inland climates. At Boston on Christmas Eve, 1775, there was a great storm which lasted all day, blown by one of the dread "Nor'Easters," then as now instrument of the worst of winter savagery. Deacon William Tudor of the Brattle Street Church, in his only journal entry for that bleak December of 1775, wrote: "Dec. 24. For 3 Days past very Cold, & this morning Came on a cold N.E. Storm & Snow..."¹

How true to the situation in which Col. Elisha Jones, his wife Mary Allen, and their sons then found themselves was the picture sketched the day before, December 23rd, for General Frederic Haldimand in London by his friend and former colleague in Boston Major Francis Hutcheson of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment, we do not know, but it described the plight of too many families among the "Gentlemen Refugees":

"...the Torys in this place, tho' they are in some measure the innocent cause of the misfortunes of it, by not exarting themselves in proper time, are really to be pittied. Many familys with whom you were acquainted last Winter, and had then 7 or 8 fires in their houses are now reduced to one, to cook and sit by it, with their servants..."²

¹ Deacon Tudor's Diary, (Boston, 1896) p. 60. See also the diary of Ezekiel Price, entries for Dec. 21-25, 1775. M.H.S. Proceedings, Vol. XIX, pp. 222-3.

² Maj. Francis Hutcheson to Gen. Haldimand, Boston, Dec. 23, 1775. Haldimand Papers, Add. Mss. 21680, Brit. Mus.

Col. Elisha Jones and Josiah would have had the fuel entitlement of their Crown offices, Forage Commissioner and Clerk to Howe's Secretary, Captain Robert Mackenzie, and the sons the ration as holders of commissions with Ruggles' corps of Associators: wood, supplemented when supplies of coal became available with the arrival of shipments by sea. Captain Francis Green of Ruggles' Associators, Third Company in which Josiah Jones served as First Lieutenant, testified after the War that he had not, during the Siege of Boston, received "any pay, nor any other Advantage from Gov^t excepting a few bushels of coals &c..."¹

From the onset of cool weather in the Fall right through the Winter of 1775-6, supplies of fuel could not meet the need of the besieged town, and the rations more often than not went short. On November 9th Richard Reeve, Secretary to the Board of Customs at Boston wrote: "Provisions of all kinds and fuel are become excessively dear, and scarcely anything can be procured by the inhabitants for money. The Army and Navy engross everything that is brought in, and the people belonging to our Service have been more than once reduced to great distress..."²

Even such as the rich Boston Whig merchant John Andrews, who through the Siege "liv'd at the (enormous) rate of six or seven hundred sterling a year" felt the pinch, as he later wrote to his brother-in-law William Barrell at Philadelphia:

"...What wood was to be got, was oblig'd to give at the rate of twenty dollars a cord, and coals, though government had a plenty, I could not procure (not being an addressor or an associator) though I offer'd so high as fifty dollars for a chaldron, and that at a season, when Nabby and John, the only help I had, were under inoculation for the small pox, that if you'll believe me, Bill, I was necessitated to burn horse dung. Many were the instances of the inhabitants

¹ Statement of Capt. Francis Green, March 2, 1784. Notes of Commissioner Daniel Parker Coke, M.P. The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of American Loyalists, 1783-1785. p.100.

² Richard Reeve to Board of Customs, Nov. 9, 1775. Reeve Mss., Buckinghamshire County Record Office, Aylesbury.

being confin'd to the Provost for purchasing fuel of the Soldiers, when no other means offer'd to keep them from perishing with cold -- Yet such was the inhumanity of our masters, that they were even deny'd the privilege of buying the soldier's rations." 1

Through the autumn and winter of 1775-1776 the principal suppliers of wood for Boston were not the traditional Maine logging settlements, like Machias so largely now in the grip of the rebels, but the Loyalists of Nova Scotia - whose new-found prosperity did much to strengthen their cause. There were large firms such as Day & Scott of Halifax and Newport (which also traded in foodstuffs, forage, and other vital supplies) and countless small ones, scattered by the creek mouths in coves and bays, with a stand of timber, water-driven saw mills, wharves, and for greatest profits schooners or sloops for transport of the lumber and cord-wood across the Bay of Fundy and "up" to Boston. Apart from these and the transports under Howe's direction, a number of vessels owned and manned by Ruggles' Loyal Associators of Boston were engaged in the Nova Scotia wood trade, as in the procurement there of forage and other supplies. 2

Howe's "Return of Transports" addressed to the Treasury and dated Nov.27,1775, shows 5 vessels "out for wood" at Nova Scotia: 3

SHIP	tonnage	complement	needed
Henry & Easter	306	21	3
Henry	333	23	7
Edward	268	18	-
Ocean	242	16	1
Sea Venture	299	21	2

1 John Andrews to William Barrell, Boston, April 11, 1776. M.H.S. Proceedings, Vol.VIII, p.411.

2 Rebel Maine was cut off from its markets in Boston, the West Indies, and England, for wood & other products. See Judge Stephen Jones of Machias, "Historical Account of Machias..." MSS, Maine Historical Society, p.12; and the Loyalist papers of Philip Goldthwait, PRO.A.O. 13:73 and A.O.13:84.

3 Howe to John Robinson at the Treasury, encl.3, dated Nov.27, 1775, in despatch of Dec.1, 1775. PRO. T.1:518.

Not only were the refugee Loyalists - mainly New Englanders - already in Nova Scotia by the summer of 1775 encouraged by the valuable government concession to them of unrestricted cutting of forest timber and the right of export to the British West Indies - and to loyal Boston, but also in contravention of the long-established Imperial mercantile policy the refugee Tories were granted (July 1, 1775) at the same time the concession to mine and to export Nova Scotia coal.¹ It was the supplies of coal brought to Boston by sea, moreover, that were probably the crucial factor in keeping the Tories in Boston, the garrison, and the town from freezing altogether in that winter of privation, 1775-1776.² And these supplies of coal, freighted both from Nova Scotia and from Britain, were in no small part the work of New England and Nova Scotia loyalists, including such members of Ruggles' corps of Associators as William Knutson, a volunteer in Capt. Adino Paddock's Third Company (July 5, 1775) who, under the direction of Joseph Goldthwait, Barrack-Master at Boston, had been put in charge of government mining operations at Spanish River (Sydney) in the north island of Cape Breton.³

¹ July 1, 1775. Nova Scotia State Papers, A.94,5. In Nova Scotia restrictions on cutting "mast trees" &c. were similar to those for the New England colonies, but in 1774 the entire forests of Cape Breton were reserved for the Royal Navy. See Lords of the Treasury to the King, PRO. C.O. 5:2;6.

The government also carefully guarded its monopoly of mineral rights in Nova Scotia, preventing (by a system of licensing) any large-scale private exploitation of the known deposits of coal, iron ore, and other minerals that would lead to the manufacture of products competing with those of Britain in colonial and home markets. Even in July, 1774, Gov. Legge had been ordered to preserve government ownership of gold, silver, and precious stones in all land grants. See Nova Scotia State Papers, A90, 96, 162.

² Maj. Francis Hutcheson to Gen. Haldimand, Dec. 23, 1775. Haldimand Papers, ADD.MSS. 21680, Brit. Mus.

³ PRO. T. 29:48, 305, 349; Roster of Ruggles' Associators, July 5, 1775. Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

The coal diggings at Spanish River continued under Knutson's direction until December, 1776.¹ Probably the amounts of coal shipped in Tory and other vessels from thence to Boston during the Siege exceeded the figures reported to the Treasury: Nova Scotia coal, smuggled or not, from Cape Breton and from the other then well-known source, Chignecto at the head of the Bay of Fundy and not far from Fort Cumberland, for a century and more had been regularly sold in Boston markets. It was to be picked up for the taking in the large surface outcrops both at Chignecto and Spanish River, where seams in the cliffs ran down to the waterside.²

Tory merchants in Boston, meanwhile, had contracted with General Gage by May, 1775, "to bring coals from Newcastle" and other places in Britain, both as cargo and as ballast in supply vessels.³ Like many of the supply ships sent out from Britain, however, a number of these Tory merchantmen were lost to rebel privateers within sight of Boston, the bulk of Graves' fleet in November and December remaining at winter anchorages in the harbour. One of the greatest losses to the Loyalists at this time was the 300-ton ship Concord with a cargo of coal and dry goods valued at £ 3606.19s6d. (Sterling) captured on December 3rd by Captain John Manley in the privateer Lee and taken into Marblehead.

¹ PRO. T.29:48, pp.305,349; T.1:525, 216; T.29:48, p.349.

On Feb. 24, 1776 the right to exploit timber and coal deposits was extended to Nova Scotians: three Halifax merchants were authorized to supply 3,000 chaldrons of coal, paying £400 sterling for the right. Nova Scotia State Papers, A95, pp.124,309.

The shipments of Nova Scotia coal cannot be accurately assessed from the Treasury Papers (PRO) and official correspondence in England: These were largely influenced by the estimates of the largest prospective supplier, and both needs that "had" to be met from England and the cost and shipping charges were inflated. Norman Baker, in Government and Contractors The British Treasury and War Supplies 1775-1783 challenges the validity of the criticisms made by George Tufnell in the House of Commons debate of March 12, 1776 of government waste and overcharging; evidence that is not from the Treasury papers, largely relied upon by Baker, seems rather to support Tufnell. Baker, Government and Contractors, (1971) pp.191-192. The supplier was Anthony Bacon.

² Outcrops of coal may still be seen at Spanish River (Sydney) and on the Chignecto Isthmus. Boston merchants were engaged in the coal trade to good profit: On June 21, 1732 Governor Armstrong made a grant to Henry Cope, John Leddel, John Cairns and Alec Forsyth of Boston of 4,000 acres on the west side of Chignecto, at a charge of one penny sterling quit rent; 1s1d. per chaldron of coal; reservation of coal for military use, cultivation of 1/10th of the land, and land to be set aside for a church and a school.

Part owner of the Concord and her cargo and Boston consignee was Captain James Anderson,¹ the Boston merchant, who had served as second lieutenant in Capt. Adino Paddock's third company of Brig. Ruggles' Loyal Associators through the summer and autumn of 1775 and who on October 29th had been appointed by Howe Captain commandant of the Scots Loyalists, Bostonians and "Refugees from the Country", the North British Volunteers. Despite the loss of the Concord, Anderson and others with him in the North British Volunteers continued through the winter of 1775-1776 to bring in supplies to Boston: on April 4, 1776 John Robinson at the Treasury wrote to John Pownall "for the information of Lord George Germain"- always a friend to Tory interests - supporting an application by Anderson for a license "to export sundry stores to America for the use of the King's troops there serving under General Howe,"² some of these, no doubt, for Anderson's own North British Volunteers who, like Brig. Ruggles' Loyal Associators and the company of Irish Volunteers commanded by Captain James Forrest, another Boston merchant, formed Dec. 7, 1775, were the first New England units in what was to become the "Tory army," the Provincial Corps, after the occupation of New York City by Howe in the summer of 1776. The ~~loss~~^{capture} of the Concord, meanwhile, following as it did only a few days after that of the munition ship Nancy from Woolwich Arsenal at the beginning of December did much to make the reputation of

3 CONT. Gage to Dartmouth, May 25, 1775. PRO. C.O. 5:92.

¹ For the capture of the Concord, see: Robert Peabody, "The Naval Career of Captain John Manley of Marblehead," Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. XLV, 1909, p. 9; Col. Stephen Moylan to Joseph Reed, Dec. 5, 1775. William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed... (1847) Vol. I, pp. 133-134.

The Concord, James Lowrie, Master, was from Glasgow, and the shippers were Crawford, Anderson & Co. of Glasgow.

For James Anderson, see: Loyalist Memorial of Lt. David Black, North British Volunteers, PRO. A.O. 13:50; the roster of officers and men of Capt. Adino Paddock's Third Company of Loyalists, PRO. A.O. 13:75; and the roster of Ruggles' Five Companies of Associators dated July 5, 1775 in the Gage Papers, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

² John Robinson to John Pownall, April 4, 1776. PRO. T. 27:31.

Captain John Manley of Marblehead, given a privateering commission¹ by Washington only a few weeks before. For the Loyalists in Boston, apart from the vessel and cargo, the Concord carried letters from Britain, many of them from refugees whose families and friends were separated by the war. It is a measure of the prejudiced belief of Washington's staff in the justice of rebellion, moreover, that Colonel Stephen Moylan, later appointed by Washington as Muster-Master-General of the Continental Army, wrote from Headquarters at Cambridge where the letters were examined as follows to Washington's former Military Secretary, Joseph Reed, at Philadelphia:

"There were a vast number of letters, and what is really extraordinary not one that does not breathe enmity, death, and destruction to this fair land, G-d damn them..."²

Rebel captures of coal ships from British ports such as the Concord,³ and the coal and wood ships from Nova Scotia, together with the slowness of Treasury administration in letting contracts and achieving delivery, created desperate shortages of fuel in Boston during the winter of 1775-1776 which, as a bald matter of survival, could be met only by extreme measures on the part of Howe, as Commander-in-Chief. And in the carrying-out of these Brigadier Ruggles' corps of Associated Loyalists - and the sons of Col. Elisha Jones - took a leading part.

It was one of the regular duties of Ruggles' three companies of Associated Loyalists to keep a supply of fuel in the Corps' magazines. But, however, when the stocks of wood and coal brought in by sea ran dangerously low - which they too often did - then by Howe's orders resort was had to such sources of fuel as the town

¹ Robert Peabody, "The Naval Career of Captain John Manley..." Essex Institute Historical Collections, Vol. XVI, 1909, pp. 5-7. Manley's ship was the schooner Lee, rigged as a "topsail schooner" i.e. with a big squaresail on the fore topmast, armed with 10 swivels and 4 4-pounders lent by Captain John Derby of Salem.

² Col. Stephen Moylan to Joseph Reed, Dec. 5, 1775. William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed... (1847) Vol. I, p. 134.

³ On December 9th Capt. Manley took another coal ship, in Boston Bay: the Jenny, Capt. William Foster, armed only with 2 double-fortified six pounders and 6 blunderbusses with a crew of 18. A 300 ton vessel, the Jenny was a valuable prize, carrying besides (cont.)

of Boston itself still afforded: to the demolition of vacant houses, warehouses, and other buildings, wharves, fences, and rotten vessels around the harbour, and to more tree-felling. On November 16th Timothy Newell, one of the Boston Selectmen who remained through the Siege, complained in his Journal that: "Houses, fences, trees etc. pulled down and carried off for fuel. My Wharf and barn pulled down by order of General Robinson" (Robertson).¹ Near the end of December there was one of the periodic respites from destruction, as Major Francis Hutcheson wrote on December 23rd: "Last week there was orders for pulling down the useless houses and breaking up the wharfs to form magazines of fuel in the different districts of the Regiments, they had been at work two days, but on the arrival of the ships with coal that order was countermanded."²

3 (cont.)

her cargo of coal provisions which included "about 100 butts of porter, cheese, and forty live hogs, thirty more having died on the passage." Capt. Manley took the Jenny into Beverly. P.C.F. Smith, ed., The Journals of Ashley Bowen (1728-1813) of Marblehead. Colonial Soc. of Mass. Publications, (1973) entry for Dec. 9, 1775. p. 466.

For the inefficiency of the Treasury and its suppliers of coal see John Robinson (at the Treasury) to Anthony Bacon, Sept. 23, 1775: "I do not like to make complaint or find fault, but surely to find two days ago that there was not 500 chauldrons of coal shipped upon an order given for shipping 3,000 near two months ago, cannot be agreeable." There were other complaints, too, which highlight the problems of supply at that time: small and underladen vessels being sent out, and, against instructions, failure to provide in charter parties for delivery at ports other than Boston, the drawing of bills of exchange on Robinson for payment to suppliers, and the hiring of shipping in London rather than the out-ports "by which your agent has already enhanced the price of freight." PRO. T. 27:31, p. 166. Competition between government departments was also an important factor in driving up shipping rates - one of the small advantages in an otherwise adverse situation for the Boston loyalists fortunate enough to have vessels trading of their own. Syrett, Shipping and the American War 1775-1783 (1970) ignores the Loyalist factor. See pages 88, 91, 101-2.

1. "Journal of Timothy Newell, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4 Ser. Vol. I, p. 270. See also letter of Customs Commissioner Henry Hulton to unknown recipient, Jan. 22, 1776. Hulton MSS. Manchester College (Oxon)
2. Maj. Francis Hutcheson to Gen. Haldimand, Dec. 23, 1775. Haldimand MSS. ADD. MSS. 21680, Brit. Mus.

The fullest description of the work of the Boston Loyalists in carrying out demolitions for fuel during the winter of 1775-1776 is in the papers of Lt. Josiah Jones' Captain, Francis Green of the Third Company of Associators. Green declared in his "Memorial" "That he was order'd likewise to employ part of his Corps, at various times in pulling down wooden Buildings, both public and private, to a considerable value at Boston, as a Substitute for Fuel, in a Season of great Scarcity & Distress, which was accordingly done." Green also preserved Brig. Timothy Ruggles' written orders to him dated January 13, 1776, important as well being one of the few examples of written orders by the commandant of the Loyal Associators during the Siege of Boston known to have survived:

Tim Ruggles to Captain Greene

Boston, January 13, 1776

Sir:

The General being at all times solicitous for relieving the loyal Inhabitants in this Garrison from all their misfortunes, and at this time of scarcity for fuel (Occasioned by the Rebels preventing the usual supply being brought to this market) has for their relief as well as for the greater safety of the Town against fires pleased to order some wooden buildings that are interspersed among those of brick to be taken down and used as fuel - You are to acquaint your Company of Loyal Associated Volunteers with y^e General's intention and collect out of them without loss of Time all such able bodied men as are proper for the purpose of pulling down such houses, properly officered, who are to be paid for their service by such others as receive the advantage of their labour.

I am your humble Servant

Tim Ruggles 2

Cap^t Greene

¹ Francis Green's Memorial was dated at Hackney (England) Dec. 1, 1783. PRO. A.O. 13:45.

² Brig. Timothy Ruggles to Capt. Francis Green, Boston, Jan. 13, 1776. Green Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:45.

As Lieutenants in Green's Third and Putnam's Second companies of Loyal Associated Volunteers Josiah and Stephen Jones would have taken their turns in supervising details of men sent out thus scavenging through the streets of Boston for fuel. None of Col. Elisha Jones' sons in their accounts of the Siege of Boston which have survived, however, refers to this duty, a necessity which few can have wished to remember.

Some who served in Ruggles' corps of Loyal Associated Volunteers did, nevertheless, record their experiences - however briefly - as demolition men. Among these Loyalists was Caleb Wheaton, who before the revolt had been Preventive Officer of Customs at Machias (Maine) and who owned a large farm not far from property belonging to Col. Elisha Jones in the Township of Dedham. Wheaton, as he wrote, "by order of Howe, had pulled down the Old North Meeting House in North Square, one of the great Boston landmarks.¹ "Pulled down by Order of Genl Howe for fuel for the Refugees and Tories." One still feels the horror in the mind of the good Whig Selectman Timothy Newell² as he wrote this entry in his "Journal" for Jan. 16, 1776. Apart from Caleb Wheaton, among those known to have taken part in the destruction of Old North Meeting was Captain Atkins, a mason by trade, who lived next door to Paul Revere in North Square. Another neighbour was the keen observer and diarist Hannah Mather, daughter of the Rev. Samuel

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¹ Caleb Wheaton's Memorial is in his Loyalist MSS. in PRO.A.O.13:49 part II. His son Joseph, a Tory, was taken prisoner and like Col. Jones' sons put into Concord jail; Joseph Wheaton, however, to save himself accepted a commission in the rebel army.

² Timothy Newell, "Journal," Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, 4th Series, Vol. I, p. 271.

pastor of Old North Meeting,¹ and Hannah Hutchinson Mather (sister of Governor Thomas Hutchinson) who noted that Atkins "adhered to the Tory party, though he had a hand in helping down (Governor) Hutchinson's house & then built up his own. He assisted in taking down the old N. Meeting House after which he left town...(leaving) a large family of daughters...respectable."² Hannah Mather, with no little sympathy for the Loyalists, wrote as a member of one of the most conspicuously divided Massachusetts families. Her brother Samuel Mather Jr. was an active Tory, as so many of them were a veteran of the French wars where he served as Deputy Commissary General under Amherst at Quebec, and since 1771 was Chief Clerk of the Customs at Boston. "Guilty," as he said, moreover, "of disobliging the best of fathers by refusing his advice and commands to quit the service of His Most Gracious Sovereign and enter into that of the States of America."³

Much that was visible and which gave colonial Boston its character was burned for fuel during the winter of 1775-1776. Besides Old North Meeting, other famous landmarks to perish included Governor John Winthrop's ancient "black house," and the tall steeple of West Street Church which the refugee Boston Selectman Ezekiel Price observed from the vantage point of Roxbury Hills to have been taken down some time between Tuesday, Feb. 27, 1776, and the Thursday following.⁴ It was a strange and devastated landscape in and around Boston that the artist Henry Pelham

1 Son of the Rev. Cotton Mather, and his biographer. When, during the Stamp Act riot of Aug., 1765, the Whig mob destroyed his house, Governor Thomas Hutchinson had been first sheltered by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Samuel Mather, who lived nearby, across Moon Street from "the church of the Mathers" (Samuel, Increase, and Cotton) Old North Meeting". The Rev. Samuel Mather faced the mob at his door long enough for Hutchinson to escape once more, guided by his niece Hannah Mather through the by-roads and alleys to safety at the home of Thomas Edes. Samuel Mather to his son, Samuel Jr., Aug. 17, 1765. Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston; Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VII (class of 1723); Diary of Hannah Mather, MSS. New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Soc., Boston. Hannah was born June 27, 1752.

2 Diary of Hannah Mather, Op. Cit.

3 See Samuel Mather Jr.'s Loyalist papers, PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:75; A.O. 12:109.

4 Diary of Ezekiel Price, Feb. 29, 1776. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

described in a letter of January 27, 1776, to John Singleton Copley in London:

"I don't think if I had Liberty I could find the way to Cambridge, tho I am so well acqua(i)nted with the Road. not a Hillock 6 feet High but What is entrench'd, not a pass where a man could go but what is defended by Cannon; fences pulled down, houses removed, Woods grubed up, Fields cut into trenches and molded into Ramparts, are but a part of the Changes the country has gone thro. Nor has Boston been free from the Effects of War. An hundred places you might be brought to and you do not know where you were. I doubt if you would know the town at all. Charlestown I am sure you would not. there not a tree, not an house, not even so much as a stick of wood as large as your hand remains. The very Hills seem to have altered ther form. In Boston almost all the fences: a great Number of Wooden Houses, perhaps 150, have been pull'd down to serve for fewel. in this ruin you(r) Estate has escaped, no Injury being done it; Dr. Byles', Dr. Cooper's, Dr. Ma(t)hew's Meeting Houses turned into Barracks. Dr. Sewells' into a Riding School, Fanuel Hall into a Theatre. The old North pulled down and burnt. Every rising fortified. in short nothing but an actual sight of the town can give an Idea of its situation..." 1

The day before, January 26th, Major Francis Hutcheson in Boston warmed himself with rage and frustration writing of the follies of the Royal Navy as the author of the town's misery:

"Yesterday two Vessels were taken by a Rebel Privateer off the Light House, and carried into Cowhasack (Cohasset) Harbour. They were spoke with last week, and said they were from Whitehaven and Cork, with pork and coal for this place. O the glory of the British Navy. Two Flags flying with all the pomp of War, and Yankee can spit in their face." 2

¹ Henry Pelham to J.S. Copley, Jan. 27, 1776. Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739-1776. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1914, p. 368.

² The two coal ships Norfolk and Happy Return were taken by Capt. John Manley of Marblehead in the privateer schooner Hancock on Jan. 25th: while cruising in the Bay Manley sighted the Happy Return and captured her just before she reached the mouth of the harbour - in full sight of the British fleet anchored in Nantasket Roads. Putting a prize crew aboard Manley was escorting the vessel to Plymouth when he sighted a brig, the Norfolk, bound in to Boston, Cont.

2 cont.

which quickly struck her colours. Both vessels had cargoes of coal and provisions (the former from the coal port at Whitehaven, in Cumberland whence John Paul Jones went to sea) and were part of a fleet of 8 transports - of which only one was not taken by the rebels and made Boston in safety.

None of the British fleet at Nantasket put out to engage Captain Manley. As he was preparing to take both the prizes to Plymouth Manley was sighted by a Loyal armed "schooner of 8 carriage guns, with many swivels and full of men", according to Manley's account, from Halifax convoying two small provision vessels. After a sharp engagement, reportedly "fought a considerable time," the British vessel sheered off and continued safely on to Boston with her little convoy of two supply ships.

Manley, meanwhile, seeing a British frigate at last preparing to come out and give chase, bore away, following his two prizes into Plymouth. See: Essex Gazette, March 28, 1776; Force, American Archives, 4 Ser. Vol. IV, p. 863. These captures became a cause celebre. see entries in the "Diary" of Boston Selectman Ezekiel Price, MHS Proceedings, Vol. XIX, entries for Jan. 25th and Jan. 27th, 1776. pp. 231, 232.

One of the most successful of Washington's privateer captains, Manley, however, was hunted down soon afterward by Lt. George Dawson in the brig Hope (formerly the Sea Nymph of Philadelphia, bought in Dec. 1775 and re-rated as an 8-gun sloop). Trying to escape the Hancock was run ashore near Cohasset where the crew made shore, and, aided by local rebel militia drove off men from the Hope attempting to set the vessel on fire. The Hancock was later raised and refitted. William Bell Clark in Naval Documents of the American Revolution, Vol. III, 1062n, 1078f, 1097n, and 1169-1170 correctly gives credit to Lt. Dawson and the Hope, a vessel more evenly matched with the Hancock than the frigate Falcon. Force, American Archives, 4 Ser., Vol. IV, pp. 9, 10.

The "two flags flying" mentioned by Maj. Hutcheson were that of Ad. Graves in the Preston and Ad. Molyneux Shuldham in the Chatham, who had arrived at Boston on Dec. 30, 1775 to replace Ad. Graves. Graves finally left Boston on Feb. 2, 1776, as Maj. Hutcheson wrote, "no man ever left a place less regretted." Maj. Francis Hutcheson to General Haldimand, Jan. 26, 1776. Haldimand MSS. ADD. MSS. 21680, Brit. Mus.

THE DEATH OF A LOYALIST

"Before Hostilities began the Mob had come so often against him, that he was obliged to leave home and went to Boston in the Fall (of) 1774, continued there to declare the same Sentiments.-- Three of his Sons were with him in Boston, and after the Battle of Lexington embodied in the Militia under General Ruggles, Josiah, Stephen, two of the Claimants and Elisha who is dead.

"His Father continued in the same Loyal Principles till his Death.--

"General Gage always consulted him and placed the greatest Confidence in him.-- He died in 1776," during the Siege.

Josiah Jones
Annapolis, Nova Scotia,
October 21, 1786 1

Sunday, February 11th was seasonably cold and blustering, and on the day that followed, clear and cold with the frost that promises a late winter snow, Colonel Elisha Jones of Weston died in the town of Boston, his place of refuge since September, 1774.²

Of Col. Jones' last days, however, beyond that he had the care and companionship of his wife, Mary Allen Jones, and of the three of his sons with him in Boston - Elisha the Younger, Josiah, and Stephen - we know little. Through that bleakest of Boston winters, 1775-1776, so willfully blotted out from Loyalist reminiscences, a frequent and undoubtedly most welcome visitor to the Jones household was the genial and well-liked Highland Scot from Perthshire, Major John Small. Appointed by Gage after Bunker Hill to raise the 2nd battalion of the 84th Royal Highland

1 "Evidence on the Claim of Josiah, Simeon, Stephen and Jonas Jones late of Massachusetts." Sworn testimony of Josiah Jones, Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, Oct. 21, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10.

2 Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," February 12, 1776, Am. Antiq. Soc. Worcester (Mass.); Ezekiel Price, "Diary," February 12, 1776. MHS Proceedings, Vol. XIX, 1863-4, p. 236.

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Immigrants in Nova Scotia, Small had known Elisha Jones (then a Militia Captain) since the disastrous campaign against the French of 1756 when, as a newly appointed lieutenant in the 42nd Highlanders, he served under the inept and cowardly Maj.Gen. James Abercrombie in the unsuccessful attack on Ft. Ticonderoga. A man of wide acquaintance and cultural interests, Small was friend and patron of John Singleton Copley before he went to Italy to study, and he appears prominently in Trumbull's noted painting of Bunker Hill.¹

It was John Small who, five years later (April 2, 1781) in London, as part of his endorsement of the war services to the Crown of Col. Jones and his sons, wrote the following, the only surviving description of the Colonel's death:

"...The severe distress, and the barbarous maltreatment suffered by him and his numerous family, seemingly affected him deeply, after his taking refuge in Boston where I often saw him in 1775 and the beginning of 1776, in which year he died.—and that it was generally believed to be the cause of his death..."²

¹ Col. Elisha Jones' sons Josiah, Simeon, and Stephen who settled in Nova Scotia after the War knew Small (1726-1796) as Adjutant-General of the Nova Scotia Militia, appointed in 1784. Small as commandant of the 84th Royal Highland Immigrants was granted the township of Douglas in Hants County, which was to be allotted among the officers and men of his disbanded Battalion. In 1793 Small, however, returned to England, and his last post was Lieutenant-Governor of the Island of Guernsey where he died in 1796. For his career in Nova Scotia, see: George Patterson, A History of Pictou County, Nova Scotia. Halifax, 1877, pp. 120-122; William Inglis Morse, The Land of the New Adventure, The Georgian Era in Nova Scotia. London, 1932, pp. 50-52. Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham (MHS, 1914) pp. 221-222.

² Memorial of Stephen Jones et al. PRO. A.O. 13:47.

. News of the death of so famous a Tory as Col. Elisha Jones of Weston was not long in getting out of Boston. The day following, tuesday, was the appointed time for the weekly Flag of Truce to be carried from the rebel headquarters at Roxbury along Boston Neck to the British lines at the fortified Town Gate and, after an interval, back again. With the Flag escort went letters, messages, and authorized persons who, under guard, met and talked with inhabitants of the town upon urgent affairs of family or business.¹ Among those gathered at Roxbury awaiting the return of the "Flag" from the Boston lines on tuesday, February 13, 1776, was an old acquaintance of Col. Jones, Ezekiel Price (who lived with the family of Col. Doty at Stoughton during the Siege) Clerk of the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions for Suffolk County, and for many years Chairman of the Boston Selectmen. A successful insurance broker with offices in King (State) Street, Price had been secretary to three Royal Governors: William Shirley, Francis Pownall, and that particular^{Jones} family friend, benefactor, and business partner in the development of virgin lands, Sir Francis Bernard. Price wrote in his "Diary":

"Tuesday. February 13 - Went to Roxbury: there saw Mr. Payne, Deacon Storer, Mr. Samuel Jarvis, and a number of other Boston inhabitants who were just setting off with the Flag to the Lines. Waited their return, but received no letters from Boston. Dined in company with the above gentlemen and a number of

¹ Ezekiel Price, "Diary", Jan. 16, 1776. MHS Proceedings, Vol. XIX, 1863-4, p. 229. In his "Diary" Price made a number of references to Flags of Truce passing between the Lines. On Jan. 30, 1776: "Went down to Roxbury; delivered my letters to Mr. Ward, aide-de-camp, who was just going to despatch the flag to the lines. Miss Patty Goldthwait, Mrs. Forbes, and two other ladies, besides a number of gentlemen, went with the flag. At the lines were Captain Job Prince, Mr. Laughton, Mr. Timmins, Lewis Gray and a number of others. When the flag returned, I received two letters from Boston, -- one from Mr. Caleb Blanchard, the other from sister." Ibid., p. 232.

² For Ezekiel Price (named for his great-grandfather, the famous Boston schoolmaster Ezekiel Cheever) see the preface to his "Diary" for the years 1777-1778, in NEHGR, Vol. 19, 1865, pp. 329-331.

others. By the Flag, heard of the death of Colonel Jones of Weston, and Mrs. Hugh Tarbut. Returned home in the evening. A Pleasant day, and had a very agreeable time." 1

It may have been that by the "Flag" to Roxbury of February 13th a letter from the family telling of Col. Jones' death was sent out of Boston to his daughter Mary and her husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, who were still being allowed by the rebel Committee of Safety to live in the Elisha Jones home at Weston. However the news was received, Asa Dunbar recorded the death of his father-in-law in his diary, but, as was his custom in perilous times, even for important family events, without comment. 2

On February 14, 1776, when "it snowed all the morning," Col. Elisha Jones' funeral was held in the Church of England church, Trinity, where he and his wife and sons had worshipped during their stay as Loyalist refugees in Boston. Rector of Trinity at that time was Dr. William Walter, who, with his young assistant minister, the Rev. Samuel Parker, remained in Boston throughout the Siege. "Dr. Walter," according to a contemporary description, "was a remarkably handsome man, tall and well proportioned. When in the street, he wore a long blue cloth cloak over his cassock and gown; a full-bottomed wig, dressed and powdered; a three-cornered hat; knee breeches of fine black cloth, with black silk hose; and square quartered shoes, with silver buckles. His countenance was always serene; his temper always cheerful; happy himself, he communicated happiness to all around him..." 3

As befitted a great-grandson of Increase Mather, Dr. Walter was renowned for his preaching. The Diary of Trinity Vestryman John Rowe has frequent comments of a Sunday such as: "a very Clever

¹ Ezekiel Price, "Diary," February 13, 1776. MHS Proceedings, Vol. XIX, 1863-4, p. 236.

² Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," February 12, 1776. MSS. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. This is the first entry in the "Diary" for the month of February; there is a gap again until Feb. 20th, and no reference at all to Col. Jones' funeral.

³ William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, V (New York, 1859) p. 233.

and politic Sermon," "a Very Sensible Polite Discourse," "metaphysical but well pict and adapted (to) the present Season," and "a very Pathetick and moving Sermon."¹ For all that they were Anglicans and believers in a gentler way to salvation, the family of Elisha Jones were New Englanders, and went to church as much for the intellect as the sacraments for the soul: the sermon, the eulogy at funerals, was the heart of every service. Years before, in recommending William Walter as a candidate for the Church of England ministry, his pastor at Salem, the Rev. Thomas Barnard of the venerable First Church - where Col. Elisha Jones' ^{later} son-in-law Asa Dunbar was to become associate minister in 1772 - noted among exceptional qualities "that particular tenderness and softness in Mr. Walter's complexion, which will render him highly agreeable to people in sickness and distress..."²

From the time of the Siege, at least, the family of Col. Elisha Jones have, among Boston churches, had a particular affection for Trinity, "the old Tory church" of the Refugees and Colonials. One of the Colonel's younger sons was married there soon after the War, Simeon, who, after serving in Governor John Wentworth's Volunteers and later as a Lieutenant in Colonel Benjamin Thompson's King's American Dragoons, settled at Sissiboo³ by St. Mary's Bay in Nova Scotia in 1783. Simeon Jones returned to Boston to be married at Trinity Church on August 13, 1786 to a

¹ Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, see entries for Dec. 25, 1767, p. 148, April 1, 1768, p. 159, April 2, 1772, p. 226; and Aug. 15, 1773, "Mr Walter read Prayers & Preached. A very Serious Good Discourse - Mr. Walter Shines more & more in his preaching," p. 248.

² William Stevens Perry, Papers Relating to the History of the Church in Massachusetts, 1873, p. 507.

³ For Simeon Jones, see PRO. W.O. 42:J11; Ind:5606; A.O. 13:25; A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50. Simeon was born Dec. 5, 1751, and died at Sissiboo, Nova Scotia, Aug. 14, 1823. Bond, Watertown, 1860, p. 317.

cousin, Sarah (Sally) daughter of¹ the noted Roxbury physician, Dr. Thomas and Abigail (Williams) Williams. Rector of Trinity then was the Rev. Samuel Parker, who had been assistant to Dr. William Walter at the time of Col. Elisha Jones' funeral, and in 1804 was to be chosen the second Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts.³

It was the old New England custom for family and friends to gather for funerals, some coming from great distances. Travel restrictions imposed by the Siege, however, make it unlikely that any besides Col. Jones' relations and friends in Boston at that time, apart from official government representatives and those from military and other organizations of which he was a member, were able to be present. Of Col. Jones' immediate family, besides his widow Mary Allen Jones, with him in Boston were three of his younger sons, Elisha the Younger, Josiah, and Stephen. Three of Col. Jones' eleven sons were then prisoners of the rebels: Ephriam, Simeon, and Jonas, while three more were under suspicion of being Tories and unable to travel without written permission of the Committees of Safety of their towns: Judge Daniel Jones (Hinsdale, New Hampshire), and Israel and Elias of East Hoosuck (Adams) in Berkshire County (Massachusetts).⁴ It is possible that Col. Jones' only daughter, Mary, and her husband the Rev. Asa Dunbar, living not far away at Weston, may have obtained passes to go into Boston for the funeral, although

¹ For Dr. Thomas Williams of Roxbury (1737-1815) see Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1757, Vol. XIV, pp. 239-240. He had studied medicine with Dr. Thomas Williams of Deerfield, (Feb. 24, 1717-Sept. 28, 1775) stepson of Col. Elisha Jones' only sister Abigail, second wife of Col. Ephriam Williams, Sr. of Stockbridge.

² On May 22, 1760 Dr. Thomas Williams (of Roxbury) married Abigail, daughter of Major Elijah Williams, at Deerfield.

³ For the Rev. Samuel Parker, see Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, class of 1764, Vol. XVI, pp. 76-84.

⁴ The best accounts of the activities of Col. Jones' children during the Siege of Boston are in their Loyalist Papers: PRO. A.O. 13:25; A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:50; A.O. 13:75; A.O. 13:74, and A.O. 12:10, ff. 360-72, and the MSS "Diary" of his son-in-law, the Rev. Asa Dunbar at the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

there is no indication of this in Dunbar's carefully discreet Diary.¹ The same may have been true as well for the youngest of Col. Elisha Jones' sons, Charles, then aged sixteen, who with his nephew Nahum, nineteen, (eldest son of Col. Nathan Jones of Frenchman's Bay) had resumed their studies at Harvard in the class of 1778 when the college reopened in temporary quarters at Concord on October 4, 1775.² A week after the funeral Nathan Jones himself (Col. Elisha Jones' eldest son) had come up from Maine, however, and was with his sister Mary and her family at Weston. The Rev. Asa Dunbar wrote in his "Diary" on February 21st: "Col Nathan Jones set out for Gouldsbrough", but whether on that trip he visited Boston we do not know.³

¹ In his "Diary" the Rev. Asa Dunbar does not record any trip into Boston until after the Evacuation (March 17, 1776): this was on June 7, 1776. His last "Diary" entry is for June 30, 1776. Its abrupt ending suggests that later parts were destroyed. MSS, Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

² For the return of Charles and Nahum Jones to Harvard in October, 1775, see above, Chapter

³ The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," Feb. 21, 1776. MSS. Am. Antiq. Soc.

According to family tradition Col. Elisha Jones was given a Masonic funeral and, like John Rowe, was a member of St. John's Lodge in Boston.¹ On the eve of the Revolution St. Johns was accounted richer and more fashionable in its membership than the newer St. Andrew's Lodge, and substantially Tory; with the Terror that followed the Powder Alarm (September 1, 1774) the preponderance of Loyalists attending St. John's (which obtained through the Siege) was increased by the departure of rebel Whigs from Boston and the influx of Col. Elisha Jones and his sons among other Tory political refugees from the country.² It is a truism that in Freemasonry, as in all other aspects of life in Massachusetts Bay after 1773, there was civil war.

¹ MER Jones MSS.; C. St. Clair Jones to author, August, 1977.

² Esther Forbes, Paul Revere... (1942) pp. 60-61.

Col. Elisha Jones' lawyer and friend Jeremiah Gridley - one of the greatest lawyers of Colonial Massachusetts - belonged to St. John's Lodge, and died as Grand Master on Sept. 11, 1767. See Shipton, ed, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Class of 1725, Vol. VII, pp. 527-528.

Among the Loyalist members who became refugees at the Evacuation of Boston was Solicitor General Samuel Quincy (Harvard 1754) who appeared for the Crown in the "Boston Massacre" trial. Whig members of St. John's included the firebrand orator James Otis.

St. Andrew's Lodge was organized in 1756 but did not receive its charter from the Grand Lodge of Scotland until Sept. 4, 1760.

Col. Elisha Jones' sons and his son-in-law the Rev. Asa Dunbar (who founded and was the first master of the Rising Sun Lodge at Keene, N.H.) were active masons, a tradition which continues among most of his descendants to this day. The Massachusetts Centinel (Boston) of March 11, 1786 (3/1) described the masonic funeral of Col. Jones' son Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale, N.H. as follows:-

"The funeral solemnity was attended by a numerous concourse of sorrowful relations and sympathizing friends - the procession was led by a number of masonick brethren, in the habiliments peculiar to their order, who well remember the social and benevolent virtues of their deceased brother, and his singular skill in the royal art. The attendants were entertained with those consolations which the best religion affords in a pathetick prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard, of Northfield, and an ingenious as well as affectionate discourse by the Rev. Mr. Gay of Hinsdale."

From its organization in 1756 St. Andrew's Lodge was composed largely of artisans, including among its brethren such as Paul Revere, a goldsmith by trade; Thomas Crafts, a painter and one of the sinister "Loyal Nine"; the Irish-born William Molineaux, an unsuccessful hardware merchant, described after his death in October, 1774 by Deputy Grand Master John Rowe as "first Leader of Dirty Matters"; and Dr. Joseph Warren, the Boston physician, intimate of Sam Adams and with him chief architect of radical strategy. For its meeting place St. Andrew's bought the old two-story brick Green Dragon Tavern on Union Street, which was shared with the North End Caucus, Dr. Warren's "mechanicks caucus", and other radical Whig clubs.¹

The heart of Masonic radicalism and the directional focus of its political activities that were broadly anti-government, however, is believed to have been the even more secret Long Room Club, whose membership, besides Sam Adams, is known to have included influential members both of St. John's (the firebrand Whig lawyer James Otis) and St. Andrew's (Paul Revere, chosen Master in 1771) Lodges.² It was the Masons of the Long Room to which

¹ John Hancock was also a member of St. Andrews Lodge. See Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIII, p. 426; For Warren and Crafts, see Cary, Joseph Warren (1961) p. 56; for Molineaux, see Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Oct. 24, 1774, p. 286; minutes of the North End Caucus are printed by Elbridge Goss, The Life of Colonel Paul Revere (Boston, 1891), Vol. II, pp. 640-641.

² For the Long Room Club, see Forbes, Paul Revere, pp. 122-124; 16 members (11 of them Harvard men) are known. Besides Sam Adams, Otis, and Revere these are: John Hancock, Drs. Joseph Warren and Benjamin Church, Rev. Samuel Cooper (Brattle Street Church) and his brother William Cooper (Town Clerk of Boston) Josiah Quincy, Royall Tyler, Thomas Dawes, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Fleet, Samuel Dexter, Thomas Melville, and John Winslow.

Col. Jones' friend and colleague Sir Thomas Bernard had referred when he wrote, shortly after taking office as Governor of Massachusetts in 1760, that they were meeting at "Adjutant Trowel's Long Garret" and were spewing forth such sedition and libel as they must have "ransak'd Billingsgate and the Stews" for the language they flung at him and Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hutchinson.¹ Conveniently enough the "Long Room" was over the printing shop behind the Province House in Dasset Alley (Franklin Avenue) of Col. Jones' old enemies Benjamin Edes and John Gill, publishers of the "Trumpet of Sedition", the Boston Gazette.

The public announcement by the Massachusetts Gazette of August 10, 1769, that the Grand Lodge of Scotland had appointed Dr. Joseph Warren "Grand-Master of all the Most Antient Free Masons throughout North-America" showed the strength of the radical Whigs in the "Ancient Lodges," in Boston, St. Andrew's. Until the Evacuation of Boston, however, rebels were neither able to control nor to suppress the rival and generally pro-government "Modern" Lodges in Massachusetts Bay - including St. John's in Boston - under the moderate and cautious Whig, Boston merchant John Rowe, made Provincial Grand Master of all North America by authority of the Grand Lodge of England, Moderns, in 1768.² It is of public record,

1. Quoted in Esther Forbes, Paul Revere, pp. 60-61. See Hiller Zobel in The Boston Massacre (1970), p. 330, n. 4, for sources obscured; Zobel quotes Hutchinson on the role of the Masons in the later crisis over the quartering of troops in Boston during the summer of 1768: "The Council have a great secret... So have the Freemasons." Hutchinson to John Cushing, Aug. 5, 1768. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 2 Ser., Vol. 20, 1906-7, p. 536.

2 Rowe was installed at the Concert Hall in Boston, Nov. 23, 1768. Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 180.

For the political rivalry in Massachusetts between the Modern (Loyalist) and Ancient (Rebel) Lodges, see: Henry L. Stillson, ed., History of the Ancient and Honourable Fraternity of Free and Accepted Masons.... (1900), pp. 199-211.

moreover, that, serving together as officers in Boston's Grand Lodge with such rebels as Dr. Joseph Warren (killed at Bunker Hill) Paul Revere, and Thomas Crafts, were two regular army officers, captains in the 29th (Worcestershire) Regiment which had disembarked for duty at Boston on Oct.1,1768: Ponsonby Molesworth, nephew of Lord Ponsonby, who married Suzannah Sheaffe, daughter of a rich Tory merchant, and Jeremiah French, remembered as having witnessed the Boston Massacre"from the roof of the foremost Tory meeting place before and during the Siege, the Boston Coffee House.¹

One year almost to the day after the Boston Tea Party (Dec.16,1773), nearly two months after the adjournment of the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia (Oct.26,1774), and in the midst of the Terror of rebel Whig mobbings of Loyalists that intensified in rural Massachusetts after the Powder Alarm of Sept.1,1774, there took place in Boston the last Masonic public function still described in the Diary of the Grand Master of the Modern Lodges, John Rowe, the funeral of a regular army sergeant (47th,North Lancashire) on December 18,1774. The last recorded muster of the Tory Masons in Boston, it is probable that Col.Elisha Jones and his sons were among those who took part. Rowe wrote:

"Dec.18. A Serjeant of the 47th Regiment was buried this evening —he Being a Mason there were 152 Brethren followed the Corps & the whole 47th Regim^t." 2

¹ Army officers in the Grand Lodge: Richard Frothingham,Life and Times of Joseph Warren (Boston,1865) p.115. Landing of 29th Regt., see Lt. Col. William Dalrymple to Gage, Oct.2,1768. PRO.C.O. 5:86. Suzannah was the daughter of William Sheafe, Deputy Collector of Customs at Boston, and sister of the future Sir Roger Hale Sheafe, befriended by Lord Percy, who lodged with the family in Boston. Molesworth and Suzannah eloped to Rhode Island not long after he arrived in Boston; it was a long and happy marriage. See: Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, (1907) pp.439-442.

² Cunningham,ed.,Letters and Diary of John Rowe, Dec.18,1774. p.288.

It is significant of political attitudes toward the rebellion of the thirteen American colonies that the Diary of Grand Master John Rowe now contains no reference to Masonic funerals in Boston after December 18, 1774.¹ It does not record the death or the funeral of Col. Elisha Jones, held at Trinity on February 14, 1776, which, as "one of the Brethren", (if in no other capacity) Rowe would have been expected to attend. Rowe, moreover, took an active personal interest in Trinity Church where, from 1760, he was a Vestryman (elected Warden in 1776); his Diary is filled with descriptions of parish events, particularly Trinity funerals, often including details such as the names of pallbearers.² As now appears, the date of Col. Jones' death, February 12th, and the day following, have no Diary entries whatever, while for February 14th, when his funeral was held, there is only this brief and impersonal note on the fighting: "This morning a party of the King's Troops burnt the Houses on Dorchester Neck & brought off seven prisoners."³

¹ With its discreet omission of references to Col. Jones and other "politically dangerous" Tories in Boston during the Siege, Rowe's Diary conforms largely to the Whig post-Revolution interpretation of events - doubtless an important factor in its survival. For some time after the Evacuation (March 17, 1776) Rowe, who remained in Boston, was himself under suspicion of Toryism, and it must be in this context that the notable omissions respecting Tories and the missing MSS Vol. XII of the Diary, covering the important period of the Siege, June 1 - Dec. 25, 1775 (of which is written on the cover of Vol. XIII: "from June to Decemb^r is mislaid or taken away out of My Store") must be viewed. The surviving MSS of Rowe's Diary is now at the M.H.S., Boston. For the political tailoring of the manuscripts of rebel leaders, see Shipton, "John Avery", member of the Loyal Nine and friend and literary legatee of Sam Adams, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. XIV, p. 288; and "Dr. Joseph Warren," Ibid., p. 512.

² There are many early references in Rowe's Diary to Masonic functions: see Cunningham, ed. Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 14; for his interest in Trinity Church, pp. 16-20.

In Feb., 1776, Rowe recorded the illness, death, and funeral of the widow of his "relation" Robert Gould - the surveyor of Gouldsborough (Maine) and one-time partner of Col. Nathan Jones (of Frenchman's Bay) in the development of this Maine township: "Feb'y 26. Attended the Funerall of Dear Mrs Gould. Her Bearers were Dr Loyd Henry Loughton Greg Townsend Eze^k Golphwait Danl Hubbard & James Perkins." Ibid., pp. 298-299. All the bearers were Tories.

³ Ibid., p. 299.

Colonel Elisha Jones was buried as were Anglican gentlemen in England in one of the vaults in the crypt of Trinity Church. Which family vault was used is no longer known: the persecution of Tories in Boston after the Evacuation of March 17, 1776 did not encourage the keeping of such records. To harbour Tories was dangerous through the Revolution, and for some time afterward, especially if they had been refugees, while for generations any connection with them was looked upon as a social disgrace. Col. Jones' remains are thought to have stayed for nearly a century in the vault at Trinity, until the fire there in 1872. Afterwards the crypt was cleared and the coffins reinterred in the Trinity Church Tomb at Mount Auburn Cemetery.¹

¹ Col. Elisha Jones' burial is recorded in the Trinity Church parish records. See Judge Stephen Jones of Sissiboo, Nova Scotia, to Israel Jones of Adams, Massachusetts, March 5, 1828. Copy in MER Jones MSS.; and the Rev. Reginald Heber Jones to Mary Emma Robertson Jones, Boston, Feb. 14, 1910. MER Jones MSS.

The Boston merchant John Rowe owned one of the family vaults at Trinity but here again no record was kept that he and his wife were actually buried there. Anne Rowe Cunningham (Rowe's great great-niece) ed. Letters and Diary of John Rowe, pp. 3-4.

Three days after Col. Elisha Jones' death, on February 15, 1775, the Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News Letter, published by Richard Draper's widow and her young partner John Howe, printed this obituary:

"On Monday last, died, in this Town, in the sixty-sixth Year of his Age, Elisha Jones Esq., late of Weston, for many years a magistrate, Col. of a Regiment of Militia, and a Member of the General Assembly. In the many departments in which he acted, he eminently showed the man of principle, virtue, &c."

Col. Jones and his family at Weston were well known to John Howe, who had cause to think of them as benefactors. It was Howe who, at the beginning of April, 1775 on a secret spying mission for Gen. Gage and accompanied as far as Watertown by Lt. Col. Francis Smith (commander of the military expedition to Lexington and Concord a fortnight later) delivered a letter from Gage to his cousin Captain Isaac Jones at the Golden Ball Tavern. At great personal risk Capt. Jones had hidden Howe from the rebels, and sent him safely on his way west with recommendations to local Tories at Marlborough, Sudbury, Worcester (where he stayed with another cousin; Nathaniel Jones) and back to Boston by way of Concord.¹

¹ Howe and Mrs. Margaret Draper were among those Tories who went to Halifax at the Evacuation, March 17, 1776. See Howe's statement on behalf of the Loyalist claim of his former employer, Mrs. Draper dated May 6, 1785. PRO. A.O. 13:44.

Later, as "King's Printer" of the Newport Gazette (Rhode Island) 1777-1779, and from Jan. 5, 1781 of the Halifax Journal (Nova Scotia) as Nova Scotia Postmaster-General, and with Col. Elisha Jones' sons and grandsons colleagues on the Nova Scotia Bench, John Howe (d. Dec. 29, 1835) continued his acquaintance with the family. For John Howe see Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, (1907) pp. 361-364. His son, b. in 1804, became the Hon. Joseph Howe, (Lt. Gov. of Nova Scotia, 1873) leader of Liberal opposition to Confederation in 1867, the party which then first returned to the Halifax Assembly Col. Elisha Jones' great grandson, the Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones of Halifax, who died in office as Lt. Gov. of Nova Scotia in 1906.

Col. Elisha Jones' obituary in the Massachusetts Gazette, probably written by the printer John Howe, was later included by the Colonel's son Israel Jones of Adams, (Mass.) one of the "Gentlemen" co-authors of the noted pioneering work in Massachusetts local history, A History of the County of Berkshire¹ (edited by the Rev. David Dudley Field of Stockbridge and published at Pittsfield in 1829) in his history of the Jones family. Israel Jones' manuscript, edited by William Henry Jones Jr., grandson of his brother Judge Daniel Jones of Hinsdale (New Hampshire) was printed, some five years after Israel's death, at Boston in 1834 under the title History of the Jones Family. This work, in turn, was used by the Massachusetts historian, Dr. Henry Bond, as a source for his sketch of the Joneses of Weston in his monumental Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, including Waltham and Weston.² It was from the first edition of Bond's Watertown, published at Boston in 1855, that one winter evening at Concord about a year later Henry David Thoreau copied the obituary of Col. Elisha Jones, his great grandfather, into his Journal; the date was February 25, 1856.³

1 Used by Francis Parkman as a source book. On his first trip gathering historic material for his projected saga of the French and Indian Wars, through Berkshire County in July, 1844, Parkman had in his knapsack: "three shirts, two stockings, flannel drawers, fishing apparatus, Powder & shot, Hist. of B(erkshire)," written on the rear end paper of his "Journal." See Mason Wade, ed., The Journals of Francis Parkman (1947) Vol. I, p. 358.

2 Bond, Watertown, p. 310n. For the Joneses of Weston, see pp. 310-322, and 814-5. The second edition, published in Boston for the New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Soc. in 1860, has a sketch of Dr. Bond by Horatio Gates Jones, M.A., Corresponding Secretary of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.
eds.

3 Bradford Torrey and Francis Allen, The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, 1962, Vol. VIII, p. 187. Feb. 25, 1856.

EPILOGUE

MRS. JONES OF WESTON AND A PARTY OF SIX:
THE GREAT LOYALIST EXODUS, MARCH 17, 1776

"Tho' a soldier," he said,
he wept at leaving Boston.

Edward Winslow of Plymouth ¹

In the beleaguered town of Boston in February and March of 1776, the longest and bleakest of remembered winters not yet past, for Mary Allen Jones there was little time for widow's mourning. Two days after recording that Col. Nathan Jones had left for his home at Frenchman's Bay, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, probably in the study of Col. Jones' mansion at Weston, noted in his "Diary" on February 23rd, one of his few references to correspondence: "Wrote to Judge (Daniel) Jones (of Hinsdale) & Captⁿ Israel (Jones of Adams, Massachusetts). ²

On Saturday, March 2nd, 1776, without warning and in the dead of night, Washington's rebel army began its long-threatened attack upon the town of Boston, a great bombardment by heavy artillery that was to continue each night, amid growing terror, for a fortnight. Nor had the civilian population, Tory and Rebel, entrapped as they were by the Siege, any avenue of escape - as had been given by Captain Mowat to the people of Falmouth in Oct. 1775, and by other Naval commanders to towns in rebellion along the coast.

¹ Later, on July 30, 1776, appointed "Muster-Master-General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the Colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida," with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, p. 424.

² The Rev. Asa Dunbar, "Diary," February 23, 1776. MSS. Am. Antiq. Soc., Worcester.

Eye-witness accounts from within Boston survive to describe the days of anxiety and nights of death and destruction on March 2nd and those which followed. Major Stephen Kemble, of the 60th (Royal American) Regiment, and Deputy-Adjutant-General wrote in his Journal for saturday, March 2nd:

"The Rebels, having completed and strengthened their Works at Phips's farm, and at the two Trees in front of our left Bastion at the Lines, began a fire, about 11 at Night, of Cannon and Mortars, from both places, which they continued till six the next Morning, during which time they threw about fifteen Shells, three of which fell in Sir Henry Calder's yard, one in Molyneux's, two near Colonel Monckton's; two from Roxborough in the Water near the neck.

"Our Battery compleated, and threw several Shells, the Rebels several Cannon shot that came into the Town and through some Houses..." ¹

On March 3rd, merchant John Rowe, whose house was on the north side of Pond Lane (Bedford Street) and not far from Liberty Tree and the Neck, wrote: "This Night The People from the Battery at Phipps Farm threw Many Shells in Town which put the Inhabitants in great Fear & they have done Damage to many Houses Particularly Sherburn Fitch's Geo Erving's & Courtney's the Taylor." ²

"The inhabitants were in a horrid situation," wrote a young British officer, Major Charles Stuart of the 43rd Regiment, "particularly the women, who were several times drove from their houses by shot, crying for protection." Well might they, indeed, for the cannonballs and shot struck the houses in Boston with such force that the sound was heard all the way to Roxbury. ⁴

¹ Lt.Col. Stephen Kemble, "Journal" March 2, 1776. New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p.70.

² Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p.299.

³ Maj. Charles Stuart to his father, Lord Bute, written at Halifax (Nova Scotia) April 28, 1776. The Hon. Mrs. E. Stuart-Wortley, ed., A British Prime Minister and his Son (New York, 1925) p.78.

⁴ Boston Selectman Ezekiel Price, "Diary," March 3, 1776. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XIX, 1863-4, p.239.

There were those who minded the apocalyptic teachings of the Puritan clergy that disasters were visitations of Divine wrath upon New England's Jerusalem for its sins. Others, chiefly onlookers outside the town and with little property in the paths of destruction took satisfaction in vengeance. At Braintree, Abigail Adams climbed Penn's Hill, as she wrote on Monday evening, "where I have been sitting to hear the amazing roar of cannon, and from whence I could see every shell which was thrown. The sound, I think, is one of the grandest in nature, and is of the true species of the sublime. 'Tis now an incessant roar; but O, the fatal ideas which are connected with the sound! How many of our dear Countrymen must fall!

Tuesday Morning

"I went to bed about twelve, and rose again a little after one. I could no more sleep than if I had been in the engagement; the rattling of the windows, the jar of the house, the continual roar of twenty-four-pounders, and the bursting of shells, give us such ideas, and realize a scene to us of which we could scarcely form any conception....I hope to give you joy of Boston, even if it is in ruins, before I send this away..." ¹

In Boston Col. Elisha Jones' widow Mary Allen and their sons - in the streets through the nights of the rebel bombardment with their armed patrols of Brig. Timothy Ruggles' Loyal Associators, or on duty putting out fires - were not among the casualties. These were most numerous during the night of March 4th when the rebel fire was heaviest of all, coming from Phip's Farm, Cobble Hill, and Roxbury Heights.² In the South End, not far from the Command Post of Lt. Josiah Jones' Third Company of Associators near the Liberty Tree, a shell ripped through a building which

¹ Abigail Adams to John Adams, March 2-10, 1776.

² During the bombardment the Rev. Mather Byles (of the Hollis St. Church) left his parsonage in Tremont Street, in the most exposed South End - needlessly, as his biographer Shipton points out: Byles "benefitted from the fact that the commander of the artillery on the Heights owned the house next to his." This was Col. Henry Knox, the Boston bookseller. Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, "Mather Byles," Vol. VII, pp. 478, 482.

housed the Barrack Guard of the 22nd Regiment, killing two men and badly wounding seven more.¹

On the morning of March 5th - chosen for its propaganda value to the rebel troops as the anniversary of the so-called "Boston Massacre" of 1770² - all Boston was in no doubt that Washington's "Great Bombardment" of the town - a repeat of the diversionary tactics used so successfully on the night of June 15, 1775, before Bunker Hill - was to cover the sound of the erection of strategic fortifications. This time the rebels set up batteries of heavy guns, most of them brought from Fort Ticonderoga - a brilliant plan outlined by Benedict Arnold of Connecticut to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety at Cambridge in April, 1775, when volunteering his services for the capture of the Fort, but carried out during the winter of 1775-6 by the Boston bookseller Henry Knox - on the twin heights on Dorchester Neck, a move of crucial importance as it enabled Washington's guns to throw shot into the/^{very}centre of Boston and to threaten the safe anchorages of the warships in Boston harbour.³

The merchant John Rowe must have spoken for many inhabitants of all political views when he wrote in his Diary for March 5th:

"This morning wee Perceived a Battery Erected on the Hill on Dorchester Neck ---this has alarmed us very much --- ab^o 12 (noon) the Generall (Howe) sent off Six Regiments --- perhaps this day or tomorrow determines the Fate of this truly distressed Place..."⁴

¹ Dana, ed., The British in Boston Being the Diary of Lt. John Barker of the King's Own Regiment... (Cambridge, H.U.P., 1924) p. 70; Lt. Col. Stephen Kemble, "Journal," March 4, 1776, New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 70-71. The losses of life and limb in Boston caused by the rebel bombardment were afterward minimised or ignored by the rebels - as were other awkward facts that might cloud their moral image or give rise to suits for damages.

² According to the Rev. William Gordon, "Gen. Washington said to those that were at hand, 'Remember it is the fifth of March, and avenge the death of your brethren!' It was immediately asked what the General said by those that were not near enough to hear, and as soon answered; and so from one to another thro' all the troops, which added fresh fuel to the martial fire before kindled..." Rev. Wm. Gordon of Roxbury to Samuel Wilson, Jamaica Plain, April 6, 1776. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, LX, pp. 362-3.

³ Arnold's Plan: see Col. Samuel Parsons to _____. June 2, 1775, (cont.)

Howe's plan for an immediate attack to dislodge the rebels, however, came to nothing, as he later explained:

"It was discovered on the 5th, in the morning, that the enemy had thrown up three very extensive works, with strong abatis round them, on the commanding hill on Dorchester Neck, which must have been the employment of at least twelve thousand men in a situation so critical. I determined upon an immediate attack, with all the force I could transport. The ardor of the troops encouraged me in ... this hazardous enterprise; regiments were expeditiously embarked on board transports to fall down the harbour, and flat-boats were to receive other troops, making the whole two thousand four hundred men, to rendezvous at Castle William, from whence the descent was to be made, on the night of the 5th, but the wind unfortunately coming contrary and blowing very hard, the ships were not able to get to their destination, and this circumstance also making it impossible to employ the boats, the attempt became impracticable.

"The weather continuing boistrous the next day and night, gave the enemy time to improve their works, to bring up their cannon, and to put themselves into such a state of defense that I could promise myself little success by attacking them under all the disadvantages I had to encounter; wherefore I judged it most advisable to prepare for the evacuation of the town, upon the assurance of one month's provision from Admiral Shulldham, who, in this emergency, as he has on every other occasion, offered all the assistance he could afford." 2

3 Cont.: Connecticut Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. I, p. 181; Journals of Each Provincial Congress, pp. 527, 529, 530-32, 534, 694-8. In the Fall of 1775 Arnold led a rebel force up the Kennebec River in Maine to join Gen. Richard Montgomery at the unsuccessful siege of Quebec, and it was Henry Knox who carried out his plan to use the guns of Fort Ticonderoga to drive the British from Boston.

4 Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, March 5, 1776, p. 300.

1 At Watertown on March 4 the Rev. Samuel Cooper noted in his "Diary": "This and all the near Towns round us call'd into the Lines. Preparations making by our Army to take possession of Dorchester Heights and Point..." Am. Hist. Review, Jan. 1901, Vol. VI, p. 335. According to Rev. Asa Dunbar on March 2nd "Ye Militia went to Roxbury" and on March 5th "The Militia returned from Roxbury", from Weston. Elijah Kingsbury of Weston was among those drafted with ox-carts to Dorchester to haul hay, timber, and other materials for making the abattis, chandeliers, fascines, and other fortifications on the hilltops. Lamson Papers, Weston Town Archives.

2 Gen. William Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, Nantasket Road, March 21, 1776. PRO. C.O.5:93.

On the evening of March 5th Howe, after a Council of War, with his senior officers, took the fateful decision to evacuate Boston as soon as the military forces and stores could be embarked in the large fleet of military and merchant vessels which had been collected in the harbour through the winter; preparations were begun and in haste the next morning, March 6th.¹ Of greatest concern to the widow of Col. Elisha Jones, her sons, and the other Loyalists remaining in Boston - which then numbered more than a thousand - was the decision of Howe, as Commander-in-Chief, that "The Townspeople," as Lt. John Barker of the 4th (King's Own) Regiment recorded so briefly in his "Diary" for March 6th, "had liberty to go or stay."²

Loyalists wishing to leave under British protection were directed to give in their names and the numbers of their dependents at the Province House. The Loyalists signed upon one of six lists, according to social rank in the Colony, and financial and official position. The names of the Evacuees, taking first Leverett Saltonstall and his brother Col. Richard Saltonstall, Sheriff of Essex County (whose name is among those not on the list)³ are a roll-call of the most famous names in Massachusetts Colonial history - and looking forward, those new men of ability who would rise to prominence as founders of Canada and in England during the Second Empire. The first list included the names of Lieutenant Governor Thomas Oliver of Cambridge and the thirteen members of the Governor's Council, with families 85 persons; the second, the Commissioners of His Majesty's Customs, a total of 74; the third, "Refugees from the Country - Persons of Property," in all 105; fourth, "Custom House

¹ For preparations for Evacuation, see Howe's General Orders, March 6-17, 1776, printed in N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 313-326; "Journal" of Lt. Col. Stephen Kemble, Deputy Adjutant-General, Ibid., pp. 71-73; notable among other first-hand accounts, that of Gen. Sir Archibald Robertson, an Engineer, Diaries and Sketches in America (N.Y., 1930) pp. 74-80.

² Dana, ed., The British in Boston Being the Diary of Lt. John Barker... (Cambridge, Mass. 1924) March 6, 1776. p. 70.

³ The Saltonstalls, descendants of Sir Richard, founder-patentee of the Bay Colony (1586-1661) then - and since - have been regarded as the "first family" of Mass. The best account of them is: Robert Moody, The Saltonstall Papers 1607-1815. Vol. I, 1607-1789 (Mass. Hist. Soc. Boston, 1972).

Officers for the Port of Boston," 47 persons; the "Episcopal Clergy of Boston" with four names: Dr. Henry Caner, of King's Chapel; Dr. Mather Byles the younger, of Christ Church, a great-grandson of that giant of the Massachusetts Clergy, Increase Mather; William Walter of Trinity Church; and the Rev. Moses Badger of Haverhill from 1774 assistant to Rev. Caner at King's Chapel (brother-in-law of Leverett Saltonstall). Fifth were the "Merchants and other principal Inhabitants of Boston," with 213 in all; and sixth, the largest group, "Farmers, Traders, Shopkeepers, and Merchants," 382 persons.¹

The Boston Loyalist list accounts for 924 persons, heads of families whose names appear, and the number of their dependents. Appended is the note: "There are about 200 others who have not returned their names," making a grand total of more than 1,100 persons who chose to leave Boston with the British fleet.²

Col. Elisha Jones' widow is listed on the roster "Refugees from the Country —Persons of Property" as the head of a party of six. These included her three refugee sons in Boston who had been serving with Brig. Timothy Ruggles' Loyal Associators, Elisha the Younger (of Pittsfield), Josiah (of Cheshire County, New Hampshire), and Stephen (of Weston), and two servants. Her name appears, however, out of order at the end of the alphabetical list, with those of five other prominent Tories — suggesting that Mary Allen Jones was among the late signers.

" Seth Williams	Taunton	1
Job Williams	Taunton	1
Mrs. Jones	Weston	6
Thomas Foster	Plymouth	1
Jonathan Sterns	Atty New Hampshire	1
John Bowen	Princeton	2
Total	105 "	3

1 "List of Persons who Removed from Boston to Halifax with His Majesty's Troops in the Month of March, 1776 with the Number of their respective Families." Endorsed "In General Howe's Letter to Lord Dartmouth May 7, 1776." Enclosure No. 1. PRO. C.O. 5:93, 317ff.

2 Another list (with many anomalies, and the names listed only in three categories — Councillors, Custom House, and Refugees — said to be in the (cont.)

By the standards of any age Mary Allen Jones was an extraordinary person, although she does not fully emerge as an historic figure until after the death of her husband in February, 1776. Until the rebel mobs had driven her and her family from Weston in the Fall of 1774, in the custom of the Massachusetts lady of her time Mary Allen had led an ordered and comfortable life, quietly enough in the shadow of her husband, a man of outstanding abilities, taking what satisfaction she chose from his wealth and success in public affairs, supervising her large home while bearing - and surviving - the large (even for colonial times) number of fifteen children, of whom twelve lived to grow up, three of them to Harvard (Daniel, 1759, Stephen, 1775, and Charles, 1778).¹ Mary Allen, perhaps by comparison, was not noted in the family as a bluestocking, unlike her only daughter, Mary, who became the wife of the Rev. Asa Dunbar and the redoubtable grandmother of Henry David Thoreau.² Or her brilliant niece Abigail, daughter of Col. Elisha Jones' only sister, Abigail, who married Col. Ephriam Williams Sr., the founder of Stockbridge (Mass.) and who numbered among her friends and correspondents Dr. Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale, and Dr. Aaron Burr Sr., the second President of New Jersey College (Princeton) - and whose enemies were of the intellectual stature of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards.³

2 Cont. handwriting of Tory evacuee Walter Barrell, Inspector of Customs, was published in Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XVIII, p.266; and later in Stark, Loyalists of Massachusetts, 1907, pp.133-6.

¹ There is no biography of Mary Allen Jones. See, however, Dr. Henry Bond, Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts, including Waltham and Weston, 2nd. edn. 1860, pp.315-317.

² There are references to Mary Jones Dunbar in Thoreau's Journals and the biographies of Henry David Thoreau. See B. Torrey and F. Allen, eds. The Journal of Henry David Thoreau, March 11, 1861. Vol. XIV, 325-6; the best manuscript source is the "Diary" of her husband, the Rev. Asa Dunbar, MSS, Am. Antiq. Soc. Worcester.

³ Electa F. Jones, Stockbridge Past and Present (Springfield, 1854) pp.76-79, 143; Shipton, ed. Sibley's Harvard Graduates, "Gen. Joseph Dwight," Class of 1722, Vol. VII, pp.61-66; Edmund S. Morgan, The Gentle Puritan A Life of Ezra Stiles, 1727-1795. (New Haven, 1962) pp.78-89.

When in March, 1776 the time for decision came, to leave Boston with her sons and Howe's armed forces, or to remain, a hostage to rebel charity, Mary Allen Jones, a gentlewoman in her 70th year, did not choose as, even so late, did the wives of a number of Loyalists, to cling at whatever hazard to familiar surroundings, well-settled relations, and to property.¹ An old family friend, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, the Boston physician and apothecary, born in the same year as Mary Allen Jones, who did so much for the wounded after Bunker Hill and was noted for his kindness and charitable works, no doubt spoke for many about the Exodus of the Loyalists from Boston when he wrote a few weeks later, on May 9th, from Halifax:

"I found I could not stay in Boston and trust my person with a set of lawless rebels whose actions have disgraced human nature and who have treated all the King's Loyal Subjects that have fallen into their hands with great cruelty and for no other crime than for their Loyalty to the best of Kings and a peaceable Submission to the best constituted Government on Earth. I don't believe there ever was a people in any age or part of the World that enjoy'd so much liberty as the people of America did under the mild indulgent Government (God bless it) of England and never was a people under a worser state of tyranny than they are at present. I find there are people among you that have imprudence enough to abet this horrid rebellion and even in the Senate House to give the highest incommensurables to a wretch^{*} that had nothing else to recommend him but perjury and rebellion and, had he taken the side of Government, never would have been heard of. But I would advise those trumpeters to Sedition and rebellion to remember that some men's praise and panegericks are like the pillory, infamy, and disgrace." ²

¹ For Mary Allen Jones' decision to leave Boston, see testimony of her son (one of the three who went with her) Josiah Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John, New Brunswick, Dec. 20, 1786. PRO. A.O. 12:10.

* Gardiner here refers to Sam Adams.

² Dr. Sylvester Gardiner to _____, May 9, 1776. Gardiner Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Boston, Vol. II, p. 7. Gardiner's third wife Catherine, daughter of Col. Thomas Goldthwait, until April, 1775 commander of Fort Pownall, commanding the mouth of the Penobscot River (Maine), was the niece and adopted daughter of Col. Elisha Jones' cousin Henry Barnes of Marlborough.

By all accounts the last days in Boston after March 6th and before the departure of the Loyalists and the garrison army were a time of trial. For many Loyalists Howe's decision to evacuate the town came as a great shock. "Close confinement, scarcity of provision, and even cannonading and bombardment, I was in some measure prepared for," wrote the Rev. Mather Byles the Younger, who through the Siege had been serving as an Army chaplain, "but I must confess that I had not the least suspicion that the Army would ever have evacuated Boston. That astonishing event has now taken place..."¹ The Rev. Henry Caner, for more than thirty years Rector of King's Chapel continued "to officiate to the small remains of my parishioners, tho' without a support, till the 10th of March, when I suddenly and unexpectedly rec^d Notice that the King's Troops would immediately evacuate the Town. It is not easy to paint the distress and confusion of the inhabitants on this occasion. I had but six hours to prepare for the Measure and was obliged to embark the same day for Halifax... This sudden movement prevented me from saving my Household goods, Books, or any part of my interests except Bedding, Wearing Apparel, and a little provision for the passage of myself and little family."² Inevitably, some of the Loyalists had better information - or were better organized. Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, a Churchwarden of King's Chapel, described the evacuation as having been conducted "in such a precipitate manner as gave the friends of Government only four or five days notice, which put them under the necessity of leaving almost every thing they had, as no Vessel or Seaman were to be found so suddenly to transport themselves with their effects; which

¹ The Rev. Mather Byles the Younger, report to the S.P.G. in London, dated at Halifax, May, 1776. See Ernest Hawkins, Historical Notices of the Missions of the Church of England in the North American Colonies (London, 1845) pp. 249-50.

² The Rev. Henry Caner to the Rev. Richard Hind, Halifax, May 10, 1776. MSS Letterbook, University of Bristol Library (England).

threw them into the utmost distress. Indeed the General (Howe) gave them all the assistance he could by assigning some places in the Transports but then there was not room to carry off any of their effects and but very little of their Household furniture..."¹

With his post in the Secretary's Office Lt. Josiah Jones may have had more warning than most of Howe's impending withdrawal - but even the commander of Josiah's Third Company of Loyal Associators, Capt. Francis Green, the able and efficient Boston merchant, later described in his Loyalist Memorial the "sudden and unexpected Evacuation" and the hardships that it caused:

"Both from Principles of Abhorrence to the Revolters, and from Motives of Duty, and Self-Preservation, He was impelled to make an hasty Retreat, with his Family, consisting at that Time of Three (Motherless) Infants, and three Servants, to accompany the Army to Halifax in March, 1776. The Hurry and confusion of that sudden and unexpected Evacuation and his many avocations* rendered it impossible to conduct his concerns with any Certainty or Regularity, and therefore that Part either of the goods of his own, or of others in his Hands at that Time, or of his Household Furniture were left behind, lost, or embezzled. He never absolutely knew, having never obtained Bills of Lading or Receipts for what were shipped and having (in almost a State of Distraction) employ'd any Persons he could meet with to remove his Effects. When he arrived at Halifax, He collected from several Vessels what he could find, but believes besides what was left, that considerable Loss and Damage was sustained in what was thus hastily removed..."²

¹ Dr. Sylvester Gardiner to _____. May 9, 1776. Gardiner Papers, Mass. Hist. Soc. Boston, Vol. II, p. 7.

* Among Green's "many avocations" were his responsibilities, as commander of the Third Company of Associators, for carrying out certain special (as well as ordinary) duties in connection with the Evacuation, notably the embarkation of the guns deposited by Boston residents at the Town House after the Battle of Lexington. See below.

² "Memorial" of Francis Green, dated at Hackney, London, Dec. 1, 1783. PRO. A.O. 13:45.

Whatever the difficulties in settling their affairs in Boston, and packing and finding transport for their possessions, none of the sons of Col. Elisha and Mary Allen Jones later in their large claims for property compensation from the Crown included any lost when the family left in Howe's Evacuation fleet. Probably, like most of the other "Refugees from the Country," the Joneses had not been able to bring much with them in their flight to Boston. Col. Jones, lawyer and magistrate, like many another that were Tories, made certain at least of the safety of his deeds to property - already by the Fall of 1774 a favourite target for rebel Whig mobs. Whether the Colonel, as appears most likely, carried his deeds with him to Boston, we do not know, but his son Josiah, practicing as a lawyer in New Hampshire before the Revolution and with his Mother and two brothers in Boston at the Evacuation, had them in Nova Scotia¹ to give in evidence to the Loyalist Commissioners in October, 1786. It is thought that when Mary Allen Jones and her sons left Boston they took away with them the family plate, which had been saved from the mansion house at Weston - that traditional form of portable capital which supported many Tories, like the Joneses cut off from their regular sources of income, through much of the War.²

¹ "Evidence on the Claim of Josiah, Simeon, Stephen, and Jonas Jones late of Massachusetts" given in sworn testimony by Josiah Jones at Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, Oct. 21, 1786. At this time Josiah Jones produced his Father's deeds for 8 lots of properties, 9,108 acres in all, which had been confiscated by the Massachusetts government. (This did not include other property which, for one reason and another had escaped confiscation.) PRO. A.O. 12:10. See also Stephen Jones to Lt. Jonas Jones in London, Sissiboo, N.S., May 24, 1787. PRO. A.O. 13:74

² One silver tankard, marked with Col. Elisha Jones' coat of arms, is still owned by the descendants of Col. Jones' son Ephriam, who settled after the War in Upper Canada. See Mary E.R. Jones, The Genealogy of Cereno Upham Jones of Weymouth, Nova Scotia. Boston, 1905.

Brig. Timothy Ruggles' corps of three companies of Loyal Associators, in which Josiah Jones was a lieutenant in Captain Francis Green's Third Company, and his younger brother Stephen, a second-lieutenant in Captain James Putnam's Second Company, continued on active duty in Boston until the time of embarkation. In addition to their regular service, on night patrols the prevention of looting and destruction of property by rebel sympathizers and criminals among the civilian population - as well as soldiers "absent without leave" from barracks - was a task of increasing difficulty when, after the Evacuation became generally known, there was a rapid and widespread deterioration¹ in public order.

The Loyal Associators bore as well a full share of the preparations made by the army for departure, and particularly in the inventorying and removal to the ships of military equipment and stores. One of these assignments, beginning on Feb. 23, 1776, for Lt. Josiah Jones' Third Company to count and embark the guns and other weapons deposited in the Town House by the inhabitants of Boston by order of General Gage after the Battle of Lexington, is of especial historic interest as the rebels from the spring of 1775 had made a propaganda cause célèbre of this "humiliating treatment" of the civil population.²

¹ On March 14th Howe reinforced the Loyalists by appointing Captain Charles Lyons to command "a company of Volunteers." See Howe's General Orders, March 14, 1776. N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 323. For the looting of Tory houses and public buildings by the Boston mob as soon as the occupants left them to embark, see below.

² For the order by Gage to the Boston inhabitants to give up their arms, see above.

There was no reference to the Town House arms in Howe's General Orders, but here, on Feb. 24th, was the directive: "Those Regiments that want Arms to Complete their present Effectives, to Apply to the Office of Ordnance for them on Monday morning next, at 10 o'Clock, giving Returns, and Receipts for what they Receive." N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883. p. 308.

When Gage left Boston (Oct. 10, 1775) he made Crean Brush receiver of goods deposited at the Town House (Faneuil Hall), and from Watertown Edes in the Boston Gazette commented: "BOSTONIANS!!! Have you forgot your arms webe most shamefully deposited there?" Nov. 27, 1775. 3/1.

The pass, dated February 23, 1776, to admit Captain Francis Green for the weapons inventory to the Town House (in Dock Square by the Town Dock) is one of the few official papers of its kind to survive from the Siege of Boston:

"Sir:

The bearer Captain Green has the General's (Howe) permission to take an account of the Inhabitants Arms that are lodg'd in the Town House. You will therefore please to let him have admission to the Town House as often as he may have occasion.

I am sir

Your most humble Servt

W. Ramsay
Town Adj. 1

Col. Cleaveland
Command of the
Royal Artillery

This work was soon completed; in about a week Captain Green signed "The Return of Arms delivered by the Inhabitants in April 1775 in the Town House Chambers 1 March 1776." This inventory, a copy of which is still with the Loyalist papers of Captain Francis Green, appears to have been done carefully. The names of the owners and the types of weapon surrendered were listed, but not all weapons were "marked" or otherwise had owners names still attached in February, 1776. A note to the "Return" pointed out:

"N.B. Many of the above Arms, that are now unmark'd, appear to have had Tallies affix'd when deliver'd although at present they have none - There are also 2 Boxes mark'd Gilbert DeBlois and John Row, Pistols, but the Pistols are intermix'd in such a Manner that it is impossible to ascertain the respective Proprietors." 2

It is beyond doubt that the arms delivered in April at the Town House into the charge of the Boston Selectmen who remained in the

1 The original is in the Loyalist papers of Capt. Francis Green. PRO. A.O. 13:45. Signed by William Ramsay and addressed to Col. Samuel Cleaveland.

2 "The Return of Arms delivered by the Inhabitants in April 1775 in the Town House Chambers 1 March, 1776" Francis Green Papers. PRO. A.O. 13:45. Both John Rowe and Gilbert DeBlois were prominent (cont.)

town had been tampered with in the intervening time. Not only were identifications of ownership lost, but the figures for both numbers and types of weapons remaining in the Town House on March 1, 1776 differ greatly from those later claimed by the rebels as having been deposited:

<u>Capt. Green's March 1st. Inventory</u> ¹		<u>Rebel Claims</u> ²	
Weapon	Total	Weapon	Total
Muskets, mark'd	877		
Muskets, unmark'd	<u>402</u>		
Whole N ^o of Muskets	1,279	Firearms	1,778
Pistols mark'd	101		
Pistols unmark'd	<u>314</u>		
Whole N ^o of Pistols	415	Pistols	634
Wall Pieces	10		
Blunderbusses	20	Blunderbusses	38
Gun Barrells	37	Bayonets	973
<hr/> Grand Total 1,761		<hr/> 3,423	

2 cont. Boston merchants. Gilbert DeBlois, who left at the Evacuation, is notable for his help given to Capt. Preston at the time of the "Boston Massacre" Trial (Rex. v. Preston, 1770) where he gave helpful information and served as one of the five Tory jurors. See DeBlois' Loyalist Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:44, and Hiller Zobel, The Boston Massacre, 1970, pp. 227, 245-6.

¹ "The Return of Arms delivered by the Inhabitants in April, 1775 in the Town House Chambers 1 March 1776" Francis Green Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:45.

² Rebel claims are printed in Peter Force, American Archives, Series IV, Vol. 2, p. 747.

Below the totals of arms in the Town House on March 1, 1776 as shown in Captain Green's Inventory is the further note:

"Of the above there are 450 muskets (more than one in four) 100 Pistols (just under 1 in 4) and 15 blunderbusses (3 in 4) not worth repairing, and the rest are in general very bad arms, & much out of repair." ¹

This supports the Tory complaints made in the spring of 1775 to General Gage that the (Whig) inhabitants (at least) on April 28th turned in to the Selectmen only their defective, outmoded, and surplus weapons, a mere token compliance with the agreement made with the Governor to allow those inhabitants that gave up their arms the opportunity to leave Boston - and that the Whig rebels hid their useful arms about the town, until such time as they would receive the signal for an uprising against the British to coincide with a rebel assault, or smuggled them out for the use of the rebel besieging troops. ²

On March 6th Archibald Robertson of the Engineers recorded in his "Diary": "A Working Party employ'd since 8 this Morning embarking the heavy Artillery, Stores, etc..." ³ and it was probably at this time, or soon afterward, that Captain Green of the Third Company of Loyal Associators received orders "to embark and carry off as many (of the arms in the Town House) as was practicable, which he did." ⁴ This was carried out under the general direction of

¹ "The Return of Arms...in the Town House Chambers 1 March 1776" Francis Green Papers, PRO. A.O. 13:45.

² For the fears and protests of the Tories in Boston to Gage, see above.

The smuggling, of course, had preceded Lexington and the Siege: Gen. Sir Martin Hunter, then a young junior lieutenant, recorded, "We frequently found arms and ammunition concealed in loads of hay. The (Boston) Neck Guard had orders to stop and search all waggon for arms &c..." The Journal of Gen. Sir Martin Hunter... (Edinburgh, 1894) p.8. For years after the Siege Lucy, daughter of the last Massachusetts Province Secretary Thomas Flucker (who left Boston at the Evacuation) who had married the rebel Whig Boston bookseller Henry Knox, told of how she had smuggled her husband's militia sword out of town stitched into her petticoats. See Forbes, Paul Revere, 1942, p.286.

³ Gen. Sir Archibald Robertson, Diaries and Sketches in America, 1930, p.75.

⁴ Memorial of Capt. Francis Green, Dec. 1, 1783, Hackney, London. Green MSS. PRO. A.O. 13:45.

How much Josiah Jones as Lieutenant of Capt. Green's Third Company of Loyal Associators had to do with the removal of the Bostonian's weapons to Halifax, does not appear. Like Francis Green, however, Josiah Jones was one of those Tories who served in Brig. Timothy Ruggles' Corps later to be held accountable in the civil courts of Massachusetts for property destroyed or carried away in Howe's Evacuation Fleet.¹

Howe gave orders that nothing of military use to the rebels, weapons or supplies, was to be left behind in Boston, and on March 10th gave a commission to Crean Brush, a Tory refugee from the northern Cumberland County, New York, to superintend the removal of all such property. Circulated as a hand-bill, this commission was a directive to all inhabitants of the town:

"Sir: I am informed there are large quantities of goods in the town of Boston, which, if in possession of the rebels, would enable them to carry on war. And whereas I have given notice to all loyal inhabitants to remove such goods from hence, and that all who do not remove them, or deliver them to your care, will be considered abettors of rebels. You are hereby authorized and required to take into your possession all such goods as answer this description, and to give certificates to the owners that you have received them for their use, and will deliver them to the owners' order,

1

Testimony of Josiah Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John, New Brunswick, Dec. 20, 1786. PRO.A.O. 12:10.

Captain Nesbit Balfour of the Fourth (King's Own) Regiment. The Loyalists had cause enough to respect Balfour: he had been the able commander of the 100-man detachment of regulars which, in the schooner Diana and sloop Britannia, had sailed from Boston on January 23, 1775 to reinforce Colonel Nathaniel Ray Thomas' regiment of loyal militia at Marshfield that kept the King's Peace in Plymouth County until the regulars' recall by Gage and the evacuation to Boston of the Plymouth County Loyalists after the Battle of Lexington.¹

With that strange irony of civil war that was so large an element in the American Revolution, these weapons taken from the Boston inhabitants were to be "delivered ...out, at Halifax, according to directions, to such Loyalists as applied there for..." But, by so doing, as Captain Green later wrote, "on this Score He apprehends He may, (unless indemnified) be liable to many private Actions at Law, notwithstanding the Treaty of Peace."²

1 Attached to the Loyalist Memorial of Francis Green, dated Hackney, London, Dec. 1, 1783 in PRO. A.O. 13:45, is a memorandum by Lt. Col. Nesbit Balfour "respecting the Memorialist's political conduct at Boston, embarking Arms &c, and his offers of Service on Arrival at New York, 1777." For the detachment of Capt. Balfour and the force of regular troops at Marshfield to reinforce Thomas' Loyal Militia, Jan-Apr. '75, see above.

2 Article VI of the Peace Treaty stated:

"There shall be no future Confiscations made nor any Prosecutions commenced against any Person or Persons for or by Reason of the Part which he or they may have taken in the present War, and that no Person shall on that Account suffer any future Loss or Damage, either in his Person, Liberty or Property..."

Memorial of Francis Green, Hackney, London Dec. 1, 1783. PRO. A.O. 13:45.

unavoidable accidents excepted. And you are to make inquiry if any such goods be secreted or left in stores; and you are to seize all such, and put them on board the Minerva ship, or the brigantine Elizabeth. Given under my hand, at headquarters, Boston, this tenth day of March, 1776.

W. HOWE, Com. Chief

To CREAN BRUSH, Esquire 1

It was entirely in the interest of Tory merchants to take away with them as much of their wealth in the form of² moveable property for which shipping space could be found. For carrying out Howe's order of March 10th - which meant emptying the stores and warehouses of rich Whigs choosing to remain such as John Andrews and John Rowe - Crean Brush earned a reputation for "wickedness" in the Boston legend of the Siege to match that of Joshua Loring the Younger, Sheriff of Suffolk County (whose duty in issuing government proclamations caused particular rebel resentment) and William Cunningham, Provost-Marshal (as keeper of Boston Jail the rebels alleged that he starved and brutally treated their prisoners).³

1 Copy in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 158, p. 301.
On March 9th John Rowe recorded: "This day Gen^l Robinson pressed the Ship Minerva into the Service..." Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 301. Minerva with her cargo and refugee passengers arrived at Halifax, but the Elizabeth, Peter Ramsey, master, was captured by the rebels, see below.

2 See above for the difficulties of loyal merchant Capt. Francis Green of the Third Company of Associators. See also Loyalist papers of Boston merchants George Leonard, PRO. A. O. 13:51; William Jackson A. O. 13:47; George Erving, A. O. 13:44; and Gilbert DeBlois, A. O. 13:44.

3 Even the sober Richard Frothingham (Siege of Boston, 2nd. edn. 1851, p. 307) who, considering the temper of the times when he wrote, is remarkably fair to the Tories, described Brush as "a conceited New York Tory, as ignorant of the American character as he was insolent in the discharge of his official duties." It was Frank Moore, in his Diary of the American Revolution (New York, 1860) Vol. II, p. 110, who fastened upon Loring (apt. Oct. 7, 1775 sole auctioneer for property sold by order of the Boston courts - Force, Am. Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. 3, p. 984- and at New York in 1776 Commissary of Prisoners) the libel that he became rich by feeding the dead and starving the living.

The entries in John Rowe's "Diary" from March 11th through March 16th are a chorus of self-righteous indignation at the "pillage" of goods from his stores (entries for the earlier part of the Siege attest his profits made importing goods for the Loyalists and the British garrison). It is still of record in Rowe's "Diary", however, that this canny merchant was at pains to get receipts signed by Crean Brush himself for goods taken, at Rowe's valuation worth £2,266.¹

"Mar 11. This morning I Rose very early & very luckily went to my warehouse - when I came there I found Mr Crian Brush with an Order & party from the Genl who were just going to Break Open the Warehouse which I prevented by sending for the Keys & Opening the Doors. They took from me to the Value of Twenty Two hundred & Sixty Pounds Sterling according to the best Calculations I could make, in Linens, Checks, Cloths & Woolens. This Party behaved very Insolently & with Great Rapacity & I am very well Convinced, exceeding their orders to a Great Degree. They stole many things & plundered my Store. Words cannot Describe it. This Party consisted of Mr Blasswitch who was one of the Canceaux People, Mr Brush, The provost Mr Cunningham, a Refugee, Mr Welsh the Provost Deputy - a man namd Hill & abo fifteen Soldiers with others. I Remained all day in the Store but could not hinder their Destruction of my Goods...Many other People have suffered the same Fate as wee, Particularly Mr. Saml Austin, Mr John Scollay, Capt Partridge, Capt Dashwood, Mr Cyrus Baldwin, The Widow Newman." 2

¹ This invoice, and receipt signed by Crean Brush, are with the large file of papers relating to Brush's activities in Boston and his capture with the Tory merchant William Jackson and 70 Tory refugees on the brig Elizabeth early in April (see below) in Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 158, pp. 297-317.

² Cunningham, ed., The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, March 11, 1776. pp. 301-2.

Rowe, like many Boston merchants, however, after the Evacuation "compensated" themselves by using the anti-Tory laws to get hold of what property they could. Rowe ruined the family of Robert Jarvis the Boston winemerchant, a Tory evacuee and one-time friend, taking possession of his house (occupied by Mrs. Jarvis) in Purchase Street and taking out a writ to put Jarvis himself in debtors prison - for money Rowe and another debtor actually owed to Jarvis! See Jarvis to Loyalist Commissioners, Sept. 24, 1787, PRO. A.O. 13:47; and A.O. 13:74.

John Rowe did not name any of Col. Elisha Jones' sons as commandeering stores under Howe's orders of March 10, 1776, but Josiah Jones at least gave his signed receipts for this work. Josiah Jones, too, was to be among those to discover how relentless and grasping were these Boston merchants in pursuing their claims for compensation against refugee Tories such as himself - while using the loopholes in the Peace Treaty (the preliminary Treaty was signed at Paris Nov. 30, 1782, and the definitive Treaty some nine months later, Sept. 3, 1783) and conflicting legislation by the state of Massachusetts to confiscate the property of refugee Tories and to prevent them from obtaining payment of their debts.¹ In December, 1786, more than ten years after the Evacuation of Boston, Josiah Jones testified before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John (New Brunswick):

"Claimant is now under Bail in an action against him for taking goods at Boston by order of General Howe while Claimant was acting as Clerk in the Secretary's Office. The present action is for £700; thinks when he goes into the Country more actions will be brought; But he must go to save his bail..." 2

1 There is no adequate study of punitive legislation passed in Massachusetts by the three Provincial Congresses at Watertown which met between Sept. 29, 1774 and July 19, 1775, and the "revived" General Court (even after the signing of the definitive Peace Treaty, Sept. 3, 1783) designed, by placing Tories outside the limits of the law, to deprive them of their civil rights and property. Nor of the equally pernicious anti-Tory resolves passed by the Worcester (May 19, 1783) and Weston (see especially instructions to Town Representatives of Oct. 22, 1778 and May 26, 1783) Town Meetings, typical of many throughout the Province. Still the best case study for Massachusetts is Andrew F. Davis, The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate, Boston, 1903. For the breakdown of the rule of law before the armed conflict began, see the fair-minded and scholarly discussion in: Hiller Zobel, "Law Under Pressure: Boston 1769-1771" in George Billias, ed. Law and Authority in Colonial America, Barre, Massachusetts, 1965, pp. 187-208; and Zobel, The Boston Massacre, 1970, especially pages 295-303.

2 Testimony of Josiah Jones before the Loyalist Commissioners at St. John, New Brunswick, Dec. 20, 1786. PRO.A.O.12:10.

During the harassed last week of preparation for the Evacuation keeping public order in Boston became ever more difficult. Even among the military where penalties were harsh there were notable breakdowns of discipline: desertions increased (the whole crew of a brig on the night of March 7th) and soldiers and sailors from the fleet joined the lawless elements among the inhabitants in looting, despite all attempts by Howe to stop it. The dram shops were closed on March 7th, and inhabitants forbidden to give liquor to the soldiers; officers were ordered to sleep with their men to prevent their leaving barracks at night (March 12th); and on March 14th by Howe's order soldiers caught plundering were to be summarily hanged.¹

But lawlessness, theft, arson, and other destruction of property which occurred at this time - later blamed by the rebels upon the departing Tories and the license of the military - was in fact substantially the work of the inhabitants themselves. For Col. Elisha Jones' sons serving with Brig. Ruggles' corps of Loyal Associators, the last night patrols through the dimly lit streets must have been the most difficult and hazardous of all. The Boston mob, quiet for much of the Siege and emboldened by the British departure, was out again after dark, looting anything of value and destroying out of vengeance: days before the British withdrew, on the morning of March 17th, the sacking of Tory houses and other property was well begun, in many cases as soon as the families left them to embark.² The houses of the Anglican clergy in particular seem to have been marked for early targets: on March 14 John Rowe noted: "Mr Saml Quincy's house broke & great Destruction. The Revd Mr Walter's also the Revd Dr Caner's & many others." In

1 Howe's General Orders from March 6th until the Evacuation on March 17th attest his efforts to preserve military discipline, with severe penalties for offenders. N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 313-26. On March 15th Archibald Robertson of the Engineers wrote: "This morning had no working Party but the Carps as the long Wharff is clear'd begun to make a Traverse across it...The Soldiers rather acting Licentiously and breaking up some stores.² Soldiers of the 49th Deserted last Night..." Diaries and Sketches in America, p. 78.

2 On March 21, the day after the main body of the Rebel army entered Boston, Washington in a proclamation called upon the inhabitants to make known to the quartermaster-general "all stores belonging to the (cont.)"

the case of the Rev. William Walter, Rector of Trinity, the "enthusiasm" of the plundering mob at his house has been attributed to an inflammatory article in the Boston Gazette of Feb. 12, 1776, which accused Mr. Walter of conspiring to spread smallpox to the besieging rebel army.¹ It was not for nothing that on March 12th John Rowe, with much property at risk, wrote: "The Inhabitants are greatly terrified & alarmed for Fear of Greater Evils when the Troops leave this distressed place."²

By March 14th not even the Province House and other public buildings were safe from the mob. Howe's orders that day offered "Rewards to any Person or Persons who shall convict any Person or Persons of Cutting and Defacing the King's and Queen's Pictures, and destroying the Records and other Public Papers, Viz.: For the King's Picture, £50; For the Queen's Picture, £50; For other Pictures, Records, or Public Papers, £20."³

Among the last duty of Loyalists employed in the public administration - Josiah Jones the lawyer in the office of Howe's Secretary Captain Robert Mackenzie at the Province House, and his younger brother Stephen in Col. Elisha Jones' ^{former} Commissary Department - ~~was~~ in collecting and removing public records to the safety of the Evacuation Fleet. After the vandalism of the night of March 13th a detachment of soldiers had been stationed in the Province House, but even these were not proof against damage. The scene on March 17th

1 Walter was said to have allowed a servant boy to join his family at Medford only after being inoculated for smallpox, which he contracted after being sent by boat to Point Shirley. Boston Gazette, Feb. 12, 1776. 4/1.

2 Cunningham, ed. The Letters and Diary of John Rowe, p. 301.

3 Howe, General Orders, March 14, 1776. N.Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, p. 322.

(cont. 2. ministerial army" hidden in the town, and ordered the army officers "to assist the civil magistrates in the execution of their duty, and to promote peace and good order." Richard Frothingham, History of the Siege of Boston... (2nd. edn. 1851) p. 311. Rebel leaders who returned to Boston found it convenient to blame looting upon the departed Tories and British soldiers - and to help themselves to the furniture and other property left behind by the Refugees. See "Diary" of the Rev. Samuel Cooper of the Brattle Street Church, entries for March 26-30, 1776. American Historical Review, Jan. 1901. Vol. VI, No. 2., pp. 338-339.

was described by Edward Winslow, who in July, 1775 had been appointed by Gage Collector for the Port of Boston and Register of Probate for Suffolk County:¹

"On the morning of the evacuation the Public Buildings were in the possession of a Licentious Rabble, the doors of the Offices were forced, and the Records and papers were exposed to instant destruction. Having a party at my Command, and impressed with a due sense of the importance of preserving them, I found means to pack up and place on board a Transport not only the records of the Probate Office, but also those of the Registry of Deeds and Custom House. The latter office had been peculiarly exposed having been occupied as a Military Guard room the preceeding night."²

Preservation of the public records in Boston was the last of the many contributions made by Tories such as Col. Elisha Jones, Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, to the rule of law in Massachusetts. The records taken away at the Evacuation were deposited with the Nova Scotia archives at Halifax, and returned to Boston after the War.³

The name of the vessel has been lost in which Col. Elisha Jones' widow Mary Allen, their three sons, Elisha the Younger, Josiah, and Stephen, with two servants, made the voyage in the

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, p. 424. On July 30, 1776 Winslow was appointed "Muster-Master-General to the Provincial Troops taken into His Majesty's pay within the Colonies lying in the Atlantic Ocean from Nova Scotia to West Florida," with the rank of Lt. Colonel. See W.O. Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers (1901) p. 2. Winslow served in this post through the War, and was well known as well to the sons of Col. Jones as a fellow member of the Tory "Harvard Circle" at New York.

² Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, Vol. XLIII, p. 424.

³ It is significant that the Customs Records, which would have told so much about violations of the Whig Non-Importation Agreements—supporting the invoices and other evidence published by John Mein in the Boston Chronicle against John Hancock and other leading Whigs, and the trading operations of Hancock and other Whig merchants with the British in Boston during the operative time of the Boston Port Bill and the rebel prohibition during the Siege—were taken to the Customs House at Salem and there conveniently enough "discarded."

Evacuation Fleet commanded by Admiral Molyneux Shuldham, to the safe if ill-prepared colonial haven of Halifax, in Nova Scotia. Such was the hurry and confusion of the embarkation that the travel arrangements of the Loyalists were in most cases haphazard: they were fitted in, often at the last minute, to any accommodation that could be found. Warships, transports, merchantmen, fishing boats - the forest of masts that crowded the anchorages and jostled at the wharves belonged to the largest fleet ever assembled in Boston harbour. The number of vessels that sailed on the morning of March 17, 1776 will probably never be known: estimates range from 155 to more than 200.¹

Although Brig. Ruggles' three companies of Associated Loyalists - the remnant of the Massachusetts Militia loyal to Government - had volunteered in Boston for service within the Colony (the jurisdiction of the Governor by whose authority they were raised) there is evidence that groups and even whole companies of them, with dependents, embarked together for Halifax. The schooner of Nathaniel Ray Thomas of Marshfield, a member of the Massachusetts Council and a volunteer in Boston with Gen. Samuel Cleaveland's Ordnance Department during the Siege, was commandeered at the last moment for a Loyalist company - which, as Thomas later explained, was why he could take with him only one trunk and three hampers of wine.²

¹ Ad. Shuldham's despatch of March 17th/^{PRO}(AD. 1:484) lists 16 warships and 1 hospital ship; in his Ad. 1:1009 Shuldham lists 34 transports. Howe (C.O. 5:93:191) gives a total of 78 "Army" vessels, counting in 3 with cargoes of "Merchants Goods and Inhabitants" and the telling note: "Several small vessels with Inhabitants (i.e. refugee Tories) on board not included." Of eye-witness accounts apart from these, Josiah Quincy counted 52 vessels in the first part of the fleet to sail from Nantasket Road, and in the second, "about one hundred sail, chiefly large vessels." Force, American Archives, Ser. IV, Vol. V, pp. 498-9. Archibald Robertson, who travelled in the first division, numbered the vessels at 49. Diaries and Sketches in America, (1930) p. 76.

² It was Thomas who had raised the company of near 200 loyal militia at Marshfield that kept the peace in Plymouth County until the end of April, 1775, when with the withdrawal of the regular troops by Gage they had sailed to Boston. Thomas' Loyalist Papers are in: PRO.A.O.12:10, pp. 56-63; A.O.13:51; A.O.13:74.

Josiah and Stephen Jones were lieutenants in two of the three companies of Brig. Ruggles' Loyalist Associators, and the odds would favour their sailing with one of them, particularly Captain Francis Green of Josiah's Third Company who was among the loyal Boston merchants whose trading vessels were brought away as part of the Evacuation Fleet.¹ Another likely alternative, however, is that the Joneses went to Halifax among the fifty Loyalists in the schooner chartered by the great family patron in New Hampshire, Governor John Wentworth. Wentworth, who in January, 1775 had enlisted a company of Loyalists at Portsmouth, wrote to Lord Dartmouth from Nantasket Road of his intention to follow the army, and later in 1776 at New York raised a corps of light dragoons known as Wentworth's Gentlemen Volunteers in which four of the sons of Col. Elisha Jones were to serve: Josiah and Simeon (a prisoner in Concord jail at the time of the Evacuation) of Hinsdale in Cheshire County, New Hampshire, Stephen and Charles, and their cousin Elijah Williams, another lawyer, from Keene(N.H.).²

For the Loyalists conditions aboard ship were at best cramped and uncomfortable by all accounts - the classic being that of Benjamin Hallowell, controller of the Port of Boston, who was obliged

¹ Francis Green's Loyalist papers are in PRO. A.O.13:45; A.O.13:73; and A.O.13:79.

² For Wentworth's Loyalist Company at Portsmouth, see Kenneth Scott, "Tory Associators of Portsmouth," William and Mary Quarterly, pp.507-515.

The best account of Wentworth's Gentlemen Volunteers is still W.H. Siebert, "Loyalist Refugees of New Hampshire," Ohio State University Bulletin, no. XXI (Columbus, 1916). Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats (Chapel Hill, 1964) does not mention Wentworth's Volunteers, and his later article, "The American Loyalists: Notes on their Organization and Numerical Strength" William & Mary Quarterly, XXV, 1968, pp.259-277, mentions them only very briefly.

There is a roster of Wentworth's Volunteers showing two members of the family, Second Lieutenant Elijah Williams and trooper Simeon Jones dated at Flushing, Long Island, Oct. 16, 1777, in the Loyalist papers of Wentworth's Secretary, Thomas McDonough: PRO.A.O.13:52.

For Elijah Williams, of Keene (N.H.) but born at Deerfield, see Shipton, ed., Sibley's Harvard Graduates (class of 1764) Vol. XVI, pp. 113-4.

to share a cabin with thirty-six others, "men, women, and children; parents, masters and mistresses obliged to pig together on the floor, there being no berths."¹ For the women and children and others among the Loyalists who went aboard first there was as well the days of delay in sailing.

From the evening of March 14th until March 17th the final embarkation of troops was prevented by that bane of New England mariners, an on-shore east wind. On Sunday, March 17th, however, the weather was favourable, "the finest day in the world," according to Archibald Robertson of the Engineers, evidently cheered by the prospect of quitting Boston at last, "and a fair breeze." By daybreak the departure had well begun. Lt. John Barker wrote in his "Diary":

"17th. At 4 oclock in the Morn. the Troops got under Arms, at 5 they began to move, and by about 8 or 9 were all embarked, the rear being cover'd by the Grenrs. and Lt. Infy. The Rebels did not think proper to molest us. We quitted Boston with a fair wind and sailed down to King Road below Castle William..." 3

There the fleet remained for several days, "watering" the vessels and making other final preparations for the voyage to Halifax. On the morning of March 21st Admiral Shuldham made signal for all to fall down to Nantasket Road, and from thence on March 25th the first and smaller of the two divisions into which the great

¹ Lorenzo Sabine, American Loyalists, (2nd. edn. Boston, 1864) Vol. II, p. 509. Loyalist Memorials are full of descriptions of hardships in the Evacuation Fleet. Richard Lechmere wrote that he, his wife, and six children were in a small ship crowded with nearly 100 persons apart from crew, without adequate provisions and suffering "every species of indelicacy and inconvenience." The family left Halifax for England in May, 1776. PRO. A.O. 13:47; A.O. 13:74. Among the worst sufferers was Jolley Allen, whose chartered vessel Sally with a cargo worth nearly £3,000 was driven ashore on Cape Cod; Allen and his wife (who died) and children were ill-treated in prison, and robbed of all they had. PRO. A.O. 13:43; an autobiographical fragment was printed as "An Account... of the Sufferings and Losses of Jolley Allen..." Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1878, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-76.

² Archibald Robertson, Diaries and Sketches in America, (1930) pp. 79-80.

³ Dana, ed. The British in Boston, .. (1924) pp. 71-2. For the unofficial agreement made by the Selectmen with the Rebels under a flag of truce, March 8-9, that Boston would not be burned if the British were not attacked during the evacuation, see the "Journal" of Selectman Timothy Newell, Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, Series IV, Vol. I, pp. 271-2.

fleet carrying the Loyalists from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and other parts of New England had been divided, "about 49 vessels," according to one estimate, weighed anchor for Nova Scotia. The first division arrived in the harbour off Chebucto Point on March 29th, but the rest of the Evacuation fleet, many of them "slow sailers," followed some days later. By April 3rd all "except a few" of the fleet had reached Halifax.¹ Of these, some were shipwrecked or taken by rebel privateers - including John Coffin Jones' legendary brig Yankee Hero² - that hovered on the fringes of the fleet, overhauling stragglers and cutting out for prizes vessels known to have particularly valuable cargoes like the brig Elizabeth, taken by Captain John Manley of Marblehead in the Hancock on April 2nd. 3

Col. Elisha Jones' widow Mary Allen, however, with three of her sons - Elisha the Younger, Josiah, and Stephen - and their servants were among the great majority of the Loyalists who made in safety the historic voyage across the Bay of Fundy to Halifax at the end of March, 1776, refugees, but to a new life under freedom and the rule of law in a new British Empire. On March 20th, while the Fleet was anchored in the King's Road, the Loyalists had

¹ For the sailing of the Fleet, accounts of those who went with it in some detail: Archibald Robertson, Diaries and Sketches in America, (1930) pp. 80-82; On April 2nd Lt. John Barker of the 4th (King's Own) Regiment recorded in his Diary that his vessel "arrived at Halifax late in the evening with the greatest part of the fleet," and the next day, April 3rd, "All the Ships got in except a few." Dana, ed., The British in Boston... (1924) p. 72; Deputy Adjutant General Stephen Kemble, whose vessel "Anchored in Halifax Harbour at 7 in the Evening" on April 3rd, notes that the ship carrying his baggage, and that of Howe himself did not arrive until April 9th. "Journal" New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883, pp. 73-76. See Ad. Shulldham to Admiralty, March 17, 1776. PRO. Ad. 1:484; and Howe, PRO. C.O. 5:93, 188-93, and letter of May 7th which includes the Loyalist List (see above) PRO. C.O. 5:93, 317-22.

² John Coffin Jones had moved his shipping business to Newburyport from Boston where he was already active in privateering ventures, and owned part of the Yankee Hero, a brig of 14 guns, commanded by another partner, James Tracy. See Allen, Massachusetts Privateers Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, (1927) Vol. LXXVII, p. 329, and the J.C. Jones Papers, Harvard Business School Library, Cambridge.

³ The 63 passengers included Crean Brush and Boston merchant Wm. Jackson. See Massachusetts Archives, Vol. 158, pp. 297-317; for bad treatment of the prisoners, Edward Oliver, ed. Diary of William Pynchon of Salem, (Boston, 1890) pp. 7-9.

watched the destruction of Castle William, the last British fortress in Massachusetts Bay, and a prophecy. Judge Peter Oliver, who saw it from the deck of the Indiaman Pacific, later wrote:

"The blowing up of the Castle Walls continued: and at night all the combustible part of the Castle was fired. The conflagration was the most pleasingly dreadful that I ever beheld: sometimes it appeared like an eruption of Mount Etna; and then a deluge of fire opened to the view; that nothing could reconcile the horror to the mind, but the prevention of such a Fortress from falling into the hands of the rebels, who had already spread such a conflagration of diabolical fury throughout America, which scarce anything can quench." ¹

..

¹ Peter O. Hutchinson, ed., Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson (London, 1883) Vol. II, p. 47.

On the night of March 20th the Tory merchant (not a refugee) Ashley Bowen at Marblehead wrote in his Diary: "...The evening I saw a large light in the strain of Boston. Cold snow. Tis said the light is the Castle." Philip C.F. Smith, ed., The Journals of Ashley Bowen (1728-1813) of Marblehead, Col. Soc. of Mass. Collections, Vol. XLIV, 1973, p. 480.

CONCLUSION

COL. ELISHA JONES OF WESTON: A MAN AHEAD OF HIS TIME

"Dear Brother,

"...As to our situation in Nova Scotia I must confess -- Candidly for my own part I would not exchange to be put in possession of the whole State of Massachusetts and my situation is not enviable neither. You may be convinced that those who rail against Nova Scotia are no friends to their country..."

Stephen Jones at Sissiboo, St Mary's Bay,
Nova Scotia, May 24, 1787, to his brother,
Lt. Jonas Jones of the 20th Foot, at No. 11, 1
Lower Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London

Col. Elisha Jones, (1710-1776) of Weston, one of the last of the soldier-Representative-magistrates to hold and to carry out the duties of public office under the established authority of Colonial Government in Massachusetts Bay, was a man of principle ahead of his time.

Born into the fourth generation of a family of early settlers of Roxbury and Watertown and one whose pioneering spirit (unlike that of many which became Whig magnates in the Eastern Counties and in the large coastal towns) was not stunted by prosperity - the New Englander's outward mark of God's blessing upon industry - nor looked backward to trade with Europe for its wealth, but from the 1720's in alliance with the other "River Gods" of Welsh origin, the great clans of Williamses and Edwardses, and their connections the Dwights and Stoddards who produced so many thinkers as well as soldiering magistrates of pioneers, the Joneses of Weston drew wealth from the land of New England and the frontier settlements in Massachusetts and the Hampshire Grants in the Connecticut and Housatonic River valleys, and "Downeast" as it is still called, in the district of Maine and Nova Scotia. In the

1 MSS. PRO.A.O. 13:74.

tradition of a family as noted for its enterprise as for its inventiveness and independence of thought, Col. Jones' descendants have included, besides the preponderant generations of Canadian and English lawyers, judges and legal writers (down to the present day) most of whom, as well, were farmers and landowners, men of the calibre and originality of the Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, born at the post-Revolution family home at Sissiboo (Weymouth) Nova Scotia in September, 1824, and who died in office as Lt. Governor of the Province in March, 1906. Among other offices in a long and distinguished career Gov. Jones was Representative for Halifax in the Ottawa Parliament and Minister of Marine in the Mackenzie Government - but, a life long supporter of the Empire, he cast Nova Scotia's vote against (Canadian) Confederation and declined the honour of knighthood.¹ Another of the Colonel's noted descendants in this century - one of the few to be born (1897) in Massachusetts since the Revolution, is the Naval Architect Cereno St. Clair Jones, one of the principal designers of the American nuclear submarine.

Of Col. Elisha Jones' grandchildren and great nieces and nephews - who lived at the time of "the flowering of New England" - and their children, noted pioneers were Miss Electa Jones (1806-1854) journalist and local historian, a contributor to Dr. Henry Bond's History of Watertown (1st. edn. 1855) and to the researches (but with no acknowledgement) of historian Francis Parkman, who also made liberal use of her book Stockbridge Past and Present, or Records of an old Mission Station (Springfield, 1854), the first history of the town founded by Col. Elisha Jones' older brother Deacon Josiah Jones (1701-1769) who m. Anna Brown, and his only sister Abigail (1694-1763) who m. in 1719 Col. Ephriam Williams Sr. Noted writers of fiction have been Miss Catherine Sedgwick of Stockbridge, the great friend of Fanny Kemble and Hawthorne; and in Nova Scotia, Miss Alice Jones (1853-1933) daughter of the Hon. Alfred Gilpin Jones, who did much of her writing, and died, at Montone, in France.

¹ See his obituary in The Times, March 16, 1906, 10/2.

But the greatest of the writers - and the individualists - was Col. Elisha Jones' Great Grandson the Transcendental philosopher-naturalist Henry David Thoreau, whose essays on "Civil Disobedience" and "Life without Principle" are as relevant to the history of the Revolution and to the Tories as to his own time, (1817-1862), when, as his Journals show, he was able to talk with many who knew the Revolution at first hand. Two of the many entries in his Journals relating to Thoreau's abiding interest in the history of Middlesex County and of Massachusetts (sources much neglected by historians) point the problem of historic truth: of greatest importance in establishing both the dimensions and nature of the final crisis of Colonial Government in Massachusetts Bay from 1773 to 1776, and the part taken in it by the Tory leader from Weston, Col. Elisha Jones.

The first entry, dated Sept. 10, 1856, concerns the Rev. Dr. Samuel Peters' (an Anglican and a Tory, and therefore as an author much to be condemned by Whig and Whiggish historians) work, A General History of Connecticut by a Gentleman of the Province (London, 1782) as compared with George Bancroft's History of the United States (1834). On a journey Thoreau refers to Connecticut River at Bellows Falls (N. Hampshire):

"I read that salmon passed these falls but not shad. When the water is lowest, it is contracted to sixteen feet here, and Peters's, an old history of Connecticut, says it was so condensed that you could not thrust a crowbar into it. It did me good to read his wholesale hearty statements, - strong, living, human speech, so much better than the emasculated modern histories, like Bancroft's and the rest, cursed with a style. I would rather read such histories, though every sentence were a falsehood, than our dull emasculated reports which bear the name of histories. The former, having a human breath and interest behind them, are nearer to nature and to truth, after all. The historian is required to feel a human interest in his subject and to so express it." 1

1 Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen, eds. The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, Vol. II, p. 1071 (1962 edn)

The second entry, dated two years later, August 17, 1858, describes the attitude toward Lemuel Shattuck's History of the Town of Concord (Boston, 1835) of George Minott, a Concord farmer/^{of a family} settled in the town for generations, a good friend of Thoreau and a relation of his undoubted-Tory step-grandfather, Captain Jonas Minott of the Concord Company of Militia in Col. Elisha Jones' Third Middlesex Regiment and "infamous" for his part in the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1, 1774. Thoreau wrote on August 17th:

"Minott has only lately been reading Shattuck's 'History of Concord,' and he says that his account (solidly Whig) is not right by a jugful, that he does not come within half a mile of the truth, not as he has heard tell." 1

Half a mile in the Concord of the mid-nineteenth century would have been right out-of-town.

It did not help the cause of history that the remnant of Col. Jones' family who remained in Massachusetts after the Revolution had the impossible social task of living down such prominent and anti-patriotic relations - whose reputation, indeed, still haunts the County of Middlesex from Walden Pond in Concord to Weston on Charles River. It fooled nobody when Col. Elisha Jones' Grand-daughter Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau, Henry's Mother and an entertaining teller of exciting tales, tried to put off children's questions, inevitably to the heart of the matter. As Mary Loomis Todd, who first edited the poems of Emily Dickinson, later wrote: "She often used to say to us, 'I can't tell you anything about my wicked Tory ancestors,' of whom there were many, most of them distinguished and prominent." 2

1 Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen, eds., The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau, (1962 edn.) Vol. II, p. 1110.

2 Killicent Todd Bingham, The Thoreau Family Two Generations Ago (1958) pp. 9-10.

But the greatest damage to historic truth about the beginning of the Civil War and Revolution in Massachusetts during the last great crisis of Colonial Government in 1773-1776 was not that the Tory view, for whatever base motives of the victorious Whigs, was so largely excluded from American (and English) history. Fully as perverting to the facts of what happened in Massachusetts during the last years of Colonial Government is portrayal of the Tories as Loyal people with Lockeian/Whig views, as presented by post-Tea Party and other "late" Loyalists such as Daniel Leonard in "Massachusettensis," or as "Hutchinsonian" supporters of the doctrine of undivided sovereignty and defenders of the status quo (Jonathan Sewall as "Philanthrop" and "Philaethes").

Most damaging of all has been the large failure to recognize that there was a second - and, because it looked to the future, more important - group of Tories in Massachusetts: men whose leaders were such as Col. Elisha Jones of Weston, Brig. Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick, Col. Thomas Gilbert of Freetown, and Col. Edward Winslow of Plymouth, all from families several generations at the Bay, with Abijah Willard of Lancaster, John Murray, an immigrant Scot from Rutland, and James Putnam, author of the "Worcester Protest" men who had mostly fought and held command in the French Wars, and with years of experience of government as lawyers, magistrates and judges (there were very few of the Massachusetts Bench and Bar who were not Tories of one kind or the other) who as holders of town offices and provincial office as Town Representatives worked for constitutional reform and orderly change through legal process and not, as radical Whigs like Sam Adams were determined to have it my the rule of Whig mobs in the Civil War that began with the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1, 1774 and outlasted the Revolution.

Of the Tory reformers, none is more representative of their leadership than Col. Elisha Jones, who served in the House of

Representatives during the sessions of the last crisis in 1773 and 1774, supporting the Government as lawfully established, if unsuccessful in promoting the cause of reform; who after the Powder Alarm and the beginning of the Civil War worked to arm the Tories in their own defense against the maraudings of Whig mobs and on the doorstep of Boston raised one of the first Loyalist Corps of the War. Driven in to Boston, finally, by the Whigs in December, 1774, Col. Jones served under Gage and Howe as Forage Commissioner, while three of his sons served as officers in Brig. Timothy Ruggles' corps of Loyal Associators, one of the best-represented families.

Col. Elisha Jones died in Boston in the month before Howe's Evacuation of the Loyalists and the troops to Halifax, begun March 17, 1776: his widow, Mary Allen Jones, and her sons in Boston went with it. Little of Col. Jones' large estate was to be recovered by his Tory sons, most of whom fought through the war in Gov. John Wentworth's Volunteers, Simcoe's Queen's Rangers, and Benjamin Thompson's King's American Dragoons (the youngest son, Charles of the Harvard class of 1778, a lieutenant in the Queen's Rangers was the only one to fall in the War, killed in a cavalry charge June 26, 1781 at the engagement at Spencer's Ordinary about six miles from Williamsburg, where he was buried in Bruton Parish church.) Jonas Jones held a lieutenant's commission in the 20th of Foot, a gift of General Burgoyne for valour in the Saratoga campaign, and was the only member of the family to settle in England, where he became a merchant in the City of London.

Col. Jones' legacy was a heritage of family integrity and ideas of freedom under law that in the end he gave his life for. These were later taken to Nova Scotia and Upper Canada by five of his Loyalist sons - who with their descendants have taken a distinguished part in public life - and where they would become the foundation of a new Empire and the independent nation of Canada. To his family Elisha Jones left his example, his name, his arms, and the old Welsh motto

HEB DUW HEB DIM

Boston August 25. 1757

the Court have voted 24 more to be added to those already posted at Pointofuech. viz 12 at Williams & 12 at Gutridges garrisons. and I have been this moment to the Governor. for his directions. for Enlisting the men. he inclines To leave those matters to you. and has Ordered Guttridge to wait on you, for your orders. and if you think a Commission officer is Necessary. the ^{Governor} says he would have you appoint one and he will Commission him but there is no Establishment for an Officer. but its generally Judged there will be no difficulty in his getting his pay. but he must run that risque &c

we have advice from Halifax that ^{part of} Lord Londoun With the Forces are going to N. York so that all our great projects are come to Nothing and Vanished. I hope he ^{will} take Care and defend the Western frontiers. Which in all we are to Expect from him this year. &c &c

I am with the greatest respect
your most Humble Servant

Elisha Jones

To Col. Williams

1772

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to D. Mary Jones

1772

April To Cash as part of Portion £ 24 -
To D. left with Cap. Dehabor Jones for you 10
May 5 To d. - - - - - 2 0
23 To d. - - - - - 12
June 9 To d. - - - - - 23
June 9 To Cash sent out for you at Boston - 0 18
Oct 6 To Cash for Silver Spoon & other things - 4 7
26 To Cash when you went off to Salem 9
To Bedsted. Table &c at Jon. Cullings? - 6 10
and Jack Bottoms - - - - - 0 10
To a pr Blanket 10/- ~~David & Lewis~~ - 0 10
To D. paid David Bennis for Desk Table &c. 42 -
To Cash paid H. Wymen for Iron Work - 1 13
To d. paid M. Lewis Deblois - - - 15 16
To d. paid Gideon Hayer - - - -
To Bed Tick - - - - - 5
To Feather - - - - - 7
To Cream plates &c - - - - - 4
To a Cow - - - - - 1
To two Cedar Tubbs 8/0. 3/4 Linen 1/4 - 2 10
To Chain of Mirick - - - - -

145 Stephen Jones

1770

1771

May 4 To Cash paid on: Thayer for your
Board & Instruction

1771

Aug. 29. To Cash paid Steward Whiting for
this day on which you entered College

Nov 25 To Cash 10/ & Three Load wood - 29/

1772

Feb. 16 To Cash p. Steward - - - - - 5 6
To d. gave you - - - - -

Apr. 20 To the Third 2^d Bill - - - - - 3 4
To Cash given you - - - - -

Aug. 12 In 2^d Bill - - - - - 4 4
To Cash given you - - - - -

Oct. 31 To the Stewards first 9th Bill for the 2^d year - 1 0
To Cash given you - - - - - 4 1

1773

Jan. 7 To Cash when you went to Hindsdale
To 9th 2^d Bill - - - & Buttons - - -
To Cash at same time - - - - -

Apr. 2 To Cash sent by Houdby - - - - - 2 2
20 To Cash for 2^d Bill - - - - - 3 4
and Extra - - - - -

Aug. 30 To Cash for last 2^d Bill - - - - - 2 4
To Extra - - - - -

Sept. 10 To 2^d Bill - - - - -
To Cash for Books & 1/2 Box of paper

1774 Feb. 16 To Cash for 2^d Bill - - - - -

Apr. 15 In 2^d Bill & 1/2 0. 11 Extra 20/

Aug. 18 To d. - - - - - 5 19 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

Nov. 1 To d. 102/6 3/4 & running Cash - 6/ -

15 To Cash given you - - - - -

An Account of Losses sustained by Josiah, Simon, Stephen and James Jones
of Weston in the County of Middlesex and Province of Massachusetts Bay.
Heirs to the Estate of Elisha Jones Esq. late of Weston aforesaid - their Father.
Deceased - as shew'd in the annexed Memorial. 558

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PRO. AD 13:74

Real Estate - Seiz'd Confiscated and Sold by Authority of the Rebel Government viz			L & S
15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Lots of Land lying in the Town of Adams & Acres County of Berkshire	Contain ^d \$2950. at 11/ster ^o	1622.10	—
26 Lots of Land lying in Partridgefield - same County	cont ^d \$5200. at 11/ster ^o	2860.	—
2 Lots of Land in Pittsfield & Washington Same County	cont ^d \$670. at 15/ster ^o	505.10	—
A Farm in Princeton & County of Worcester	60. at 50/ster ^o	150.	—
A Farm & Mansion in Weston & County of Middlesex - the Residence of J. E. Jones &	75	1000.	—
A Farm called Allens Farm in S. Weston	70. at 5/ster ^o	350.	—
A Farm called Nonesuch - partly in Weston & Attituck in S. County	\$85. at 4.9.10 $\frac{1}{2}$	382.	—
A Farm called Jericho in S. Weston	44. at 3.8.2 $\frac{3}{4}$	150.	—
Sterling \$			7020. —

Personal Estate - Plunder'd and Destroyed by the Rebel Army. viz			
Household Furniture of every Description, together with Library of Books	\$300.		
Stock on the Farm & Mansion at Weston. viz			
2 Horses	at 15 each	30.	—
8 Oxen	8. "	64.	—
8 Milch Cows	3.10	28.	—
12 Young Cattle	2.	24.	—
40 Sheep	6/ea	12.	—
12 Hogs	18/ea	10.16.	—
1 Curriole		25.	—
1 Waggon, 2 Carts, Ploughs & other Farming Utensils.		100.	—
A Negro Man named Cicero - forced into the Rebel Service.		60.	—
Sterling \$			653.16. —

76. 3. 11

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Col. Jones' library at Weston, of which no inventory is known to exist, was plundered by Whig mobs in 1774 and at the time of the Lexington Alarm with so many other large Tory houses in the path of the Rebel militia, and his books and papers destroyed and dispersed. The Colonel, however, either took his property deeds with him to Boston, or made arrangements for their safe-keeping, as his sons who settled after the War in Nova Scotia were able to produce them for the Loyalist Claims Commissioners. It may have been that the custodian was his cousin Isaac Jones, a Tory who managed to remain in Weston, and whose descendants lived at the Golden Ball (a tavern until 1793) to the death of Ralph Frost Jones in 1963, when the large estate on the Boston Post Road was bought by the Golden Ball Tavern Trust, many of whose Trustees are descended from Col. Elisha Jones' grandfather, Josiah, and Lydia Treadway Jones, the first settlers of the town. What remains of Jones papers now in private hands in Weston are now deposited in the Trust Archives at the Golden Ball, a museum since 1964. There is little in this collection relating to Col. Jones, however, except one of his ledgers, parchment-bound, (see Appendix) most of whose entries relate to the 1750's, but which include some as late as 1774 (including the dowry of his daughter Mary and son Stephen's expenses at Harvard College.) The Weston Town Archives at the Town Hall contains a large collection of 18th century material relating to public affairs of the town and the first parish church, and are the major source for information about Col. Elisha Jones' long service in local offices and of his elections to the General Court.

For Elisha Jones' activities as a Representative to the General Court, as a Middlesex County Magistrate and Judge, and as an officer in the Militia, the largest source of material is the Massachusetts Archives (Office of the Secretary of State, State House) Boston, which includes the Journal of the House of Representatives, printed annually in the 18th century and reprinted, with notes, by the Massachusetts

Historical Society (Session of 1770, published in 1977). Other major sources in Boston have been the New England Historic and Genealogical Society Collections; the Boston Public Library with its unrivalled collections, notably of newspapers which are of particular importance for the Whig persecution of Tory leaders -which can be discovered through their forced "recantations" and worked backward through contemporary private "Journals" and the like. Of the collections at the Massachusetts Historical Society, of most use were the Israel Williams Papers and the manuscripts of Col. Jones' great enemy, Samuel Phillips Savage of Weston and Boston.

It must be said that the greatest research problem for the Loyalists generally has been the "political censorship" not only of private but public records in American hands, a process which has not yet ceased, most notably relating to descriptions of acts of violence against Tories and their families, and the theft by individuals and "confiscations" by "order" of the local Committees of Correspondence.

At this time of writing, the most "reliable" sources are the public archives in Britain which display little evidence of selective elimination; those in Canada, of Loyalist origin, tend to be as one-sided as those in American Archives. For material about the Loyalists after the Powder Alarm of Sept. 1, 1774 and throughout the Revolution, the best sources are the Loyalist Claims Papers (PRO.A.O. 12 and 13) and the Treasury Papers in the Public Record Office, London. There is an exceptionally large deposit here of papers relating to the family of Col. Elisha Jones of Weston, all of whose eleven sons gave military or other service to the Crown during the War. It must be noted that the C.O.5 series, communications from the colonies to the home government of Governors and other officials, and the official reports of Naval and Military officers, make as little reference to activities and contributions of Loyalists as possible, and that here again the history of individuals and groups can only be determined by finding relationships to events which themselves have only been partially recorded.

OTHER PRINCIPAL MANUSCRIPT SOURCES

I American Repositories

A. Massachusetts

Cambridge Middlesex County Court House. County Records, Registry of Deeds, Inventories, Wills, and Probate Records.

Harvard University Archives:

Harvard College: John Langdon Sibley Papers
Sir Francis Bernard Papers

Harvard Business School:

John Coffin Jones Papers

Deerfield Collections of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, essential to the study of Tories with connections in Western Massachusetts like the family of Col. Elisha Jones. Most valuable were the

Rev. Jonathan Ashley Papers

Dr. Thomas Williams Papers

Dr. Elihu Ashley papers, including his "Diary"

John Ruggles Papers

Pittsfield The Berkshire Athenaeum Library
Col. William (Billy) Williams Papers

Northampton Forbes Library
Jonathan Judd Papers (perhaps the best collection of material relating to the Connecticut Valley for this period)

Stockbridge Stockbridge Town Library, Archives Department.
John Hopkins Denison Papers, including his manuscript account of "Abigail Williams and Early Stockbridge," which draws upon the diary of Esther Burr, daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards and wife of Aaron Burr Sr., President of New Jersey College.

Richmond (near Stockbridge)

The R.H.W. Dwight Papers, by courtesy of Mrs. Raymond L. Buell. Notable as one of the last "uncensored" manuscripts and papers collections anywhere in New England, public or privately held.

- Worcester American Antiquarian Society.
 Rev. Asa Dunbar, Diary, 1773-1776, and
 Letterbook, 1771-1773.
 Nahum Jones Papers
 Dr. Thomas Williams Papers
- B. Connecticut
- New Haven Yale College Library
 President Ezra Stiles Papers
- C. Maine
- Bangor Bangor Public Library, Reference Collection
 Col. Nathan Jones Papers
- Portland
 (Falmouth) Maine Historical Society
 Col. John Jones (of Dedham, Mass.) Papers
 Ephriam Jones Papers
 Joseph Williamson Papers. One of the best relating
 to Maine in the 18th century. Contains the
 papers of Col. Elisha Jones' cousin, Judge Stephen
 Jones of Machias.
- D. Michigan
- Ann Arbor William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan
 Sir Henry Clinton Papers
 Governor Thomas Gage Papers
- E. Washington D.C. Library of Congress
- Washington Papers. There is little here to be
 found relating to the Loyalists during the Siege
 of Boston, and nothing about his order for the
 close-confinement of Col. Jones' son Josiah in
 Concord Jail through the summer of 1775.
- Abner Sanger Papers. Sanger, from Keene, New Hants.,
 knew Col. Jones' family, particularly those of his
 sons who had settled in Cheshire County, Judge
 Daniel Jones of Hinsdale, and his younger brother
 Simeon, Clerk of the Cheshire County Court. His
 "Journal" (1774-1782) includes his service at the
 Siege of Boston with Rebel militia.

II Canadian Repositories

- A. Ottawa, Ontario Public Archives of Canada
- Papers of Ephriam Jones, Col. Elisha Jones' son who settled after the War at Elizabethtown, and represented Grenville in the first Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada (1792-6)
- Papers of Edward Winslow
- B. Halifax, Nova Scotia Provincial Archives of Nova Scotia
- Lt. Gov. Alfred Gilpin Jones Papers
- Gov. John Wentworth Papers
- Capt. Gideon White Papers. Col. Jones' sons served with him in the King's American Dragoons.
- Weymouth
(Sissiboo) Digby County Registry of Deeds
Weymouth Town Records
St. Peter's Anglican Church Records

III British Repositories

- A. London The British Library, Department of Manuscripts
- ~~Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick Haldimand Papers~~
ADD.MSS.: 21695; 21696; 21687; 21,680
Hutchinson Papers: Egerton MSS. 2659-2661.
- Ad. Samuel Graves MSS: "The Conduct of Vice Ad. Samuel Graves in America" ADD.MSS 14038, 14039.
- The Public Record Office
- ADM.1.485 Correspondence of Admiral Graves
- ADM.51.960 Captain's Log, HMS Sloop Swan
- ADM.52.1823 Master's Log, HMS Schooner Halifax
- AO 12-AO 13 Audit Office. List of Loyalist Claims
Read those from claimants refugees from Col. Jones' County of Middlesex, Hampshire and Berkshire Counties where his family were settled and he himself held property. Papers of Col. Jones' sons are in:
- AO.12:10:373-380; 41-11:360-72; 389; 412, 441
- AO.13:25, 47, 50, 74, 75.
- C.O.5. Colonial Office.
91, 92 (Gage); 92, 93 (Howe) 120, 121, 122, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766
- T.1 Treasury Board, correspondence.
513 to 522
- T.27 Treasury Letter Books. 31.
- B. Bristol University of Bristol Library
- Rev. Henry Canor, letterbook. Rector of King's Chapel, Boston, for more than 30 years, to March, 1776.

- C. Aylesbury Buckinghamshire County Record Office
Richard Reeve Papers. He was Secretary to the Board of Customs Commissioners in Boston, 1767-1776.
- D. Whitwell Hertfordshire. Papers in the possession of the author of this paper:
Mary Emma Robertson Jones Papers (1869-1958)
Josiah Jones Papers. One of Col. Jones' sons who settled at Sissiboo (Weymouth) Nova Scotia; d. June 10, 1825, aged 80. Muster Book, King's American Dragoons; Accounts Book.
- E. Hertford Hertfordshire County Record Office
Sir William Baker Papers
- F. Oxford Manchester College
Henry Hulton Papers. Commissioner of Customs at Boston, 1767-1776

PRINTED SOURCES: A SELECT LIST

I Newspapers

One of the most important sources for the study of Massachusetts Tories for the period 1773-1776: not only for what they wrote, but during the "persecution" of the Civil War, in particular, the Whig press is a map of Toryism with its accusations and exactions of "confessions" and resignations from civil and military office. Col. Jones' family were often mentioned, and as for other prominent Tories their activities chronicled.

Of particular "value" to the Joneses were the more radical Massachusetts Whig Papers: Edes' and Gill's Boston Gazette and Thomas' Massachusetts Spy; of less use the middle-of-the-road Boston Evening Post. Draper's Tory Massachusetts Gazette and Boston News-Letter, particularly before Margaret Draper took over the management after her husband Richard's death, June, 1774, gave more aid to the supporters of Governor Hutchinson than the "Tory Reformers" of Col. Jones and Brig. Ruggles. The two Salem papers, the Essex Gazette and nominally "neutral" Salem Gazette, also printed material about Col. Jones.

II Journals, Correspondence, and Memoirs

It is fortunate that one of the great occupations of well-to-do Bay Colonists was the keeping of Journals (correspondence could be hazardous in dangerous times, and memoirs more so), and if those of Tories were destroyed or "suppressed" in Massachusetts after the War, the "expurgating" of Whig Journals and those of Tory

"converts" generally was far less drastic. As with the full Diary of Boston Whig merchant John Rowe, and the published letters and papers of John Adams, the gaps - taken with known happenings from other sources-are often of great significance.

Adair, Douglass, and John A. Schutz, eds. Peter Oliver's Origin and Progress of the American Rebellion. A Tory View. San Marino, California, 1961. More of a memoir and personal view than a history, but far more factual than is usually allowed even by such modern writers as Clifford Shipton.

"Narrative of Jolley Allen" Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. 16, 1878. Account by a spirited Tory

Baldwin, Rebecca Cotton, "Diary." Excerpts about harmless social matters printed by Hama P. Ripley in Weston, A Puritan Town (1961). But she was a daughter of the strong-minded Rev. John Cotton of Newton, and it is more than possible did not share the views of her husband, Samuel Baldwin, Weston Innkeeper, and one of the most radical members of the Weston Committee of Correspondence. The meticulous collector of New England papers, Harriette Merrifield Forbes, in her invaluable New England Diaries 1602-1800 A Descriptive Catalogue of Diaries, Orderly Books and Sea Journals (privately printed, 1923) based upon examination of the manuscripts she describes, omits the name of the owner of the Baldwin "Diary", but does state: "April 9, 1762-Aug. 10, 1785, with the following years missing: 1766, (the year of the bitterly disputed election in Weston between Col. Jones and Abraham Bigelow) 1770, 1771, 1773, 1774, 1775, 1776."

Butterfield, L.H. ed., Adams Family Correspondence, Vol. I, December, 1761-May, 1776. HUP. Cambridge, 1963

--- Diary and Autobiography of John Adams. 4 Vols. Cambridge, 1961.

Carter, Clarence E. The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage with the Secretaries of State and with the War Office and the Treasury, 1763-1775. YUP 2 Vols. New Haven, 1931

Clarke, John. (First Lieutenant of Marines) An Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle Fought on the 17th of June, 1775, between His Britannic Majesty's Troops and the American Provincial Army. London, 1775.

"Diary of the Rev. Samuel Cooper, 1775-1776" One of the leaders of the Boston Radicals, brother of the perennial Boston Town Clerk, merchant William Cooper. Pastor of the Brattle Street Church, he slipped out of Boston just before the Lexington Alarm, and spent the whole of the Siege of Boston at Col. Jones' Weston, he and his wife boarding with his old friend Samuel Phillips Savage. American Historical Review, Vol. VI, 1901.

Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739-1776. Boston, 1914.

- Cunningham, Anne Rowe, ed., Letters and Diary of John Rowe Boston, 1903. One of the most detailed kept in Boston during the Siege, but names of prominent Tories omitted throughout, even the funerals of Tory leaders at Trinity Church, where he was a Vestryman from 1760, unless they were the Governor or other officials who could not be "avoided".
- Dana, Elizabeth Ellery. The British in Boston Being the Diary of Lt. John Barker of the King's Own Regiment from November 15, 1774 to May 31, 1776 HUP Cambridge, 1924. One of the best accounts by a military observer.
- Dexter, F. B. ed., The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles Vols. 1 and 2. New York, 1901. Stiles was a life-long friend, and one-time suitor, of Col. Jones' niece Abigail Williams Sergeant Dwight of Stockbridge.
- Extracts from the Itineraries and Other Miscellanies of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., 1755-1795... New Haven, 1916
- "Diary of Amos Farnsworth of Groton" Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Jan. 1898.
- Frothingham, Richard, ed. "Diary for 1773 to the end of 1774 of Mr. Thomas Newell, Boston." Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. 15, 1877
- "Letters of an American Loyalist (Martin Gay) and his Wife" Col. Soc. Mass. Publications, Vol. III, 1897.
- Harding, Walter and Carl Bode, The Correspondence of David Henry Thoreau New York, 1958. Col. Jones' Great Grandson
- Hulton, Ann. Letters of a Loyalist Lady HUP Cambridge, 1927.
- Hunter, A. et al, ed. The Journal of Gen. Sir Martin Hunter Edinburgh, 1894. Account by an observant junior officer.
- Hutchinson, Peter O. ed., The Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson Esq. 2 Vols. London, 1883. The editor was the Governor's Great Grandson.
- "George Inman's Narrative of the American Revolution." Penn. Mag. of Hist. and Biog. Vol. VII, 1833. A lively account by a Massachusetts Tory who later was commissioned in the British Regular Army.
- Innis, Harold A. ed. "Diary of Simeon Perkins, 1766-1780" Champlain Society Publications, Vol. 29. Toronto, 1943. Record of a Nova Scotia merchant and shipowner.
- "Diary of John Jeffries" Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. I. Harvard, 1763; a Tory refugee in Boston during the Siege, later practiced medicine in England.
- Jones, Electa Fidelity, "Ancestry of the Jones Family, Stockbridge, Massachusetts." New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., July, 1852. Sketches of members of the family and events at first hand.
- Stockbridge Past and Present or, Records of an Old Mission Station Springfield, 1854. Material on Col. Jones' family who founded Stockbridge.

- Jones, Mary Emma Robertson, The Genealogy of the Family of Cereno Upham Jones (Allen, Lane & Scott) Philadelphia, 1906. Named for President Sereno Dwight of Yale. Col. Elisha Jones' grandson, son of Elisha the Younger of Pittsfield, who died at New York and whose family went to Sissiboo with Josiah, Simeon, and Stephen Jones. Their descendants are still in Nova Scotia.
- Richards, Susan Coffin Jones. "Autobiography of Stephen Jones" The letters of Judge Stephen Jones of Machias to his daughter in Boston, Mrs. John Richards. Printed in Sprague's Journal of Maine History Vol. III, 1916.
- "Journals of Lieut. Gen. Stephen Kemble" New York Hist. Soc. Collections, 1883 Vol. I. Deputy Adjutant General in North America. His sister Margaret was the wife of Gen. Thomas Gage.
- "Letters of Richard Lechmere" Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. XVI, 1902. A prominent Tory merchant of Boston.
- "Diary of Frederick MacKenzie... of Royal Welch Fusiliers during the Years 1775-1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York" HUP, Cambridge, 1930. MSS now at the Regimental Museum, Caernarvon Castle. Detailed and accurate.
- "Journal of Captain John Montrosser" New York Hist. Soc. Collections Vol. XIV, 1881. By one of the senior British Engineers.
- Moody, James, Narrative of His Exertions and Sufferings in the Cause of Government since the Year 1776. London, 1783. Moody, a New Jersey Loyalist, is one of the few "Fighting Tories" who left memoirs. He settled on a grant of land next to the descendants of Col. Elisha Jones at Sissiboo (Joymouth) by St. Mary's Bay in Nova Scotia. His "cellar hole" may still be seen in "Moody's Meadow."
- Howell, Timothy "A Journal Kept during the Time yt Boston was Shut Up in 1775-1776" Mass Hist. Soc. Collections, Ser. 4, Vol. I. By a Deacon and Whig moderate in Boston.
- Oliver, Andrew, ed. The Journal of Samuel Curwen Loyalist HUP, Cambridge, 2 Vols. 1972. By the archetype Tory of Whig principles who left the fighting to others and sat out the war in England.
- Perry, Amos, ed. Book of Minutes of Col. John Jones of Dedham Boston, 1894. By his grandson, a lawyer of Providence, R.I.
 ----- "Col. John Jones of Dedham and his Paternal Ancestors in America" New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg., April, 1890
- "Diary of Ezekiel Price," Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. XIX, 1864. One of the best Whig-moderate diarists; Price was a minute recorder of information, about Tories as well as Whigs, particularly if, like Elisha Jones, they were of Welsh descent.
- Reed, William B. Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Military Secretary of Washington at Cambridge; Adjutant-General of the

- Continental Army; Member of the Congress of the United States; President of the Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania. 2 Vols. Philadelphia, 1847. Reed, a lawyer, and with an eye for detail, recorded the uniforms and other activities of Ruggles' Corps of Loyalists in Boston.
- Robertson, Gen. Sir Archibald. Diaries and Sketches in America. New York, 1930. He served through the Siege of Boston.
- Sargent, Winthrop, ed., "Letters of John Andrews Esq. of Boston 1772-1776" Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings Vol. VIII, 1865. One of the most useful accounts of the Siege, by a Whig merchant. In the form of letters to his brother-in-law William Barrell at Philadelphia.
- "The Revolutionary Journal of James Stevens of Andover" Essex Institute Hist. Collections, XLVIII, 1912
- Tatum, Edward, ed. The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778. San Marino, California, 1940. MSS at Huntington Library.
- Tudor, William, ed. Deacon Tudor's Diary... A Record of More or Less Important Events in Boston from 1732 to 1793. Boston, 1896. Decidedly Whig, and heavily abridged. From a copy made at the Library of Congress.
- Wortley, the Hon. Mrs. E. Stuart, A Prime Minister and his Son New York, 1925. Letters from Charles Stuart, serving in the Regular Army in Boston to his Father, Lord Bute.
- Zobel, Hiller, and L. Kinvin Wroth, eds. The Legal Papers of John Adams. 3 Vols. Cambridge, 1965.

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- Baxter, James Phinney, ed. Documentary History of the State of Maine, Maine Hist. Soc. Collections Vols. XIV, XV, 1889.
- Egerton, Hugh The Royal Commission on the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists 1783-1785 (1915). The Notes of Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, one of the Commissioners
- Force, Peter, ed. American Archives... A Documentary History of the North American Colonies 4th Series, 6 Vols. March 7, 1774 to Aug. 21, 1776; 5th Series, 3 Vols. May 3, 1776 to Dec. 31, 1776 Washington D.C., 1837-1853. Contains material on the Tories in Massachusetts that can be found nowhere else.
- Ford., W.C. Broadsides, Ballads &c. Printed in Massachusetts 1639-1800 Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, Vol. LXXV, Boston, 1922
- Goodell, A.C. et al. eds. Acts and Resolves, Public and Private, of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay 21 Vols. Boston, 1869-1922.
- Journals of the Honourable House of Representatives Annual Volumes, Printer to the House Benjamin Edes, Boston. Volumes 1773, 1774, and for earlier years when Elisha Jones was the Representative for the town of Boston. (Reprint in progress by Mass. Hist. Soc.; volume for 1770 published in 1977.)

- Lincoln, William, ed., The Journals of Each Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774 and 1775 Boston, 1838
- Peirce, Mary Frances, The Town of Weston Records of the First Precinct, 1746-1754 and of the Town, 1754-1803. Boston, 1893.
The official records of Town Meetings and Church Meetings, from the Weston Town Archives. Many entries for the political activities of Col. Elisha Jones in town government and town office.
- Raymond, W.O. The Winslow Papers 1776-1826 St. John, New Brunswick, New Brunswick Hist. Soc. 1901.
- Whitmore, William, The Massachusetts Civil List for the Colonial and Provincial Periods 1630-1774. Albany, 1870.

SECONDARY WORKS: A SELECT LIST

The greatest work on the history of Colonial Massachusetts in the 18th Century is that of Clifford Kenyon Shipton in Volumes IV 1690-1700 (1933) to XVI 1768-1771 (1975) of Sibley's Harvard Graduates. The yardstick by which others must be judged.

- Alden, J.E. "John Mein, Scourge of Patriots," Colonial Soc. Mass. Publications XXXIV 1942.
- Allen, Gardner, Massachusetts Privateers of the Revolution Boston, 1927
- Allen, H.C., and Roger Thompson, Contrast and Connection Bicentennial Essays in Anglo-American History. Desmond Wright, "The Loyalists" London, 1976
- Bailyn, Bernard, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution IUP Cambridge, 1967
- The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson IUP Cambridge, 1974.
This work makes no serious attempt to study the nature of Loyalism in Massachusetts; it says nothing of the Tory opposers of Hutchinson such as Col. Elisha Jones, who unlike Hutchinson believed in constitutional reforms and were prepared to fight against the Whig-led Revolution.
- Baldwin, Alice, The New England Clergy and the American Revolution Durham, N.C., 1928. The dimension of religion has been too much ignored by more recent historians: it is an important factor in Massachusetts where so many of the Reformist Tories were attracted to the liberality and common sense of Anglicanism—particularly the young men at Harvard; the triumph of the reactionary religion of the Whigs put back the cause of humanity in religion by a generation. See Harriet Beecher Stowe, Oldtown Folks 1st edn. 1869, Henry F. May edn. IUP, 1966.
- Barnes, Viola "Francis Legge, Governor of Loyalist Nova Scotia 1773-1776" New England Quarterly Vol. IV 1931.
- Bartlett, H.S. The Rev. Jacob Bailey: The Frontier Missionary: A Memoir of the Life of the Rev. Jacob Bailey 1853

- Batchelder, Samuel, The Life and Surprising Adventures of John Nutting, Cambridge Loyalist. Cambridge, 1912.
- Berkin, Carol, Jonathan Sewall. Odyssey of an American Loyalist New York, 1974. A Hutchinsonian Tory.
- Billias, George. Elbridge Gerry: Founding Father and Republican Statesman. New York, 1976.
- General John Glover and his Marblehead Mariners New York, 1960. Soundly researched, but Billias does not try to investigate the early "freebooting" forays of the Marbleheaders along the Maine coast, raiding Tory settlers and destroying property, summer of 1774. Col. Nathan Jones was a large sufferer, at Frenchman's Bay.
- ed. Law and Authority in Colonial America. Barre, Mass, 1965. Hiller Nobel, "Law under Pressure, Boston 1769-1771"
- Brebner, John. The Neutral Yankees of Nova Scotia... 1969 edn. Introduction by W.S. MacHutt.
- Brennan, Ellen. Plural Office-Holding in Massachusetts, 1760-1780 Chapel Hill, N.C., 1945
- Brown, E.P. Joseph Hawley, Colonial Radical New York, 1931
- Brown, Richard D. Revolutionary Politics in Massachusetts The Boston Committee of Correspondence and the Towns, 1772-1774. A Whig view with a distorted picture of the success of the Committees during this period.
- Brown, Wallace, The Good Americans... New York, 1969
- The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants Providence 1965
- Calhoon, Robert McCluer The Loyalists in Revolutionary America 1760-1781 New York, 1973.
- Cary, John. Joseph Warren... Urbana, Illinois, 1961.
- Christie, Ian and Benjamin Labaree Empire or Independence 1760-1776 A British-American Dialogue on the Coming of the Revolution Oxford, 1976.
- Cook, Edward. "Local Leadership and the Typography of New England Towns, 1700-1785" Political Science Quarterly Vol. 86, 1971.
- Crane, Ellery History of Worcester County, Massachusetts 3 Vols. ----- "The Tories of 1774 and 1775" Worcester Society of Antiquity Proceedings XXI-XXII 1906.
- Crary, Catherine The Price of Loyalty Tory Writings from the Revolutionary Era New York, 1973. One of the best works on the Tories
- Cushing, Harry. A History of the Transition from Provincial to Commonwealth Government in Massachusetts New York, 1896. Still the best on the subject; remarkable for its sound scholarship and freedom from political bias.
- Davidson, Philip Propaganda and the American Revolution 1763-1783 Chapel Hill, N.C., 1941.
- Davis, Andrew The Confiscation of John Chandler's Estate. New York, 1903.
- Davol, Ralph. Two Men of Taunton... Taunton, 1912. Davol used the papers of the Two Men: Robert Treat Paine and Daniel Leonard; Paine's he afterward deposited in the Mass. Hist. Soc., Boston- Leonard's papers have not been seen since, and could not be found by Clifford Shipton for Leonard's Harvard biography.

- The Development of a Revolutionary Mentality Papers Presented
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Mary Beth Norton, "The Loyalist Critique of the Revolution"
Esmond Wright, "Men with Two Countries" Library of Congress,
Washington D.C. 1972.
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- Drake, Samuel History of Middlesex County 2 Vols. Boston, 1880.
- Field, Rev. Daniel ed., A History of the County of Berkshire, By
Gentlemen in the County, Clergymen and Laymen Pittsfield, 1829.
One of the "Gentlemen" authors was Israel Jones, lawyer of
Adams, a son of Col. Elisha Jones and a pioneer in the district.
Used as his guide book by Francis Parkman on walking trips
in Western Massachusetts gathering historic material.
- Fingerhut, Eugene "Uses and Abuses of the American Loyalists Claims:
A Critique of Quantitative Analyses" W.&M.Q. XXV, 1968
- French, Allen. The First Year of the American Revolution 1st ed. 1934.
Based upon the Gage Papers.
- Frothingham, Richard. The Siege of Boston 2nd edn. Boston, 1851.
The Siege from Whig documents.
- Gipson, Lawrence Henry. Jared Ingersoll: A Study in American Loyalism
1st edn. New Haven, 1920. See 2nd edn. London, 1971, with new
foreword by author.
- Gordon, Rev. William. History of the Rise... of the Independence of
the United States London, 1788. Still valuable.
- Goss, E.H. The Life of Paul Revere Boston, 1891. Prints many
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- Hart, A.B. Commonwealth History of Massachusetts 5 Vols. New York,
1927-30.
- Hoerder, Dirk, Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts 1765-1780
New York, 1977.
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1855.
- Hosmer, James. The Life of Thomas Hutchinson New York, 1896. Still
the best biography as a full length work. See the sketch by
Clifford Shipton, Sibley's Harvard Graduates, Vol. VIII.
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Revolution 1763-1776 New York, 1968
- Jones, Edward Alfred. The Loyalists of Massachusetts: Their Memorials
Petitions, and Claims London, 1933. One of the most valuable
works on the Loyalists.
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- Labaree, Leonard Conservatism in Early American History London, 1948
- Lincoln, William, History of Worcester Worcester, 1837

Mackesy, Piers, The War for America, 1775-1783. London, 1962.

The role of the Provincial Loyalists is greatly underrated.

Maier, Pauline From Resistance to Revolution Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain 1765-1776 London, 1973. Admits the use of violence as a legitimate political weapon; a High-Whig philosophy which ignores the legitimate rights of political opponents.

Martyn, Charles The Life of Artemas Ward New York, 1921.

Mayo, Lawrence, ^{ed.} Thomas Hutchinson. The History of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay Vol. III. Cambridge Mass. 1936. The first two volumes published at Boston in 1764 and 1767.

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Morison, Samuel Eliot, Three Centuries of Harvard 1636-1936. Cambridge, 1936.

Nelson, William, The American Tory. Boston, 1968. The best short study.

Newcomer, Lee. The Embattled Farmers A Massachusetts Countryside in the American Revolution New York, 1953

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Sabine, Lorenzo The American Loyalists Boston, 1847. A work of great vision, made when memory of the Revolution was still alive.

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— Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776 New York, 1956

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- Trask, William Blake, Some of the Descendants of Lewis and Ann Jones of Roxbury Mass. Boston, privately printed, 1878.
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----- Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence New York, 1962
- Wright, Esmond, Fabric of Freedom 1763-1800 London, 1965
----- A Tug of Loyalties Anglo-American Relations 1765-1785 London, 1975
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